DENOMINAL VERBS IN TURKISH

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DENOMINAL VERBS IN TURKISH

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Denominal Verbs in Turkish

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ABSTRACT

Denominal Verbs in Turkish

The aim of this study is to investigate the structural properties of denominal verbs derived with the suffix *–lA* in Turkish and their implications for the VoiceP-*v*P split. For this purpose, we first analyze Turkish derived and underived verbs in terms of the Voice-*v* bundling hypothesis proposed by Pylkkänen (2008). Languages can exhibit bundling or non-bundling patterns for Voice and *v* (Harley, 2017; Pylkkänen, 2008). Turkish clearly qualifies as a non-bundling language when underived verbs are considered (Key, 2013). In this study, we focus on denominal verbs derived with *–lA*, and show that a bundling pattern is also available in Turkish, as *–lA* encompasses properties associated both with VoiceP and *v*P. Hence, Turkish exhibits both a split pattern in terms of Voice-*v* bundling with underived lexical verbs, and a bundling pattern with verbs derived with *–lA*. In order to account for this variation, we suggest that a Nano-syntactic analysis following Ramchand (2008, among others) represents the properties of the verbal domain. We show that the decomposition helps reveal the characteristics of the *–lA* suffix which can contribute various event and argument structures. We lastly analyze the suffixes *–lAn* and *–lAş* and introduce an explication on scalarity properties of degree achievement verbs.

ÖZET

Türkçede Addan Türemiş Fiiller

Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkçedeki *–lA* eki ile addan türemiş fiillerin yapısal özelliklerini ve bu özelliklerin Çatı Öbeği-Fiil Öbeği ayrımı için olası sonuçlarını incelemektir. Bu amaçla, ilk olarak Pylkkänen (2008)'in ileri sürdüğü Çatı Öbeği-Fiil Öbeği birleşim hipotezi çerçevesinde Türkçedeki basit ve türemiş fiiller incelenmiştir. Diller Çatı ve Fiil özelliklerinde birleşen ya da ayrışan bir model sergileyebilirler (Harley, 2017; Pylkkänen, 2008). Türkçe, basit fiiller göz önünde bulundurulduğunda açık bir şekilde ayrışan bir dil olarak nitelendirilir (Key, 2013). Bu çalışmada, *–lA* eki ile addan türemiş fiillere odaklanarak Türkçede birleşen modelin de mümkün olabileceği gösterilmektedir çünkü *–lA* eki hem Çatı Öbeği hem de Fiil Öbeğinin özelliklerini bünyesinde barındırır. Sonuç olarak, Türkçe hem basit fiillerde Çatı-Fiil birleşimi bakımından ayrışan, hem de *–lA* ile türemiş fiillerde birleşen bir model sergilemektedir. Bu farklılığı açıklayabilmek adına, bu çalışmada Ramchand'ın (2008, diğerleri arasında) Nano-Sözdizimsel analizinin Fiil alanının özelliklerini yansıttığı belirtilmektedir. Bu analizdeki sınıflandırmanın, çeşitli türlerde olay yapıları ve üye yapıları sağlayabilen *–lA* ekinin özelliklerini ortaya çıkarmada yardımcı olduğu gözlemlenmektedir. Son olarak *–lAn* ve *–lAş* ekleri incelenmiş ve dereceli başarı fiillerindeki ölçü özellikleri tartışılarak yeni bir analiz sunulmuştur.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Aor	Aorist
Appl	Applicative
Caus	Causative
Com	Commutative
Dat	Dative
Evid	Evidential
Fut	Future
Gen	Genetive
Imp	Imperfective
Loc	Locative
Neg	Negation
Nom	Nominalizer
Onom	Onomatopoeic
Opt	Optative
Pass	Passive
Perf	Perfective
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possessive

Prog	Progressive
Pst	Past
Q-Part	Question Particle
Rec	Reciprocal
Ref	Reflexive
Sg	Singular

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aim of the thesis

This thesis is an analysis of Turkish denominal verb formation within the framework of Nano-syntax (Ramchand, 2008). The aim of the thesis is to provide a systematic explanation to the nature of the verbal domain and argue for an account that can capture the phenomenon thoroughly. In this respect, the Turkish data will help enlighten the labor division of functional layers in the *v*P projection and how these layers are involved in the argument and event structurally complex constructions. The main questions are what components a verb brings in within the structure, and how much contribution these components have on the event and argument structures.

1.2 Data and methodology

Turkish, which belongs to the Ural-Altaic language family hence is an agglutinating language, is well known for its rich morphology. Two homophonous lexical items that belong to different functional categories[1] and that are derived from the same root are quite rare in Turkish, that is, it is nearly impossible to find two words such as '*a laugh*' and '*to laugh'*. Instead, the language resorts to either light verbs such as '*yap, et, ol*' (see Section 1.2) or a wide range of suffixes for verb derivation, thus its verb lexicon reflects the morphological richness through verbs that can be not only underived (1a) but also derived (1b, c) with 34 different suffixes as Nakipoğlu and Üntak (2008) observe. The suffixes exhibited in Turkish verb derivation process are given in the table in Appendix A.

[1] There are lexical items such as *boya* 'paint', *acı* 'spicy', *ekşi* 'sour' which belong to this category of verbs having a substantive and a verb usage. See Uygun (2009) for a full list.

(1) a. Ayşe koş-uyor.
Ayşe run-Prog
'Ayşe is running.'

b. Ali-nin parmağ-ı kan-a-dı.
Ali-Gen finger-Poss blood-A-Pst
'Ali's finger bled.'

c. Oğlu-m bu sene ders-ler-i iyice zor-sun-du.
Son-Poss this year lesson-Pl-Acc much difficult-sIn-Pst
'My son regarded his lessons as quite burdensome this year.'

(1a) is an example of an underived verb *koş 'run'*, whereas (1b) exemplifies derivation with *–A* and (1c) with *–sIn*.

Nakipoğlu and Üntak (2008) state that, of 4699 entries, 2564 verbs are derived via affixation, 953 of which are derived with *–lA* (See Appendix B for a list of *–lA* verbs). Moreover, this number has increased by around 10 based on my own data collection from dictionaries, Turkish corpus, websites and colloquial usage and continues to increase since the *–lA* suffix productively derives new verbs from Turkish roots as well as from borrowed roots:

(2) Hoca-yı soru-lar-ım-la dar-la-dı-m biraz.
Teacher-Acc question-Pl-Poss1Sg-Com narrow-lA-Pst-1Sg a little
'I overwhelmed the teacher a little with my questions.'

The verb *darla* ‘overwhelm’ in (2) has recently become popular among young people in Turkey. It has not yet entered the Turkish Language Association (TDK) dictionary, still it is very frequent in colloquial language.

(3) a. Fotoğraf-ı kaç kişi ritivit-le-di?
Photograph-Acc how many person retweet-lA-Pst
‘How many people retweeted the photograph?’

b. Çocuğ-u gün-ler-ce stolk-la-dı.
Boy-Acc day-Pl-for stalk-lA-Pst
‘She stalked the boy for days.’

Similarly, with the increasing usage of the Internet and social networking sites, borrowed verbs as in (3a) and (3b) have entered the language and they are suffixed with *–lA* to become a Turkish verb. In the next section, we will compare two different methods for verb derivation in Turkish. Before that, it is important to mention another type of verbs that *–lA* can derive. It is possible to derive a new verb with *–lA* which is specific to that occasion:

(4) Reis biz-i meyve-le yav
Chief we-Acc fruit-lA
‘Hey chief, why don’t you fruit us?
(intended: provide us with fruit)’

The sentence in (4) is taken from a post on Twitter including the screenshot of a text messaging between a married couple. The verb *meyvele-* 'give someone fruit' is not found in any dictionaries of Turkish, nor used commonly at all; however, it is intelligible. The suffix *–lA* is present to turn a nominal root into a verb providing all the features of other existing and accepted derived verbs, which demonstrates how productive *–lA* can be.

It is possible to derive denominal verbs in Turkish via two methods: A Turkish or borrowed root is either suffixed with the items enlisted in Appendix B and depicted in (1), or attached a light verb such as *yap* 'do', *et* 'do/cause', *ol-* 'become' as exemplified below:

(5) a. İki çocuk arasında kıyas yap-ma-yın.
Two kid between comparison do-Neg-Imp2PL
'Don't compare two kids.'

b. Birçok Türk 1960-lar-da Almanya-ya göç et-ti.
A lot of Turk 1960-Pl-Loc Germany-Dat migration do-Pst
'A lot of Turks migrated to Germany in the 1960s.'

c. Dün kardeş-im hasta ol-du.
Yesterday brother-Poss sick become-Pst
'My brother got sick yesterday.'

The origins of the roots accompanied by Turkish light verbs in (5) are Arabic (5a), Turkish (5b) and Persian (5c). Hence, regardless of their origins, Turkish makes use

of these mechanisms for denominal verb derivation: the suffixation and usage of periphrastic light verbs.

The process of using loan words as verbs in Turkish is required to be a denominal verb derivation process since, no matter what the category is in the language of their origin, all Turkish loan forms enter the lexicon as nominals (Haig, 2004; Lewis, 1967; Uygun, 2009).

(6) a. Bu şarkı-yı Türkçe-ye adapte ed-eceğ-iz
This song-Acc Turkish-Dat adapt do-Fut-1Pl
'We will adapt this song to Turkish.'

b. *Bu şarkı-yı Türkçe-ye adapte-yeceğ-iz
This song-Acc Turkish-Dat adapt-Fut-1Pl
Int: 'We will adapt this song to Turkish.'

(from Uygun, 2009, p. 166)

The lexical item *adapt(er)* is categorized as a verb in French, but it requires a light verb to be used with a similar function in Turkish.

Of all the suffixes demonstrated in the table in Appendix A, *–lA* is observed to be the most productive and the only suffix along with *–lAn* (See Appendix C for a list of *–lAn* verbs) and *–lAş* (See Appendix D for a list of *–lAş* verbs) used for deriving loan forms to denominal verbs. Some roots can be derived via both methods, resulting in similar or almost similar meanings. The denominals in the example below show very little or no difference in their semantics, usage or any other properties.

(7) a. Kaç soru-ya cevap ver-di-n?

How many question-Dat answer give-Pst-2Sg

'How many questions did you answer?'

b. Kaç soru cevap-la-dı-n?

How many question answer-lA-Pst-2Sg

'How many questions did you answer?'

(8) a. Oda böyle ferah ol-du.

Room as such spacious become-Pst

'The room has become spacious as such.'

b. Oda böyle ferah-la-dı.

Room as such spacious-lA-Pst

'The room has become spacious as such.'

In some denominal verbs that are derived from loan words, it is observed that with the common acceptance and usage of the verb, the compounding with a light verb becomes less frequent, leaving the floor to the affixed versions of the verbs. According to Banguoğlu (1986), a borrowed form is first derived with a light verb, and as it becomes acceptable for more people, then the version derived with *–lA* becomes more frequent and the light verb version is used less. He claims that affixation makes the word more Turkish (Banguoğlu, 1986, p. 185).

In addition to verbs formed with *–lA*, there are 615 verbs derived with *–lAş* (9a) and 362 with *–lAn* (9b) (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008, p. 230).

(9) a. Köy-ler-in çoğ-u giderek şehir-leş-iyor.
Village-Pl-Poss most-Gen gradually city-lAş-Prog
'Villages gradually become urbanized.'

b. Bu çocuk ne zaman us-lan-acak?
This kid what time wit-lAn-Fut
'When will this kid become well-behaved?'

Clearly, more than one third of the whole number of derived verbs are attributed to Turkish verb lexicon via the suffix *–lA*. Verbs derived with this suffix will be the main tool of the thesis since its productivity provides members to different verb categories.

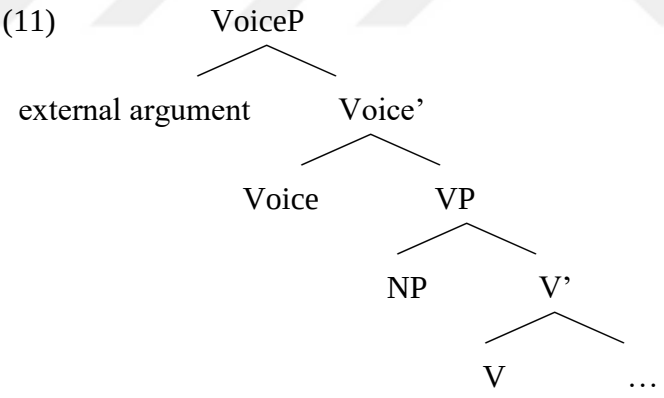
1.3 Theoretical framework

The analysis of denominal verbs with *–lA* in this study is mainly based on the nano-syntactic framework proposed by Ramchand (2008), (see Chapter 4 for discussion). Her theory is built upon the split *v*P analysis which was first proposed by Larson (1988). On the basis of this hypothesis, the verbal projection is composed of layers that bear separate functions. These are the layers that shape the argument and event structures of verbs. The split *v*P hypothesis is adopted by researchers such as Chomsky (1995); Hale and Keyser (1993); Kratzer (1996) and Pylkkänen (2002, 2008). While verbalizing a lexical item that is not yet a verb, the verbalizer suffix can introduce its external argument as well as the internal argument, it can assign case to both arguments, it can also denote a resulting state.

(10) Those lovely flowers brighten up your garden.

The adjective *bright* in (10) is derived to become a verb by the suffix *–en*. It is observed in (10) that there is an external argument which is a causer and an internal argument with the accusative case which is a theme. Basing her analysis on the Realization Principle, which underlines that an argument of a head needs to be realized within the projection of the same head, Kratzer (1996, among others) proposes that the external argument must be realized by an inflectional head outside the VP. She claims that if these functions were encoded in the lexical VP, then we would necessitate a suppressing rule of the external argument and the accusative case under certain conditions. However, an existing (or lacking) inflectional projection that is above the VP accounts for the peculiarity of external arguments.

(11)

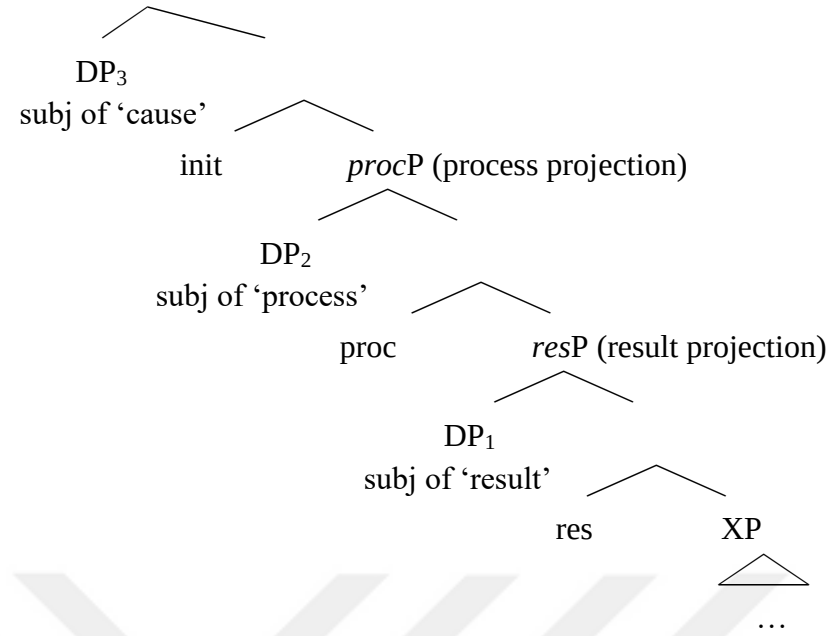


(Kratzer, 1996, p. 132)

Kratzer (1996) deploys the inflectional VoiceP for introducing the external argument and assigning the accusative case as seen in (11).

More recently, following the deployment of inflectional layers above the VP, in A First Phase Syntax, Ramchand (2008) argues for an organization of the *v*P with Initiation, Process and Result projections.

(12) *init*P (causing projection)



(Ramchand, 2008, p. 32)

Ramchand (2008) argues that verb formation is a syntactic process that takes place before sentential syntax. The *v*P then consists of a causing, process and result sub-events. What is striking about her analysis is that these components are not compulsory for all types of verbs, on the contrary they have to be left behind for verbs such as unaccusatives which do not require an initiator, or activities which do not denote a resulting event. Accordingly, the *–lA* suffix, which makes verbs with different argument and event structures, can realize all three projections in a verb or can leave the *Res*P or *Init*P behind although the latter situation is observed rather rarely.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 2 discusses different syntactic approaches on verb derivation, mainly introducing the accounts of Arad, 2003; Hale and Keyser, 1993; and Harley, 2005. This is followed by earlier findings of researchers on denominal verb derivation with the *–lA* suffix in Turkish.

Chapter 3 presents the data exhaustively. The classification of the *–lA* verbs in this chapter is built upon a classification with respect to their semantics and to their underlying thematic structure as the number and category of arguments help group verbs together (see Clark & Clark, 1979; Levin, 1993).

Chapter 4 proposes an analysis of the *–lA* suffix considering the accounts introduced in Chapter 3, Pylkkänen's bundling approach (2002, 2008) and the syntactic analysis suggested by Ramchand (2008). The chapter provides evidence that the nano-syntactic account cannot only neatly categorize the verbs according to their argument structure and semantics but also provide the main characteristics of the *–lA* suffix. We will see in this chapter that the suffix, regardless of the type of verb it derives, prioritizes a causer and a process to be included in its structure. As for the verbs derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş*, it is argued that both suffixes are related to the suffix *–lA*. Based on the data provided by *–lAn* and *–lAş*, the derivation of degree achievement verbs is analyzed with respect to the scalarity properties suggested by Hay, Kennedy and Levin, 1999; Kearns, 2007; Kennedy and Levin, 2008; Rappaport Hovav, 2014; Winter, 2005, among others. The data reveal sound evidence that the current analysis of scalarity in degree achievement verbs supported by the above-mentioned researchers needs to be questioned.

Chapter 5 introduces the summary of the thesis and offers a conclusion with suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will provide a general perspective on the mechanism employed in verb derivations. Current theoretical assumptions aim to reveal the structure of the verbal domain; therefore, verb derivations, especially denominal verbs have become the primary tool to investigate the functional layers therein. This chapter mainly focuses on previous research on denominal verbs that reflect the characteristics of verb derivation in various languages as well as Turkish.

Chapter 2 is organized as follows. Section 2.2 describes the recent approaches to verb derivation processes including the influential account by Hale and Keyser (1993) and subsequent work of Arad (2003) and Harley (2005). The literature on Turkish denominal verbs specific to the suffix *–lA* is presented in Section 2.3. Finally, Section 2.4 concludes the chapter.

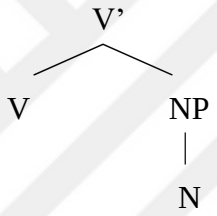
2.2 Denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial verbs

Verb formation is a cross-linguistically common phenomenon, and denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial verb derivations are universal, although the latter two types, particularly deadverbial verbs, are rather few (Chelliah & Willem, 2010). We will present a brief survey of analyses on verb derivation structures within the generative framework in the following.

2.2.1 Hale and Keyser (1993)

With their seminal work, Hale and Keyser (henceforth H&K) (1993) propose that derived verbs have their own syntactic structure that allows a noun or an adjective head to move to an abstract V head, hence forming derived verbs prior to their entry into sentential syntax. In such wise, H&K (1993) suggest that the argument structure of a verb is an outcome of a syntactic process rather than semantic and that derivation occurs via head movement which is by nature subject to Head Movement Constraint (Travis, 1984). The initial l(exical)-syntactic structure in their terms, of an unergative verb is the same as a VP domain including a complement.

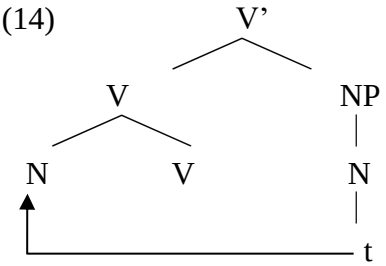
(13)



(H&K, 1993, p. 54)

A lexical item that starts out with the structure in (13) undergoes a head movement process where the noun moves into an abstract V to obtain a verbal nature. This operation is the system that is deployed when a nominal root evolves into a verb, as a result of which unergatives such as *laugh, dance* are derived. The derived verb that is the product of the operation has the phonological form of the N only.

(14)



(H&K, 1993, p. 55)

In H&K (1993), unergative verbs are maintained to project a V head and an NP complement as is depicted in (14). They further clarify the details of unergative verb formation arguing that the projection lacks the subject position for an NP is not predicative, which blocks transitive versions of unergative verbs. On those grounds, unergative verbs of English do not undergo causative/inchoative alternation since they cannot supply causation.

(15) *The clown laughed the child (i.e., got the child to laugh).

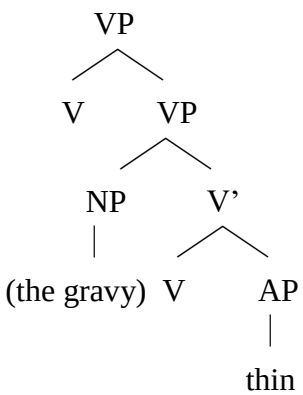
* The alfalfa sneezed the colt (i.e., made the colt sneeze).

(H&K, 1993, p. 74)

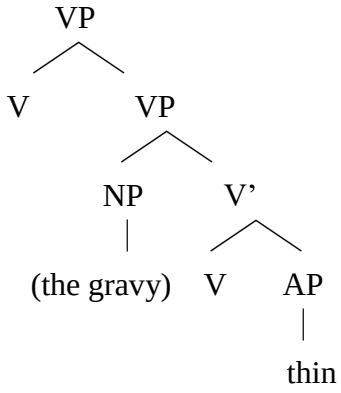
Accordingly, deadjectival verb formation is a similar procedure as a denominal verb derivation, where the adjectival base retains verbal status via movement. A deadjectival verb is derived by adjoining A head to the abstract V node in l-syntax. Such verbs are suggested that they own a manner component (H&K, 1993, p. 90) so that they authorize intransitivity (16a); in addition, an AP is predicative unlike an NP; therefore, it allows the verb to be transitive, as well, as depicted in (16b).

(16)

a. The gravy thinned.



b. The cook thinned the gravy.

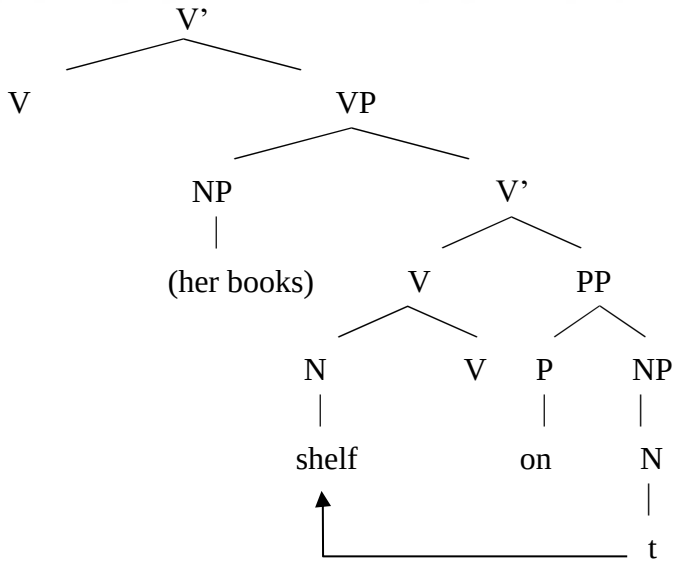


(H&K, 1993, p. 72)

H&K (1993) additionally argues that derivational processes of this kind can further account for the initial structures of location and locatum verb formation.

(17) a. She shelved her books.

b.



(H&K, 1993, p. 61)

The structure in (17b) represents steps of the derivation of the location verb *shelve* out of its initial structure (Lexical Relational Structure in H&K's terms). The noun

shelf first incorporates in the preposition *on*, and the compound that bears both meanings (*on* and *shelf*) then moves into the verb node where *put* resides. Finally, the outcome moves further to incorporate into the matrix verb.

With regards to the point that location and locatum verbs do not hold an inchoative version, H&K (1993) argue that, since a PP is a predicate, location and locatum verbs are transitive and involve causation; and since the manner component which is present for change of state verbs lacks in such derivations, the intransitive and inchoative versions are not available.

The influence of H&K (1993) lies under the fact that their model unveils what was previously analyzed as being completely semantic about verb formation, and relatedly argument and event structures of verbs can be explained with principles of syntax.

2.2.2 Harley (2005)

Harley (2005) investigates aspectual properties of denominal verbs with reference to H&K (1993)'s analysis. She positions her discussion on the eventuality of a verb that is classified in accordance with the event being telic or atelic. A telic eventuality is defined by Brinton (1988, p. 26) to include a goal, aim or conclusion. One test to determine the telicity of a verb is its possibility to occur with a durative adverb.

Harley (2005) analyzes the quantizedness of roots and proposes that the boundedness of an entity denoting a Thing, or an Event Root determines if the derived verb is telic or atelic. If H&K's analysis that a denominal verb and the related noun are derived via the same root is correct, then the telicity of a denominal verb and the telicity of its transitive paraphrase should be identical to each other. She reveals, using the durative adverb test, that this is indeed the case:

(18) a. The mare bore a foal #for 2 hours/in 2 hours.

b. The mare foaled #for 2 hours/in 2 hours.

(Harley, 2005, p. 47)

The underlyingly direct object *foal* is a delimited noun, and it carries this feature to the outcome of the verb derivation process. Both the denominal verb in (18a) and the transitive version in (18b) are telic.

When the underlying object is a mass noun that is non-delimited, the derived unergative is an atelic verb as the l-syntax account predicts.

(19) a. The baby drooled for 2 hours/#in 2 hours.

b. The baby made drool for 2 hours/#in 2 hours.

(Harley, 2005, p. 47)

However, she points out that her analysis cannot elucidate instrumental denominal verbs. Although, for instance, *brush* is a bounded root, it does not have any effect on the atelicity of the denominal verb *brush*:

(20) She brushed the dog for five minutes/in five minutes.

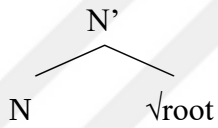
The asymmetry is based on the syntactic function of the root that is incorporated in the V. Since an instrument in the s(ential)-syntax is an adjunct, its incorporation exhibits different characteristics than other denominal verbs which are suggested to have a structure of a transitive verb with a complement in the l-syntax. Nonetheless, Harley (2005) specifies that how conflation of an adjunct is possible is not clear. She

proposes that such verbs are involved in a Manner Incorporation by which their roots denote the manner of what is being accomplished.

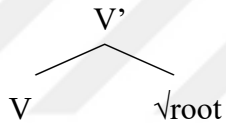
2.2.3 Arad (2003)

Likewise, Arad (2003) maintains the syntactic analysis for verb derivation. She assumes, adopting the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz, 1993, et seq.), that lexical elements are *roots*, which are devoid of any functional or syntactic information, and they gain function through derivation.

(21) a.



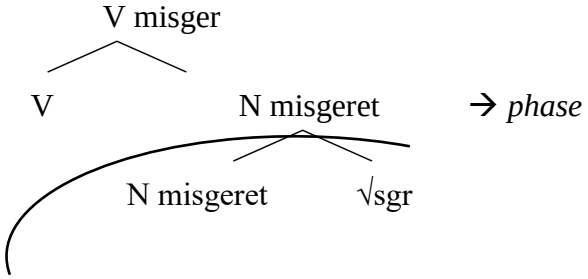
b.



(Arad, 2003, p. 741)

She contrasts Hebrew verbs derived from roots with verbs derived from nouns, the latter already being involved in a derivation, and observes that verbs derived from roots can receive multiple interpretations whereas semantics of verbs derived from nouns is dependent on the meaning of the core noun. Below is depicted the derivation of the Hebrew denominal verb *misger* 'to frame':

(22)



(adapted from Arad 2003, p. 749)

She suggests the distinction follow from the fact that the first category head N defines a phase (Chomsky, 1999), where the spell out of the root is completed and is sent to LF for interpretation of *misgeret* 'frame', thus the phase hinders the V head in the further derivation from reaching the root, √*sgr*, and leaves the only possibility for the V to interact with the category specified N. Under these circumstances, the product of such an interaction leads to interpretations limited to the semantics of the noun *misgeret*.

2.3 Denominal verbs in Turkish

There are fourteen suffixes (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, pp. 56-57) in Turkish that attach to substantives to derive verbs, and the *–lA* suffix is the most productive one. However, there is not much research concerning denominal verbs and specifically on the syntax of the *–lA* suffix in Turkish in theoretical linguistics although verb derivation has been the focus of interest cross-linguistically.

Before introducing the syntactic analyses on the suffix by Özkul and Uygun, it is important to mention two other studies, which mainly focus on the semantics of denominal verbs. In their research on denominal verbs where they focus on morphology and semantics, Aksan and Aksan (2007) point out that the semantic features of the nominal root are kept in the denominal verb form which determine the telicity of the verb. That is, the (non)boundedness of the root specifies if the verb is (a)telic. They also state that real world knowledge is crucial in addition to the semantics of the root. Compare the examples below:

(23) a. Kitap-lar-ı raf-la-dı.
Book-Pl-Acc shelf-lA-Pst

‘He shelved the books.’

b. Dolab-ı raf-la-dı.

Closet-Acc shelf-lA-Pst

‘He installed shelves in the closet.’

(Adapted from Aksan&Aksan, 2007)

The verb *rafla* ‘shelve’ in (23a) is a location verb which indicates that the books are put on the shelf. However, the same verb in (23b) has a different semantics implying that a shelf is built in the closet. The difference is only explicable with real world knowledge, as Aksan and Aksan (2007) concludes.

Also, Vurgun (2019) examines the locative alternations of verbs in Turkish. He finds that, of all the verbs derived with the *–lA* suffix, only three of them undergo a location and locatum alternation. He observes that the limitation follows from two reasons. First, in accordance with Talmy’s (2000) typology, as a verb-framed language, Turkish hosts verbs that are already encoded with path of motion as in (24a), which is introduced as a new feature in satellite-framed languages such as English in the locative alternation process. Second, it is required that such verbs allow for possible theme arguments:

(24) a. Patates-i kamyon-a yük-le-di-m.

potatoes-Acc truck-Dat load-lA-Pst-1sg

‘I loaded the potatoes [onto] the truck.’

[path of motion already encoded in the verb]

b. Kamyon-u yük-le-di-m.

truck-Acc load-lA-Pst-1sg

‘I loaded the truck.’

[The non-theme argument with accusative case.]

c. Kamyon yükle-mek [zor olduğu için] işi bırak-tı.

truck load-NOM [difficult due to] the job quit-Pst

‘He quit the job because it is difficult to load the trucks.’

[The non-theme argument with nominative case.]

(from Vurgun, 2019)

The nominal root *yük* ‘load’ is observed to serve as a hypernym for possible theme arguments of the predicate (24b and 24c) so that it contains an optional position for each argument. Now that not all nominal roots meet these criteria as Vurgun (2019) argues, only three verbs the *–lA* suffix undergo locative alternation.

2.3.1 Özkul (2015)

One study on *–lA* is of Özkul (2015). She claims that it is not possible to argue for a pure lexical or a pure syntactic account for verb derivation in Turkish since not all derivations result in a change in the argument structure. Therefore, she proposes a twofold analysis: a) the lexical account in the sense of Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) to explain the pattern of *–lA*; b) the syntactic account in the sense of Hale and Keyser (1993) to represent its syntactic structure accompanying different functional heads which introduce the CAUSE, ACT or BECOME subevents. A derivation with *–lA* can generate transitive, intransitive unergative and unaccusative verbs.

She depicts patterns of denominal verbs with respect to the lexical analysis as in Table 1:

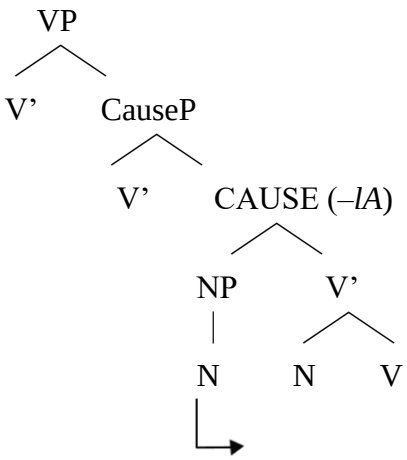
(25) Table 1. Verbs Derived with *–lA*

Type	Decomposition	Example
a. manner	[*x* **ACT**<*MANNER*>]	*miyavlamak (to meow)* Kedi miyavladı. Cat meow-lA-pst-3sg "The cat meowed."
b. instrument	[*x* **ACT** <*INSTRUMENT*>]	*kaşıklamak (to eat with spoon)* Çocuk çorbayı kaşıkladı. kid soup-acc spoon-lA-pst-3sg "The kid ate the soup with a spoon."
c. placeable object (locatum)	[*x* **CAUSE** [BECOME [*x* WITH <*THING*>]]]	*bantlamak (to tape)* Ali koliyi bantladı. Ali package-acc tape-lA-pst-3sg "Ali taped the package."
d. place (location)	[*x* **CAUSE** [BECOME [*x* <*PLACE*>]]]	*şişelemek (to bottle)* Ali sütü şişeledi. Ali milk-acc bottle-lA-pst-3sg. "Ali bottled the milk."
e. internally caused state	[*x* <*STATE*>] **(state)**	*çınlamak (to boom)* Kulağım çınladı. My ear burn-pst.3sg "My ears are burning."
f. externally caused state (transitive)	[[*x* **ACT**] **CAUSE** [BECOME [*y* <*STATE*>]]]	*kurulamak (to dry)* Ali masayı kuruladı. Ali table-acc. dry-lA-pst-3sg "Ali dried the table."
g.externally caused change of state (intransitive)	[x[**ACT**] **CAUSE** [BECOME [<*STATE*>]]]	*çatlamak (to crack)* Bardak çatladı. glass crack-lA-pst-3sg. "The glass cracked."

(Özkul, 2015, pp. 10-11)

Moreover, Özkul (2015) proposes that the N head incorporates into the functional CAUSE, ACTIVITY or BECOME heads and *–lA* is the spell-out of little *v* which resides below the VoiceP in the structure. In her account, then, the suffix *–lA* has these three functions - cause, activity and become; and is realized as the relevant one depending on the type of verb. She categorizes types of verbs *–lA* can derive as follows:

(26) Locatum, Location and Externally Caused Change of State verbs:



(Özkul, 2015, p. 11)

(27) a. Ali tavuğ-u salça-la-dı ve dolab-a koy-du. (Locatum)
Ali chicken-Acc sauce-lA-Pst and fridge-Dat put-Pst
'Ali sauced the chicken and put it in the fridge.'

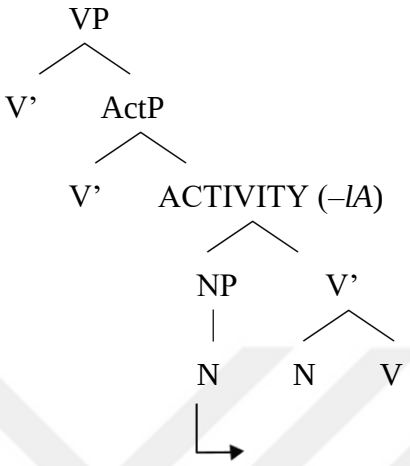
b. Ayşe dosya-lar-ı arşiv-le-di. (Location)
Ayşe file-Pl-Acc archive-lA-Pst
'Ayşe archived the files.'

c. Balon pat-la-dı. (Externally Caused Change of State)
Balloon boom-lA-Pst
The balloon popped.

Özkul (2015) proposes that locatum and location verbs have an initial structure in (26), and as a flavor of little *v*, CAUSEP is introduced via *–lA*. The same structure is claimed for externally caused COS verbs as in (27c). She establishes the difference between external and internal causations on the functional head of *v*P as the *–lA*

suffix introduces a CAUSE head that carries a causer argument in the case of externally caused COS verbs.

(28) Verbs of Manner and Instrument



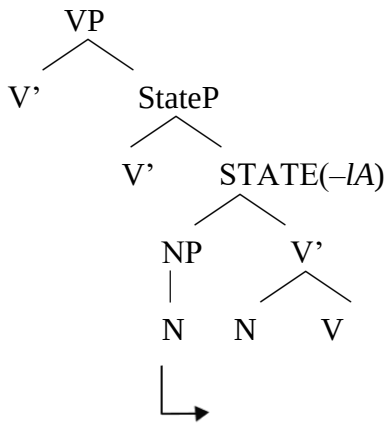
(Özkul, 2015, p. 11)

(29) a. Top-u Ali-ye Ayşe orta-la-dı. (Manner)
Ball-Acc Ali-Dat Ayşe center-lA-Pst
'Ayşe passed the ball into the center to Ali.'

b. Çok ye-me-di, biraz çorba kaşık-la-dı, o kadar. (Instrument)
Much eat-Neg-Pst a little soup spoon-lA-Pst that's it
'He didn't eat much, just had a few spoons of soup, that's it.'

She argues that manner and instrument verbs that are derived with *–lA* have the initial structure in (28) where it introduces an ACTIVITY head as a verbalizer. Functionally, it attributes an external argument that is an agent and a verbal status, is responsible for case checking of the complement for a transitive verb.

(30) Internally Caused Change of State verbs



(Özkul, 2015, p. 11)

(31) a. Ekmek bayat-la-mış.
Bread stale-lA-Perf
'The bread has gone stale.'

b. Oğlu-n çok zayıf-la-dı.
Son-Poss2Sg a lot thin-lA-Pst
'Your son has lost a lot of weight.'

She suggests the representation in (30) for internally caused COS verbs. As mentioned above, internal causation is differentiated from external one via the STATE head *–lA* introduces.

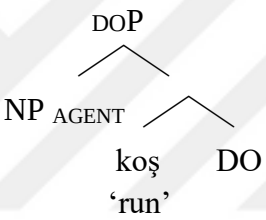
As seen in the representations above, while adopting H&K (1993)'s analysis, Özkul (2015) adds semantic labels to the V heads besides the contributions in the argument structures. She concludes that both semantic and syntactic analyses are required in order to account for the properties of the *-lA* suffix thoroughly.

2.3.2 Uygun (2009)

In another study, Uygun (2009) proposes that Turkish lexicon consists of items that are category free and of nominals whose status of being a noun or an adjective is assigned in the syntax. She claims that verbs do not exist in the lexicon by any means and are composed of the category free items incorporating into a functional *v* head that bears a basic value DO, CAUSE or BECOME. She categorizes the decomposition of verbs with respect to their event structures.

Assuming the basics of the structure proposed by H&K (1993), she introduces the functional abstract V head the semantic contribution DO which licenses activities (*dance, walk, run*) and accomplishments (*wash, read, make, build*).

(32)



(Uygun, 2009, p. 179)

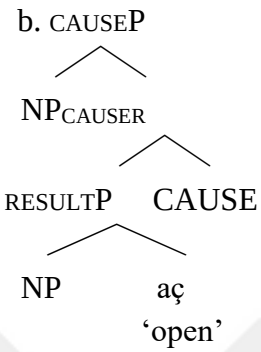
She compares the syntactic and semantic properties of the verb *dans et* 'to dance', which is decomposed of the borrowed *dans* 'dance (n)' and the Turkish light verb *et* 'do', to the verb *koş* 'run' and observes similarities between them such as involving an agent and expressing an activity. Hence, she concludes that the verbalizing V of an activity verb is a DOP.

She later demonstrates the predicate CAUSE. It is involved in the predication of accomplishments that have complex event structures: the verb contains an inner event where its object undergoes a change of state and an outer event where its subject is an agent or a causer.

(33) a. Rüzgar kapı-yı aç-tı.

Wind door-Acc open-Pst

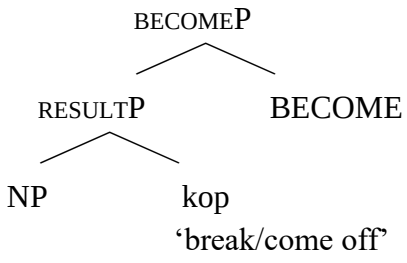
'The wind opened the door'

b. 

(Uygun, 2009, p. 185)

As depicted in the structure in (33b), she argues that external arguments to complex accomplishment verbs are not necessarily agents; therefore, they cannot be introduced by a DOP, instead, she proposes that subjects of such verbs are introduced by a CAUSEP and they do not involve a DOP at all.

Besides, Uygun (2009) analyzes inchoatives as verbs that are decomposed of two event components, BECOME and RESULT. She illustrates the structure of a verb like *kop* 'break/come off' as follows:

(34) 

(Uygun, 2009, p. 196)

As seen in (34) above, the structure of an inchoative verb does not involve a DOP or a CAUSEP since inchoatives do not require an agent or a causer. Thus, subjects of such verbs are only arguments affected by a change of state.

A crucial observation that she makes is related to the derivation of inchoative and causative verbs. According to H&K (2002), causative versions of the verbs that undergo causative-inchoative alternation are derived via an additional *v* layer adjoined to the inchoative structure. However, such Turkish verbs create a problem for their analysis which implicates inchoative forms are basic.

(35) a. Ali kapı-yı aç-tı.
Ali door-Acc open-Pst
'Ali opened the door.'

b. *Kapı aç-tı.
Door open-Pst
Int. 'The door opened'

c. Kapı aç-ıl-dı.
Door open-Inch-Pst
'The door opened.'

(Uygun, 2009, pp. 200-201)

The causative *aç* 'open' cannot be derived from an inchoative root as (35) exemplifies. In contrast, the inchoative version of the verb is derived from the causative by adding the suffix *-ıl*, which is in line with Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995)'s analysis proposing that an anticausative marker suppresses the causer of the

causative structure. Nevertheless, Turkish contains other inchoative verbs that do not involve the anticausative *-ıl* suffix, such as *kop* 'break', *bat* 'sink', *eri* 'melt', *kayna* 'boil'.

(36) a. İp kop-tu.
Rope break-Pst
'The rope broke.'

b. *Ali ip-i kop-tu.
Ali rope-Acc break-Pst
Int. 'Ali broke the rope.'

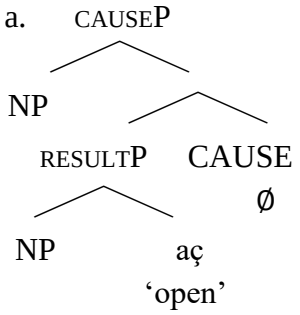
c. Ali ip-i kop-ar-dı.
Ali rope-Acc break-Caus-Pst
'Ali broke the rope.'

(Uygun, 2009, pp. 202-203)

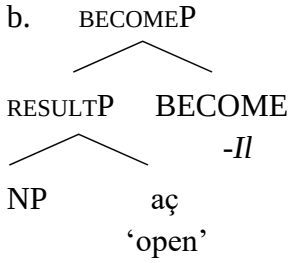
The inchoative in (36a) surfaces without the anticausative suffix. On the other hand, it is the causative form which is derived by an additional suffix. She concludes that, instead of basing the derivation of one structure on the other, causative and inchoative verbs are derived by the same root that initially has not undergone a derivation that would specify its syntactic category. Thus, she argues that both a causative (37a and 38a) and an inchoative (37b and 38b) verb is derived from a category-free item:

(37)

a.

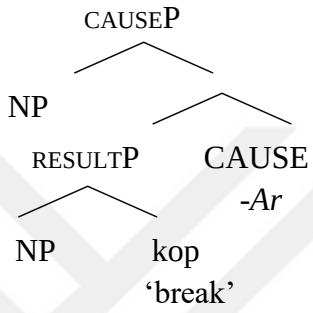


b.

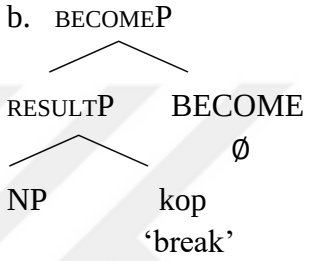


(38)

a.



b.



(Uygun, 2009, p. 204)

In addition, she argues that in Turkish there is no noun-adjective distinction either in the lexicon, thus it is possible to derive change of state verbs from noun or adjective roots, which is contrary to H&K (1993)'s proposal that change of state verbs are derived from only adjectival roots:

(39) Ali çocuk-laş-tı

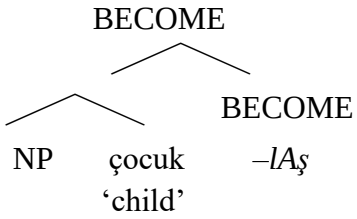
Ali child-lAş-Pst

'Ali became childish'

(Uygun, 2009, p. 220)

Çocuk 'child' is categorized as a noun in English. However, since there is no noun-adjective distinction in Turkish, she proposes, it is possible to derive a change of state verb from a root like 'child'.

(40)



(adapted from Uygun, 2009, p. 223)

She argues that a denominal change of state verb can be decomposed of a nominal stem which is not categorized as a noun or an adjective in the lexicon when conjoint with *–lAş*, which is a suffix that expresses the predicate BECOME.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have introduced how denominal verb structure is analyzed cross-linguistically along with the perspectives of Turkish linguists. We have seen accounts that the *–lA* suffix requires semantic attributions on the heads given in the syntactic structures. In the following chapter, we will introduce categories of verbs that are derived with *–lA*.

CHAPTER 3

VERBS DERIVED WITH THE *–lA* SUFFIX

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces a categorization of verbs derived with the *–lA* suffix based on their argument structure as well as presenting its semantic features and additional data with the suffixes *–lAn* and *–lAş.* The categorization applied in the chapter is a traditional one based on the argument structure and aspectual properties of verbs. The aim of the chapter is to provide an overall picture of verbs derived with the suffixes *–lA, –lAn* and *–lAş.*

Chapter 3 is organized as follows. Section 3.2 is devoted to the introduction and the classification of denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial verbs derived with the suffix *–lA*. The semantic contribution of the suffix is discussed in 3.3. Verbs derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş* are referred to in 3.4. Section 3.5 is the conclusion.

3.2 Verbs derived with the suffix *–lA*

–lA is the most productive verbalizing suffix in Turkish. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, Nakipoğlu and Üntak (2008) state that of 2564 derived verbs 953 are derived with *-lA* (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008, p. 230). However, the sum does not include the number of the recently derived (e.g. *darla* ‘overwhelm’, *deneyimle* ‘experience’) or recently borrowed verbs (e.g. *laykla* ‘like’, *gugılla* ‘google’, *ritivitle* ‘retweet’), which adds around 10 more verbs based on my own data collection which is obtained through search on social networking websites.

In this section, we will introduce the data categorized mainly with respect to the argument structure and will resort to Levin (1993)’s and Clark and Clark

(1979)'s semantic classifications where relevant. Turkish verbs derived with the *-lA* suffix when affixed to nouns include location and locatum verbs, agentive unergatives, unaccusative change of state (COS) verbs and verbs of emission from onomatopoeic roots. With adjectives, it can derive transitives with accusative objects or unaccusative COS verbs.

3.2.1 Denominal verbs derived with *–lA*

751 of 953 verbs with the *-lA* suffix are derived from nouns (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008). Therefore, classification based on their argument structure would illustrate a relatively minimal pattern. It is also important to note here that noun-adjective distinction in Turkish is not unambiguous. I leave the discussion to Section 3.2.1.3 on unaccusative verbs derived from nouns.

3.2.1.1 Location and locatum verbs derived with *–lA*

H&K (1993) analyze the initial lexical structure of location verbs and argue that they involve the semantics of ditransitive *put*. According to their analysis, location verbs are formed via multiple head movement instances where each step incorporates the semantics of the element in the landing site into the final denominal verb. As mentioned earlier in the chapter with the structure of *shelve*, a location verb is formed upon compounding the arguments of the verb *put*: The noun *shelf* first incorporates into the preposition *on*, and the compound then moves into the verb node where *put* resides. Finally, the outcome moves further to incorporate into the matrix verb.

In Turkish, the suffix *–lA* can derive transitive location verbs when it is attached to nouns.

(41) a. Ali ayakkabı-lar-ı kutu-la-dı.

Ali shoe-Pl-Acc box-*lA*-Pst

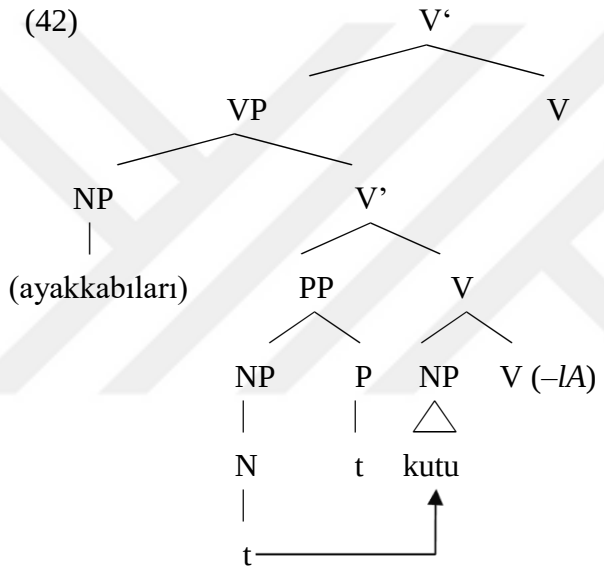
'Ali boxed the shoes.'

b. Ali süt-ü şişe-le-yecek.

Ali milk-Acc bottle-*lA*-Fut

'Ali will bottle the milk.'

(42)



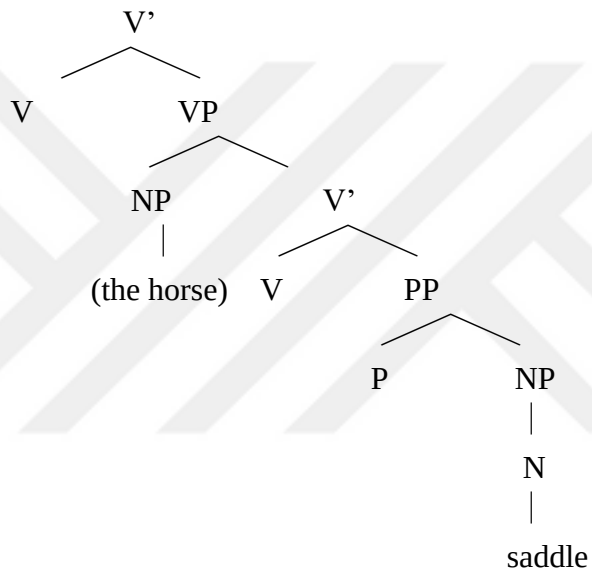
The structure in (42) displays the derivation of the location verb in (41a) in the sense of H&K (1993). Turkish, as opposed to English, does not tend to make use of the same phonological form to serve as a location verb and as a noun, it is required that a location verb be derived with the *–lA* suffix.

As the examples above illustrate, in addition to its verbalizing function, *–lA* also brings in the agentive role for the external argument, and the accusative case for the internal argument. And semantically, the relation attained by this predication

denotes the final location of the internal argument which eventually becomes *inside* the ‘noun’.

Another type of denominal verbs that can be formed with *–lA* is called locatum verbs, a term first proposed by Clark and Clark (1979) who define them as “ones whose parent nouns are in the objective case in clauses that describe the location of one thing with respect to another” (Clark & Clark, 1979, p. 769). H&K (1993) argue for the LRS representation for this type of verbs as follows:

(43)



(H&K, 1993, p. 62)

H&K suggest that the derivation of locatum verbs, too, involve the head movement process: The head noun undergoes multiple head movements to land in the matrix V^0 for incorporation. The relation is parallel to the one in location verbs regarding location change, yet it is the entity itself expressed by the derived noun that changes location in verbs of this type. Consider the following locatum verb examples from Turkish:

(44) a. Ali çiçeğ-i su-la-dı.

Ali flower-Acc water-*lA*-Pst

'Ali watered the flower.'

b. Tepsi-yi yağ-la-dı-m.

Tray-Acc oil-*lA*-Pst-1sg

'I oiled the tray.'

Like location verbs exemplified in (44), locatum verbs in Turkish do not only share the semantics of location change but the external argument is required to be agentive, as well, and the object has the accusative case, the only difference being the entity that undergoes change of location.

3.2.1.2 Agentive unergative verbs

According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis proposed by Perlmutter (1978), the type of intransitives which involve an agent/causer subject as their sole argument is unergatives. Perlmutter (1978, p. 162) further divides unergatives into two subcategories: a) Predicates describing willed or volitional acts as in (45a), b) Certain involuntary bodily processes as in (45b).

(45) a. John danced, Mary jumped.

b. Mary sneezed, John coughed.

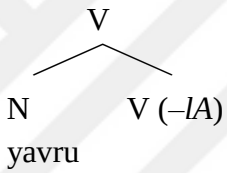
In Turkish *-lA* can be used to derive both agentive (45a) and non-agentive (45b) unergative verbs. The non-agentive verb that can be derived with *–lA* is *terle*

‘sweat’ and it falls into the category of involuntary bodily process, which will be discussed in the verbs of substance emission category.

(46)	Köpeğ-imiz	geçen	yıl	yavru	-la	-ma	-dı.
	Dog-poss	last	year	baby	-*lA*	-Neg	-Pst
	‘Our dog did not pup last year.’						

When we analyze unergative verbs with *–lA* within H&K (1993)’s account, we have the representation of the verb in (46) depicted in (47):

(47)



The unergative *yavrula* ‘pup’ is derived via movement of the N head to the verbalizer V head. The features that *–lA* brings in after attaching *yavru* ‘baby’ include an external argument with agentive semantics beside verbalizing the N. An analysis of location, locatum and other unergative verbs may lead us to deduce that the contribution of *–lA* is to derive agentive verbs. However, *–lA* can derive unaccusative verbs too which are defined as lacking an external argument in their initial structure, as we will discuss below.

3.2.1.3 Unaccusative COS verbs

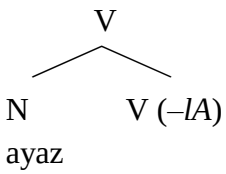
COS verbs can also be derived from adjectives by H&K (1993). In Turkish, the suffix *–lA* can attach to nominal roots to form unaccusative COS verbs.

(48) Hava iyice ayaz-la-dı.

Weather quite frost-lA-Pst

'It has become quite frosty.'

(49)



Such verbs posit a problem of distinguishing between unergative verbs and COS verbs that are both derived from nouns, and also between COS verbs derived from adjectives and nouns. First, in H&K's account, there is an LRS for unergative verbs derived from nouns. However, it lacks the clarification that would account for the process that would distinguish between unergative and unaccusative COS verbs.

Second, an explanation is needed to catch the difference between deriving a COS verb from a noun and from an adjective. This issue would resolve with the proposal that Turkish nominal expressions are ambiguous between being classified as nouns and adjectives (Braun & Haig, 2000). They argue that these lexical items can be presented on a continuum where there are criteria for behaving more like a noun or an adjective; however, there is no clear-cut distinction between them. For instance, the word *kral* 'king' can be modified with the superlative morpheme in Turkish.

(50) En kral köfte-ci-ydi-m.

Sup king meatball-maker-Pst-1Sg

Lit: 'I was the kingest meatball maker.'

'I was the king of the meatball makers.'

(from Braun & Haig, 2000, p. 86)

Taking this claim one step further, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, Uygun (2009) proposes that a lexical item is not labeled as a noun or an adjective until after it enters syntax. On those grounds, it is possible to classify all COS verbs in this group of verbs.

(51) a. Ali şişman-la-dı.
Ali fat-*lA*-pst
'Ali got fat.'

b. Ödev-i bit-ti, rahat-la-dı.
Assignment-acc finish-pst ease-*lA*-pst
'He felt at ease after finishing his assignment.'

What is of concern here is the fact that there is no external argument in these constructions. This has implications on the argument structure of verbs with *–lA* and on the structure of *v*P, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.2.1.4 Verbs of emission

It is also possible to derive verbs of emission with *–lA*. Potashnik (2012) defines such verbs as non-agentive unergatives which express 'non-voluntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses' (Perlmutter, 1978, p. 163). Levin (1993) categorizes these verbs into four groups with respect to the entity that is being emitted.

(52) a. Verbs of Light Emission: blink, glare, glow, shine, sparkle, …

b. Verbs of Sound Emission: babble, clap, howl, ring, scream, …

c. Verbs of Smell Emission: reek, smell, stink

d. Verbs of Substance Emission: bubble, drip, leak, spill, sweat, …

(Levin, 1993, pp. 233-237)

Verbs of emission derived with *-lA* mostly belong to the group of verbs of sound emission and all the roots are onomatopoeic.

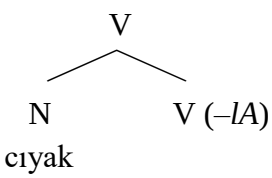
(53) a. Bebek bir an-da cıyak-la-ma-ya başla-dı.
Baby one moment-loc squeal-lA-nom-acc start-pst
'All of a sudden, the baby started to squeal.'

b. Mide-m-in gur-la-dığ-ın-ı duy-du-n mu?
Stomach-poss-gen rumble-lA-nom-poss-acc hear-pst-2sg Q-Part
'Did you hear my stomach rumble?'

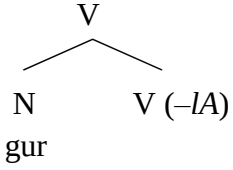
The representations of the verbs in (53a) and (53b) is given in (54a) and (54b) respectively:

(54)

a.



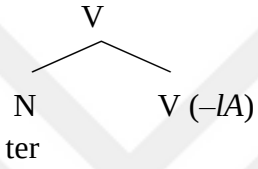
b.



Unlike sound emission, and since substances are not onomatopoeic, verbs of substance emission are derived from noun roots, such as *terle* ‘sweat’ in (55), whose representation is introduced in (56).

(55) a. Kış-ı ter-le-me-diğ-imiz için daha çok sev-iyor-um.
Winter-Acc sweat-lA-Neg-Nom-1Pl because more love-Imprf-1Sg
‘I like winters better because we don’t sweat.’

(56)



Turkish can resort to suffixes other than *–lA* to derive verbs of emission. In Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 56)’s list of suffixes that form verbs from nominal roots, it can be observed that *-DA(n)* is used to derive verbs of light emission from onomatopoeic roots that have more than one syllable, e.g. *parılda* ‘glitter’, *pırılda* ‘twinkle’ and sound emission in a like manner, e.g. *çatırda* ‘crack’, *vızılda* ‘buzz’. *-GIr* is another suffix that is enlisted and that forms verbs of substance emission, e.g. *fışkır* ‘spurt out’, *püskür* ‘spew’.

The semantics of agentivity cannot be associated with the surface subject of this type of verbs. Two features that are proposed under the Theta System for the sole argument of verbs of emission are cause (+ or *-c*) and mental state relevant (+ or *-m*). Reinhart (2002) proposes that the argument has the features [-c] and [-m] which follows that verbs of emission and unaccusative COS verbs are not distinct. However, Potashnik (2012), opposing Reinhart (2002), proposes that the two verb types are distinguishable in that the subject is external to verbs of emission and has

the causer feature unlike unaccusatives. Özkul (2015), following Potashnik (2012), proposes that the external argument of Turkish verbs of emission bear the features [+c, -m]. We will propose a categorization of the *–lA* verbs that covers all its components in chapter 3.

3.2.1.5 Instrument verbs

Another category that *–lA* can derive is transitive instrument verbs which are possible to be defined simply as 'use N'. Kiparsky (1982) divides English instrument verbs into two categories: a) true denominal instrumental verbs which contain the meaning of the noun, (57); b) pseudo-instrumental verbs which indicate the manner of the activity, (58).

(57) a. Mary will bicycle to the store.
b. #Mary will bicycle to the store on her rollerblades.

(58) a. He brushed his coat with his hand.
b. The convict sawed off the bars with her dentures.

The verb *bicycle* does not accept any other instrument in the structure. However, a pseudo-instrumental verb allows another item with which it is possible perform a similar activity to occur in the structure without an oddity in the meaning. In Turkish, verbs that belong to the pseudo-instrumental group as in (58) do not exist; the semantics of the noun is obliged to be transparent.

(59) a. Adam-ı bıçak-la-mış-lar.

Man-Acc knife-lA-Evid-3Pl

'I am told that someone stabbed the man.'

b. Domates-ler-i rende-le-di-m.

Tomato-Pl-Acc grate-lA-Pst-1sg

'I grated the tomatoes.'

(60) a. #Saç-lar-ım-ı tarak-la fırça-la-dı-m.

Hair-Pl-Poss-Acc comb-with brush-lA-Pst-1Sg

Int: 'I brushed my hair with a comb.'

b. #Ağac-ı balta-yla testere-le-di-ler.

Tree-Acc axe-with saw-lA-Pst-3Pl

Int: 'They sawed off the tree with an axe.'

As presented in section 2.2.3, Arad (2003) explains the difference between true instrumental verbs and pseudo-instrumental verbs by focusing on the status of the element that a denominal verb is derived from. If it is derived from a root that has not already been in a derivation, the meaning of the verb can vary. However, if it is derived from a word, that has already become a noun, then the meaning of the verb is required to be closely related to the noun since the verbalizer head cannot reach the root any longer. The examples in (60) clearly illustrate that Turkish does not allow pseudo-instrumental verbs since the semantics of the noun is transparent in the meaning of the derived verbs. According to Arad (2003)'s analysis, then, a

denominal verb in Turkish is derived from an element that has already been involved in a derivation to become a noun and an adjective in the case of deadjectivals.

In addition, *–lA* can derive verbs attaching to body parts. Clark and Clark (1979) argue that such verbs also belong to the instrument verbs group. As they have the meaning of 'performing an activity using N', as well. This classification is true for Turkish verbs, too.

(61) a. Yara-yı tırnak-la-ma!
Scar-Acc nail-lA-Neg
'Don't claw the scar!'

b. Kalabalığ-ı dirsek-le-yerek metro-dan çık-tı.
Crowd-Acc elbow-lA-by metro-Abl exit-Pst
'He exited the metro (station) elbowing the crowd.

3.2.2 Deadverbial verbs derived with *–lA*

Deadverbial verbs do not attract much attention in the literature since the number of them is rather few cross-linguistically. I would like to briefly touch upon their derivation. All seven elements of this category[1] (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008, p. 247) are transitive verbs.[2]

(62) a. Soru-yu yine-le-di.
Question-Acc again-lA-Pst

[2] It should be noted that adverbs are also listed under the general term substantives in Turkish, thus there is no distinction between nouns, adjectives and adverbs (Taylan, 2015). As a result, *-lA* can attach to any root categorized as a substantive to derive verbs.

‘He/She repeated the question.’

b. Yaşa-dığ-ım şehir-ler-de eğitim-i önce-le-di-m.
Live-Nom-Poss1Sg city-Pl-Loc education-Acc prior-lA-Pst-1Sg
‘I have given priority to education in the cities I have lived in.’

3.3 Semantic contribution

Considering the verbs presented above, the question then arises is whether the *–lA* suffix has some semantic content. Alexiadou and Lohndal (2017), following Ramchand (2008, 2017) and Schäfer (2012c), state that the little *v* head serves as a verbalizer and does not attribute any semantic flavor. Correspondingly, the Turkish *–lA* does not seem to preserve any semantics that could contribute to the meaning of the denominal verb. However, there is one common phenomenon that is shared by all *–lA* verbs: semantics of agentivity. It has been discussed that *–lA* verbs require the agent/initiator/causer of the event to be overtly expressed as in the case of transitives, agentive unergatives and verbs of emission where the subject is assumed to be causer of the event (Potashnik, 2012). Even in the case of unaccusatives, the sole argument has to be associated with the initiator of the event as in (51, repeated below for ease of exposition), that is why externally caused COS verbs are quite rare with *–lA*.

(63) Ali şişman-la-dı.
Ali fat-*lA*-pst
‘Ali got fat.’

Although the subject of a COS verb is defined as having no control over the change that they undergo, it is important that the verb *şişmanla* 'to get fat' is an internally caused verb and signifies that the reason to gain weight often results from the fact that a person consumes more food than they need. It follows from the properties of the *–lA* suffix. In the derivation process of unaccusative verbs, *–lA* requires the causer be transparent and thus provokes only internally caused COS verbs.

This attribution of *–lA* blocks the derivation of externally caused COS verbs. There exist four such verbs in Turkish, e.g., *çatla* 'crack' and *patla* 'explode/pop' although the members of other categories are numerous. A deeper analysis of the verbs *çatla* and *patla* indicate that they are originally verbs of sound emission as *çat* and *pat* are onomatopoeic roots conveying the sounds of cracking and exploding.

(64) Bardak çay-ı doldur-ur-ken çat-la-dı
Glass tea-Acc fill-Aor-while crack-lA-Pst
'The glass cracked while (I) was pouring tea.'

The verb in (64) inherently indicates that the glass made the sound of cracking; however, it has lost this interpretation over time via semantic shift and means 'to crack' bearing all the notions of an externally caused COS verb and contradicting the properties of the *–lA* suffix. Accordingly, Özkul (2015) argues that the *–lA* suffix can derive verbs that do not have a causer in its argument structure. However, considering the common characteristics of *–lA* verbs, we accept these few externally caused intransitive COS verbs to be exceptions and argue that *–lA* is encoded to contribute agency/causation/initiation semantics into the verb it derives since,

regardless of deriving an unergative, unaccusative or a transitive verb, the sense of causation is conveyed via *–lA*.

3.4 Verbs derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş*

In addition to the verbs derived with *–lA*, there are 615 verbs derived with *–lAş* and 362 with *–lAn* (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008, p. 230). There are different analyses regarding the nature of these suffixes. Cin (2017) defines these suffixes as broadened forms of the suffix *–lA* (Cin, 2017, p. 171) and accordingly Karaağaç (2012) claims that these suffixes are compound suffixes and it is unnecessary to analyze them separately. On the other hand, Banguoğlu (2000), Ergin (1993) and Korkmaz (2003), among others, argue that *–lAn* and *–lAş* should be analyzed separately from *–lA*. Özkul (2015) claims that there are two forms for each suffix. First, *-n* and *-ş* are morphemes of Voice in Turkish, and display passive (63a) and reciprocal (64a) values respectively. Thus, they are distinct from the suffix *–lA*. However, both *–lAn* and *–lAş* can also indicate a COS (65b and 66b), in which case they are related to the suffix *–lA*.

(65) a. Oda temiz-le-n-di.
Room clean-lA-n-pst-3sg
'The room was cleaned.'

b. Ali güneş-le-n-di.
Ali sun-lA-n-pst-3sg
'Ali got sunbathed.'

(from Özkul, 2015, p. 15)

(66) a. Onunla karşı-la-ş-tım.

him-with across-lA-ş- pst-1sg

'I came across him.'

b. Çocuk ağır-la-ş-tı.

Kid heavy-lA-ş-pst-3sg

'The kid got heavier.'

(from Özkul, 2015, p. 14)

In examples (65a) and (66a), the passive *–n* and reciprocal *–ş* suffixes are added to verbs that are already derived with *–lA*. Thus, verbs like *temizle* 'clean' or karşıla 'meet/welcome' exist, and their meanings are preserved after passivization and reciprocity, hence they have a direct relation with *–lA*. The suffixation indicates a change in the voice of verbs. On the other hand, in examples (65b) and (66b), the change that is denoted by *–lAn* and *–lAş* is a change of state rather than voice. A verb like **güneşle* does not readily exist, and *ağırla* has a very different meaning, i.e. 'host'. In this case, they do not seem to be based on a verb already derived with *–lA*; however, the link between them is indirect. As Özkul (2015) analyzes, the *–lA* suffix cannot derive unaccusative verbs, and they are closely related to each other in that the *–lA* and *–lAn* suffixes are in complementary distribution, the former deriving unergative verbs while the latter unaccusative verbs. This claim also supports Banguoğlu (2000)'s observation that the same root is not generally derived with both *–lA* and *–lAn* (Banguoğlu, 2000, p. 186). Kural (1996) also claims that *–lAn* derives unaccusative verbs, whereas *–lAş* derives unergative verbs. Following Banguoğlu (2000), we will argue that suffixes *–lA*, *–lAn* and *–lAş* are indirectly related and

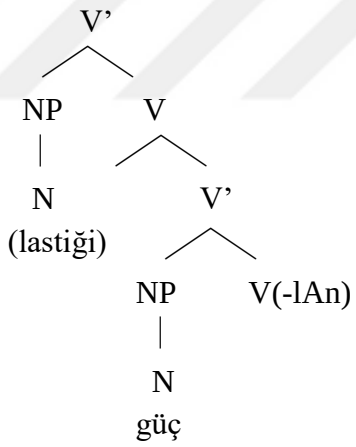
beside their common features, each one has their own idiosyncratic features and semantics.

3.4.1 Denominal and deadjectival verbs derived with *–lAn*

As stated above, the suffix *–lAn* requires a bilateral analysis as it corresponds to two different suffixes. The first one is a non-decomposable *–lAn*, which has the semantics of acquire.

(67) Yama lastiğ-i güç-len-dir-ir.
Patch tire-Acc strength-lAn-Caus-Aor
'Patch strengthens a tire.'

(68)



(68) illustrates how H&K (1993)'s account would explicate the derivation of the verb *güçlen* 'strengthen' with *–lAn*. The suffix attributes the meaning of acquiring the status that the root noun denotes; therefore, the outcome is a COS verb. Although I agree with Özkul (2015)'s explanation that *–lA* and *–lAn* are in complementary distribution with respect to the derivation of unaccusatives, I part ways with her about the analysis regarding in which respect the distribution is observed. I argue that

the COS verbs derived with *–lAn* include verbs that indicate both internal (69b) and external (69c) causation unlike the ones derived with *–lA* which can only derive COS verbs with internal causation (69a), (see Section 2.5).

(69) a. Yaş-tan ötürü kalb-i tek-le-me-ye baş-la-dı.
Age-Abl due heart-Acc one-lA-Nom-Dat head-lA-Pst
'Due to age factors, his/her heart started to skip beats.'

b. Meyve-ler tat-lan-mış.
Fruit-Pl sweet-lAn-Evid
'It is evident that the fruit got sweet.'

c. Yağmur yağ-ınca araba-nın cam-lar-ı buğu-lan-dı.
Rain pour-when car-Gen window-Pl-Acc mist-lAn-Pst
'The car windows misted over when it rained.'

When (69b) and (69c) are compared, it can be observed that the suffix *–lAn* can convey the type of causation being either internal (69b) or external (69c), which is not possible with *–lA*.

The other homophonous *-lAn* necessitates to be analyzed in a different manner. This second version is bimorphemic and thus, is decomposed into two units: the verbalizer suffix *–lA* and the passive morpheme *-n*.

(70) a. Bu hipotez hala ispat-la-n-ma-dı.
This hypothesis still proof-lA-Pass-Neg-Pst

‘This hypothesis has not been proved yet.’

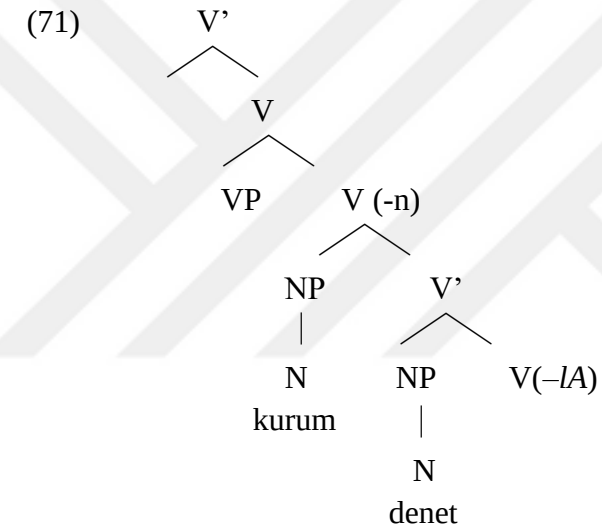
b. Kurum bu ay içinde denet-le-n-ecek.

Institution this month in inspection-lA-Pass-Fut

‘The institution will be inspected this month.’

In order to distinguish between the two versions of *-lAn*, an additional layer is obligated and the structure in the sense of H&K (1993) is depicted in (71).

(71)



The noun *denet* undergoes three steps of movement, first it moves to the V node which is abstract in English, but spelt out as *–lA* in Turkish, then moves further to the V that denotes passive and finally to the matrix V^0. Similarly, all the transitive verbs derived with *–lA* can be passivized by adding the *–n* suffix.

Deadjectival verbs with *–lAn* are also COS verbs; however, this type of *–lAn* is non-decomposable.

(72) a. Yaz tatil-i için sabırsız-lan-ıyor-um.
Summer vacation-Acc for impatient-lAn-Impf-1Sg
Lit: ‘I am getting impatient for the summer vacation.’
‘I can’t wait for the summer vacation.’

b. Çocuk uyku-su gel-di diye huysuz-lan-ıyor.
Kid sleep-Poss come-Pst for grumpy-lAn-Impf
‘The kid has become grumpy because she is sleepy.’

The verbs derived with *–lAn*, and not with *–lA+n*, do not have the version without the *–n* at the end. For instance, verbs such as **sabırsızla* or **huysuzla* do not exist in the language, whereas *denetle* ‘inspect’ is a true verb in Turkish.

3.4.2 Verbs derived with *–lAş*

The analysis of the *–lAş* suffix is rather similar to that of *–lAn*. It denotes two forms, the uniform non-decomposable *-lAş* and the decomposable bimorphemic one which includes the suffix *–lA* and reciprocal voice marker *–ş*. The total number of verbs derived with *–lAş* is 615, including 56 verbs with the reciprocal meaning. The denominal verbs in (73) are derived with the non-decomposable *-lAş* and are COS verbs.

(73) a. İzmir’de yaşamak giderek cazip-leş-iyor.
İzmir-Loc living gradually attractive-lAş-Impf
‘Living in İzmir is getting attractive gradually.’

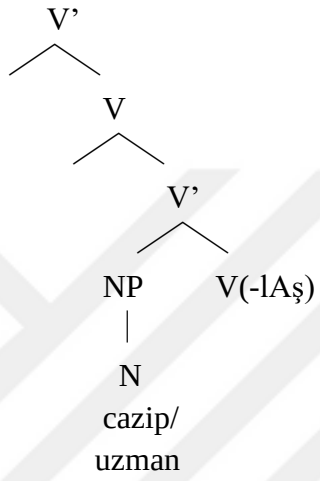
b. Bu konu-da kaç yıl-da uzman-laş-ır-ım?

This subject how many year-Loc expert-lAş-Aor-1Sg

'How many years will it take for me to expertise in the subject?'

The representation of the verbs above is given in (74):

(74)



The verbs in (74) illustrate that the suffix contributes the semantics of BECOME.

The other *–lAş* on the other hand is bimorphemic and is analysed as being made up of the verbalizer *–lA* and the reciprocal *–ş,* and it does not denote any change of state or BECOME semantics, at all. However, unlike the *–lA* and the passive voice marker *–n*, the *–ş* in *–lAş* cannot be separated from *–lA*.

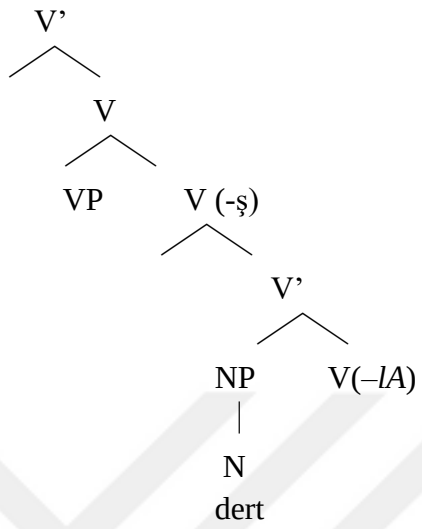
(75) Bütün gece anne-m-le dert-le-ş-ti-k.

Whole night mum-Poss-Comm grief-lA-Rec-Pst-1Pl

'We poured out our grief to each other whole night with my mum.'

The *–ş* is the reciprocal morpheme in Turkish leading into the representation of the verb which is depicted below:

(76)



Although they seem to be closely related to *–lA*, both *–lAn* and *–lAş* suffixes have their own semantics, a feature that departs them from *–lA*. The denominal verbs with *–lAn* have the flavor of acquire, and *–lAş* attributes the change semantics as it denotes the meaning of 'become' as well as 'act like' or 'seem like' (Banguoğlu, 2000, p. 188). On those grounds, we see that both *–lAn* and *–lAş* derive COS verbs. The difference between the two morphemes lies in their semantics, where *–lAn* denotes a total change whereas *–lAş* a relative change. In this respect, it should be noted that scalarity is conveyed via the morpheme *–lA*ş.

(77) Her iş-im-de titiz-len-ir-im

Every work-Poss-Loc rigorous-lAn-Aor-1Sg

'I become rigorous with every work I do.'

The verb *titizlen* ‘become rigorous’ designates a complete change in the behavior of its argument.

(78) Büyü-yünce titiz-leş-ti.
Grow-when rigorous-*lAş*-Pst
‘He/She became more rigorous when he/she grew up.’

The verb *titizleş* does not necessarily imply that the person is rigorous, but that they are more rigorous than they were earlier. Therefore, a sense of scalarity is attributed to COS verbs derived with the suffix *–lAş*, a property which is not observed with COS verbs derived with *–lAn*.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented current syntactic approaches on verb formation processes which demonstrate that argument and event structures of verbs can be conveyed through syntax of verb derivation. Within the light of these hypotheses, mainly the one proposed by Hale and Keyser (1993), Turkish derived verbs with the *–lA* suffix have been introduced following the previous works on the suffix. Section 2.4.1 focused on different types of denominal verbs and displays that it is possible to derive unergatives, transitives as well as unaccusatives with noun roots. The following section, 2.4.2 displayed deadjectival verbs that are classified as unaccusative and transitive verbs. The suffix *–lA* being very productive can derive verbs from adverbs, which were exemplified in the section 2.4.3. With respect to its meaning contribution, *–lA* brings in the agentive/causation/initiation semantics to the derived verb. The *–lA* suffix is also related to the suffixes *–lAn* and *–lAş*, and verbs

derived with these suffixes are introduced in the section 2.6. The denominal verbs with *–lAn* have the semantics of acquire hence derive COS verbs; and *–lAş* contributes the semantics of change denoting the meaning of ‘become’, ‘act like’ or ‘seem like’. Deadjectival verbs derived with *-lAş* adds up a meaning of change of state to a certain degree.

In the following chapter, the structural analysis of the *–lA* suffix will be presented in accordance with the findings of the data examples of which are introduced in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

–lA VERBS AND VOICE-BUNDLING IN TURKISH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter proposes an analysis of the verbs derived with the *–lA* suffix. The discussion will be based on the theoretical framework built upon the split *v*P phenomenon. The features that *–lA* verbs reveal with their event and argument structures as well as case assignment will be investigated in order to categorize this populous group of verbs in Turkish and as a result to illuminate the layers within the structure of the verbal domain. According to Pylkkänen's bundling approach, a language can reveal a pattern where *v*P and VoiceP either merge together or separately in the structure. We will present the pieces of evidence that Turkish verbs do not display a consistent behavior with respect to the merger of these layers. We will show that *–lA* is a suffix which contributes Voice bundling; however, non-derived verbs in Turkish behave completely the opposite, *v*P and Voice occurring separately. The findings will prove that it is not possible to categorize languages with reference to the voice bundling analysis. Thus, we will assume that verb formation occurs prior to sentential syntax and claim that the characteristics of *–lA* verbs is in line with Ramchand's (2008) First Phase Syntax. The suffix *–lA* can derive verbs that fall into different categories; therefore, we suggest that the suffix is decomposed of layers that are used only when necessary. In other words, these layers can be dropped out or added depending of the type of verb that is to be derived.

Chapter 4 is organized as follows: In 4.2 the literature on the VoiceP and *v*P split is presented. The features of the *–lA* suffix are reconsidered in 4.3 with respect to the bundling approach in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008). The next section,

4.4, demonstrates the categorization and the analysis of *–lA* verbs in terms of Ramchand (2008), the analysis of whom eliminates the shortcomings of the previous motives. We discuss in this section that the First Phase Syntax she proposes is adaptable to account for the derivation of all kinds of verbs. Section 4.5 introduces an analysis of verbs that are derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş*. We display that both suffixes convey multiple meanings: *–lAn* bears passive, reflexive or inchoative meanings and *–lAş* conveys reciprocity or derive the so-called degree achievement verbs. We introduce how these derivations leave tracks on the verbal domain. Section 4.6 summarizes the properties of VoiceP-*v*P split in the light of the discussions throughout the chapter. 4.7 is the conclusion.

4.2 VoiceP-*v*P split

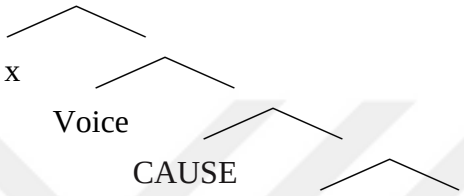
The Split *v*P hypothesis has been the topic of extensive research in the literature (Chomsky, 1995; Hale & Keyser, 1993; Kratzer, 1996; Larson, 1988; Marantz, 1997, among others). Kratzer (1996), building on the comparison between the status of an external and an internal argument, proposes that there is a functional head called Voice which is responsible for introducing the external argument, for the assignment of the accusative case and for the voice of the predicate. Later observations from various languages has yielded the discussion into another path, where Pylkkänen offers an analysis that languages can select the VP model in which VoiceP and *v*P are separate or the one in which the two functional heads are bundled.

4.2.1 Pylkkänen (2002, 2008)'s bundling approach

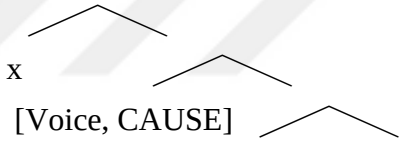
Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) argues for the VoiceP-*v*P split within the verbal domain and suggests that while VoiceP introduces the external argument, CAUS (*v*P) attributes

the causative and eventive semantics. She shows that the function of these two heads can be bundled in one morpheme in some languages. She proposes Voice-bundling as a parameter that allows languages to either bear separate heads for the causative semantics and external arguments or only one head for both functions. The verbal domain of a given language may have either representation below:

(79) a. Non-Voice-bundling causative (e.g., Japanese, Finnish)



b. Voice-bundling causative (e.g., English)



(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 76)

In the case of bundling, it is claimed that since Voice and CAUSE are a single syntactic unit, they are required to occur together. The structure in (79b) does not allow a causee to be realized, which prevents the structure below to occur in English:

(80) *John cried the child.

(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 110)

It would only be possible if the CAUSE (*v*P) layer merged independently of Voice so that a causee could be introduced. Pylkkänen shows that Japanese authorizes this form as depicted in the Japanese translation of (80):

(81) John-ga kodomo-o nak-asi-ta

John-Nom child-Acc cry-Caus-Pst

'John made the child cry'

(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 110)

Considering Japanese Voice and CAUS are non-bundling, 'the child' can find a position in the structure made available by the separate CAUS head. Relating examples cross-linguistically, Pylkkänen concludes that languages can be categorized with reference to the bundling properties of Voice and little *v*.

4.2.3 Harley (2017)

Harley (2017) focuses on a couple of languages including Persian, Korean and Turkish in order to investigate cross-linguistic validity of the bundling approach. She observes that Chol and Persian set good models for a bundling language. She shows that all verbal expressions in Persian have light verbs, which serve as a verbalizer for a separate lexical head and that light verbs bearing agentive semantics are in complementary distribution with non-agentive ones.

(82) a. tim-e mâ unâ-ro shekast *dâd*

team-EZ we they-râ defeat gave

'Our team defeated them.'

b. tim-e mâ az unâ shekast *xord*

team-EZ we of they defeat collided

'Our team was defeated by them.'

(Lit-ish: 'Our team encountered defeat from them.)

(83) a. âb be jush âmad

water to boil came

'The water boiled.'

b. Nimâ âb-ro be jush âvard

Nima water-râ to boil brought

'Nima boiled the water.'

(Harley, 2017, pp. 7-8)

(82) exemplifies that the passivization process in Persian is accomplished by changing the light verb with a non-agentive version. Similarly, in (83), causative and inchoative meanings are conveyed through light verbs. Her claim here is that a bundling language has a single position for verbalizing, causativizing, inchoative and passivizing morphology. Obviously, as a single head is responsible for all these functions in Persian, the analysis that it exhibits a bundling pattern is conceivable.

As for non-bundling languages, Harley (2017) argues that in languages like Turkish and Korean the picture is not as clear-cut, Turkish and Korean productive causatives and lexical causatives behave differently. She calls on Key (2013) to show the discrepancy in Turkish.

(84) a. Kedi-yi kurt-*ar*-dı-m.

Cat-Acc √ -v.Caus-Pst-1Sg

'I rescued the cat.'

b. Kadın Ekrem-e et-i kes-Ø-*tir*-di.

woman Ekrem-Dat meat-Acc √-*v*.Caus-Caus-Pst

'The woman had the meat cut/had Ekrem cut the meat.'

(Key, 2013, p. 185)

(84a) illustrates a lexical causative where the root causative allomorph selects for an item which is not necessarily a verb. As such, both verbalizing and causativization features are realized on one head, hence Voice and little *v* bundling. However, with regard to productive causatives as in (84b), the morpheme selects for an element that is already a verb, thus there is no bundling observed for this type since the causative morpheme is only responsible for causativization. Thus, Harley concludes, upon the findings of Key [3](2013), that categorizing languages with respect to the bundling properties of the VoiceP is not possible, as languages like Turkish introduce counterexamples with verbs that can display either a bundling or a non-bundling pattern.

Harley (2017) hence argues for a separate head for causatives within the domain: verbalizing *v*P, subject-introducing VoiceP, and productive causative CausP (Harley, 2017, p. 17).

As a result, she proposes the structure in (85) and groups languages as the following:

[3] We will refer to the point regarding Turkish causatives that Key has brought to attention arguing that the evidence against the bundling approach is not via the comparison of lexical and productive causative constructions but via the comparison of the suffix *–lA* and causative constructions.

(85) *v*P>ApplP>CausP_1>VoiceP>CausP_2

a. Turkish: *v*P, CausP_1, VoiceP distinct. No ApplP, no CausP_2 [4]

b. Hiaki: *v*P, ApplP, CausP_1 (-tevo), VoiceP and CausP_2 (-tua) distinct.

c. Korean: *v*P and ApplP distinct. No CausP_1 CausP_2+VoiceP bundled.

d. Italian: *v*P and VoiceP bundled. No ApplP, no CausP_1 (Faire Infinitif may exemplify CausP_2.)

(Harley, 2017, p. 27)

This representation of the verbal domain is problematic for Turkish. She argues that lexical causatives are bundling in that they bring in the verbalizing and causation functions, and productive causatives are non-bundling as they denote purely causation. When we drift away from causatives and look at the *–lA* suffix, we see that a productive suffix can bundle various features of *v*P and VoiceP and attribute them in denominal verb formation, which we will discuss thoroughly below. In short, in one instance *–lA* can bear causation and a process, additionally introducing an agentive subject; in another, it can carry causation, process and result altogether. Thus, the representation in (85) does not reveal the flexibility of the language which allows that the verbalizing *v*P is to be bundled with the VoiceP in the case of *–lA* and

[4] Turkish poses another challenge for Harley's representation which does not allow the CausP_2 with reference to Key (2013). Key (2013) discusses Turkish causatives and concludes that causative recursion is not allowed, and the second causative suffix is semantically vacuous. Although the purpose of a speaker who uses more than one causative suffix can be emphasis, it is also possible to add one more argument in the structure, and the structure below is ambiguous between the two interpretations (1a) and (1b). Hence, we claim that Turkish causative is, contra Key (2013), recursive.

(1) Kardeş-i-ne güzel elbise-ler al-dı ve saç-lar-ı-nı
Sister-Poss-Dat nice dress-Pl buy-Pst and hair-Pl-Poss-Acc
iyi bir kuaför-e kes-tir-t-ti.
good a hairdresser-Loc cut-Caus-Caus-Pst
a. 'She bought her sister nice clothes and made her have her hair cut by a good hairdresser's.'
b. 'She bought her sister nice clothes and had her hair cut by a good hairdresser's.'

non-bundled in the case of the causative *–DIr*. The mismatch is evidence that one language can exhibit either bundling or non-bundling properties.

4.3 Bundling in Turkish revisited: the *–lA* suffix

In Turkish, denominal and deadjectival verbs derived with *–lA* share certain properties. These verbs bring in agentive/causative semantics; therefore, the suffix *–lA* as a verbalizer is associated with *v*P (CAUSE). The verbs also require the agent/initiator/causer of the event to be overtly expressed, which implies that the VoiceP is included in the components of *–lA*, as well.

In accordance with the analysis offered by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), if *–lA* verbs exhibit Voice/*v* bundling, then it would not be possible to find intervening applied arguments between Voice and *v*. Indeed, in Turkish it is not possible to introduce applied dative benefactives with *–lA* verbs[5]:

(86) a. #Ali tavuğ-u kendi-n-e tuz-la-dı.
Ali chicken-Acc self-3Poss-Dat salt-lA-Pst
Intended Meaning: 'Ali salted the chicken for himself.'

b. #Ayşe oda-yı anne-si-ne süs-le-di.
Ayşe room-Acc mum-Poss-Dat ornament-lA-Pst
Intended Meaning: 'Ayşe decorated the room for her mum.'

[5] It should be noted here that, it is possible to add deputative applicatives, which are used in immediate contexts (see Tonyalı, 2015 for further discussion). I would like to thank my committee member Dilek Uygun for rasing this issue.

The examples in (86) depict that it is not semantically acceptable to insert an applicative argument in between the *v*P and VoiceP that *–lA* brings. The sentences become grammatical with the postpositional phrase of *için* 'for', e.g., 'Ayşe odayı Annesi için süsledi.' However, in the case of lexical causative verbs it is allowed to have an intervening applied argument between Voice and *v*:

(87) a. Ali tavuğ-u ban-a piş-ir-di.
Ali chicken-Acc I-Dat cook-Caus-Pst
'Ali cooked the chicken for me.'

b. Ali kek-i kendi-n-e kes-ti.
Ali cake-Acc self-3Poss-Dat cut-Pst
'Ali made the cake for himself.'

Since lexical causative verbs as in (87), unlike verbs that are derived with *–lA*, do allow an intervening benefactive argument between VoiceP and *v*P, we analyze these verbs to have a non-bundling structure. This analysis is contrary to Key's (2013) account, where it is argued that all the lexical (root) causatives are of bundling type since he proposes that the derivation of lexical causative verbs is the initial derivation. Below is the complete set of causative morphemes in Turkish.

(88) -Ø [v, CAUS] / {√AÇ, √AS, √BOĞ, √ÇÖZ, √EZ, √KIR, √SIK,...}
-Ir [v, CAUS] / {√ART, √BAT, √BİT, √DOĞ, √PİŞ, √ŞİŞ, √TAŞ, √YAT,...}
-Ar [v, CAUS] / {√KOP, √ON, √KURT,...}

-It [v, CAUS] / {√AK, √SARK, √KORK, √ÜRK, √DAĞ}

-DIr [v, CAUS] / Elsewhere

(Key, 2013, p. 88)

Although he gives the elsewhere (productive) causative *–DIr* having the little *v* and [CAUS] features together here, Key later suggests that *–DIr* is specified solely for the [CAUS] feature, not the little *v*. Therefore, he argues that the productive causative suffix *–DIr* exhibits a non-bundling behavior. The rationale behind his proposal is that *–DIr* attaches to lexical items that are already derived to become a verb hence do not need the verbalizer function and that the other causative morphemes attach to lexical items that are not yet categorically specified and are roots in the sense of Distributed Morphology. However, lexical causative verbs also accept a benefactive argument which is merged above the *v*P and below the VoiceP.

(89) a. Ayşe soda-yı ban-a aç-tı.

Ayşe mineral water-Acc I-Dat open-Pst

'Ayşe opened the mineral water for me.'

b. Elma-yı san-a kop-ar-dı-m.

Apple-Acc you-Dat break-Caus-Pst-1Sg

'I've plucked the apple for you.'

As mentioned above, Key (2013) proposes that since *–DIr* does not have a verbalizer function, but has the causative feature only, it displays a non-bundling behavior; and lexical causatives bear both verbalizing and causativizing functions, they have a structure that bundles the functions of little *v* and VoiceP together. Nonetheless,

since verbs that are lexically causative as in (87a) and (87b) accept an intervening argument between the *v*P and the causative VoiceP, and since roots given in (86) are already derived into verbs that are inchoative (e.g. *piş* 'cook', *kır* 'break', *kop* 'come off'), we argue that, contra Key (2013), lexical causatives do not display a bundling behavior, either, in terms functional features they carry. However, we agree that Turkish does not have a unique pattern regarding a (non)bundling structure seeing that verbs with the *–lA* suffix show bundling properties while causative constructions or underived verbs of the language follow a non-bundling structure. Hence, it is not possible to claim that the bundling approach of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) or the structure presented by Harley (2017) can account for the unstable attitude of Turkish verbs. Therefore, we will propose that the model in the sense of Ramchand (2008) is more inclusive in demonstrating the unsteady behavior of verbs in Turkish.

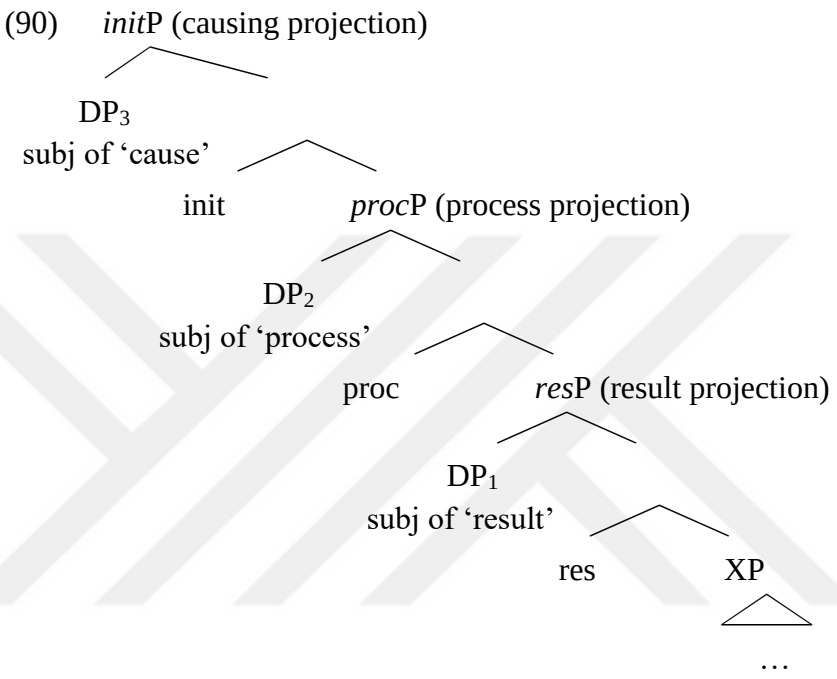
So far, we have discussed the hypotheses regarding the VoiceP and *v*P split focusing mainly on Pylkkänen (2002) and Harley (2017). We have seen that either analysis requires a revision to be able to explain aspects of different types of verb derivation. We have also looked closer into lexical and productive causative constructions of Turkish to show that one suffix (such as *–lA*) can hold multiple functions whereas another one (such as *–DIr*) can hold only one. In this regard, in the next section, we will introduce Ramchand's (2008) model of the verbal domain, which she calls First Phase Syntax.

4.4 Ramchand (2008)

Ramchand (2008), assuming the split *v*P hypothesis, argues that word formation is a syntactic process and selectional restrictions are based on event structure. She follows the analysis that vocabulary items are category-free and they are involved in

a derivation prior to its entry in the syntax. This initial derivation has its own syntactic structure. She proposes that the initial syntax of event structure is composed of three components: a causing sub-event, a process-denoting sub-event and a sub-event corresponding to result state which are ordered hierarchically:

(90)



(Ramchand, 2008, p. 32)

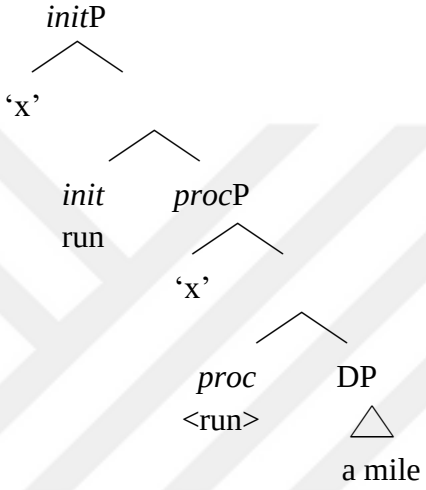
The labor division of these projections is proposed by Ramchand (2008) as follows: *Init*P (initiation) introduces the external argument and the causation event, is responsible for assigning the accusative case; *proc*P (process) represents the dynamic event; and *res*P (result) denotes the result state. *Proc*P is present in every dynamic verb; however, the other two components' presence is related to the type of a verb.

With respect to the argument structure, she proposes that each projection has its own argument in the specifier (subject) position, regardless of its relation to the verb in the sentential syntax. The external argument that an *Init*P introduces is called an INITIATOR. The argument of a *Proc*P is an UNDERGOER, and of a *Res*P is a

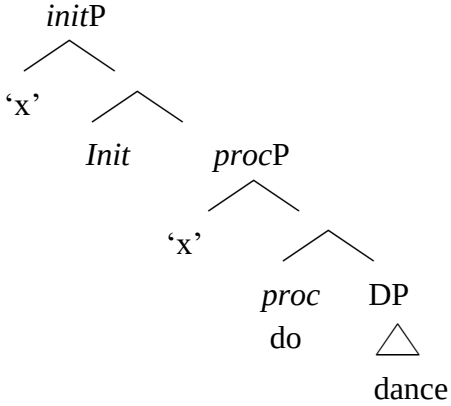
RESULTEE. The coindexation of these possible subjects determines if the verb is transitive or not. For instance, the subject of a *Proc*P projection becomes the object of the verb if it is not coindexed with the subject of an *Init*P.

Ramchand, following H&K's LRS analysis, posits that derived verbs undergo an initial process prior to syntax.

(91) a. run a mile



b. (do) dance

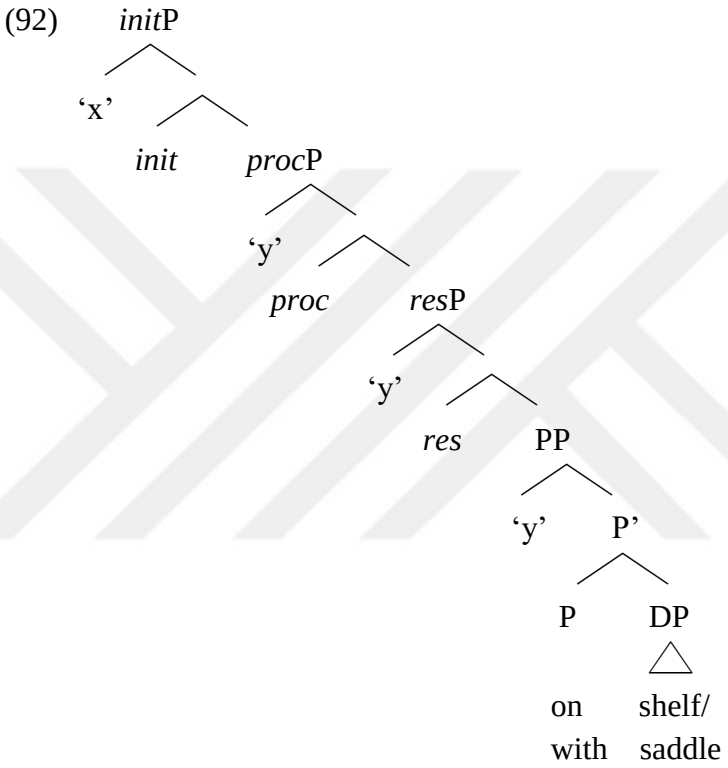


(Ramchand, 2008, p. 84)

The starting point is again a head and complement relation of a transitive verb that helps envision a conforming structure of conflation verbs, which she calls a first phase syntax. The representation (91a) is thus an analogue to the initial structure of the derived verb 'dance' (91b).

She proposes two potential analyses for conflation (denominal, deadjectival and deadverbial) verbs. First, she suggests that all derived verbs include a rhematic material either conflated into the *Proc* head as in (91b) or into the *Res* head as in (92), departing from H&K's analysis which suggests the crucial distinction be between deadjectival and denominals or between location and manner verbs.

(92)



(Ramchand, 2008, p. 85)

There are, in accordance with this analysis, two types of derived (or conflation) verbs: i) verbs whose rhematic material is a complement of the *Proc* head (91b) and ii) verbs whose rhematic material is a complement of the *Res* head (92) in their first phase syntax. Ramchand (2008) describes a rhematic material (or rheme) as a non-aspectual argument which is not an Initiator, Undergoer or Resultee and which always occurs in the complement position of an eventive head. In the case of stative verbs, for example, they do not involve dynamicity, process or change but these

predicates may require a description of a state of affairs, which are labeled as a rheme.

(93) Katherine fears nightmares.

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 48)

The DP ‘nightmares’ in the example is a rhematic material. Also, an AP or a PP can become a rheme when complement of a stative predicate.

Another analysis she suggests is that they can simply be categorized as non-derived verbs but having ‘implicit rhemes, licensed by the encyclopedic content of the root’ (Ramchand, 2008, p. 86). In the next subsection, we will present this latter classification and categorize *–lA* verbs accordingly since it can account for the non-uniform behavior of Turkish verbs depending on the component that is carried with functional items. For instance, it can capture the difference between the verb *saçmala-* ‘to act/talk nonsense’ that is decomposed of the three sub-events – cause, process, and result and the verb *genişle* ‘to widen’ that involves only process. In other words, the same morpheme can either come with all the ingredients or shrink to bear only one of them. The classification with respect to the presence of the relevant components and their examples from English are given by Ramchand as follows:

(94)	[init, proc]	Examples:
Transitive	INITIATOR, UNDERGOER	drive, push, paint
Transitive	INITIATOR, PATH	eat, read, paint
Intransitive	INITIATOR_i, UNDERGOER_i	run, dance

[init, proc, res]

Transitive	INITIATOR, UNDERGOER$_i$, RESULTEE$_i$	throw, defuse
Transitive	INITIATOR$_i$, UNDERGOER$_i$, RESULT-RHEME	enter
Intransitive	INITIATOR$_i$, UNDERGOER$_i$, RESULTEE$_i$	arrive, jump
Ditransitive	INITIATOR, UNDERGOER PATHPP	give, show

[proc]

Intransitive	UNDERGOER	melt, dry, freeze

[proc, res]

Intransitive	UNDERGOER$_i$, RESULTEE$_i$	break, tear

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 188)

4.4.1 Classifying *–lA* verbs in the sense of Ramchand (2008)

The previous section presents the components within the initial syntactic structure and their functions. Assuming the verbal domain to be decomposed of the *Init*P, *Proc*P and *Res*P, Ramchand (2008) bases the classification of verbs on various combinations of these projections. Below, we will employ Ramchand's (2008) model for the categorization of *–lA* verbs in Turkish.

4.4.1.1 Initiation – process verbs

First group of verbs to be investigated is the ones that bear the *Init*P and *Proc*P components. Recall that the presence of the *Init*P entails the presence of a causation event and an external argument, which is the INITIATOR, in addition to authorizing a probable accusative case. Additionally, the presence of the *Proc*P yields to the specification of the nature of change and enables to license the entity undergoing change or process, which is the UNDERGOER. The DPs that occupy the subject

positions of the two projections determine if the verb is transitive or not depending on the fact that they are same or distinct from each other.

3.4.1.1.1 Transitives

Verbs with initiation and process projections are transitive when the DPs that fill their specifier positions are distinct from each other. They include an initiator of a dynamic event and an object that undergoes a change.

(95) a. John pushed the cart.

b. Mary drove the car.

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 58)

Initiation – process verbs derived with *–lA* constitute evidence that the suffix can carry these two layers into the derivation process to contribute to the verb to be produced.

(96) a. Ali Ayşe-yi alkış-la-dı

Ali Ayşe-Acc clap-lA-Pst

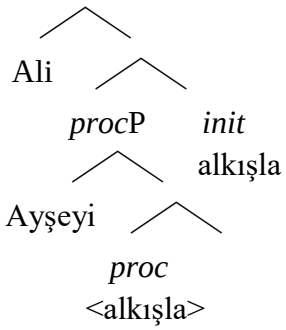
'Ali clapped Ayşe.'

b. Yaz için bir ev kira-la-dı-k.

Summer for one house rent-lA-Pst-1Pl

'We rented a house for the summer.'

(97) *init*P



The verbs in (96) allows for an initiator and an undergoer of a given event. The verb *alkışla* 'clap' can be decomposed of a nominal root *alkış* 'applause' and *–lA* which provides with the *Init*P and the *Proc*P projections in that 'to clap' is a dynamic event that necessitates an initiator and that enables the presence of the accusative case on its internal argument. Thus, the lexical entry for such verbs is given as follows:

(98) Lexical Entry for *alkışla*-: [init, proc]

Another type of transitive [init, proc] verbs is the one whose objects are not undergoers but paths instead. The subject argument is both the initiator and the undergoer of the event, and its object is a rhematic material that is a path. Ramchand states that "the process is defined by its progress through the scale contributed by the object" (Ramchand, 2008, p. 59). Consumption verbs like *eat* and *drink* can exemplify this group.

(99) Mary ate the mango.

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 59)

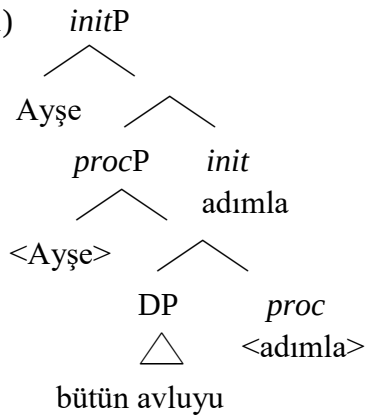
The *–lA* suffix can derive transitive verbs involving [init, proc] projections. The arguments of these two projections are coindexed; however, the object is introduced in the complement position of the [procP].

(100) a. Ayşe bütün avlu-yu adım-la-dı.
Ayşe whole front yard-Acc step-lA-Pst
'Ayşe paced the whole front yard.'

b. Ali kahve-si-ni yudum-la-dı.
Ali coffee-Poss-Acc sip-lA-Pst
'Ali sipped his coffee.'

Below is the representation of the verb *adımla* 'pace':

(101)



In (100a), Ayşe is the continuous experiencer of the pacing process; therefore, it occupies both specifier positions. The representation would be similar in the case of (100b) for Ali. However, since the *Proc*P selects for a DP complement as its path,

the coindexation of the initiator and undergoer does not require that the verb be intransitive.

4.4.1.1.2 Intransitives

In addition to transitive initiation – process verbs, there are also intransitive ones with the same components. The arguments of the [initP] and [procP] are coindexed in this type of derivations to designate intransitivity. In other words, when the DP that is the initiator of the event is also the undergoer, the verb is intransitive. Most English motion verbs fall into this group.

(102) a. Alex ran.

b. Katherine danced.

c. Soldiers marched.

d. Michael swam.

e. Karena jogged.

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 65)

The features of the *–lA* suffix enables the derivation of this type of verbs, where the [init] and [proc] can combine and where the initiator and the undergoer of the event is the same. Note that these projections entail that an agentive subject and a dynamic event is included in the structure.

(103) a. Ayşe saçma-la-dı.

Ayşe nonsense-lA-pst

'Ayşe acted/talked nonsense.'

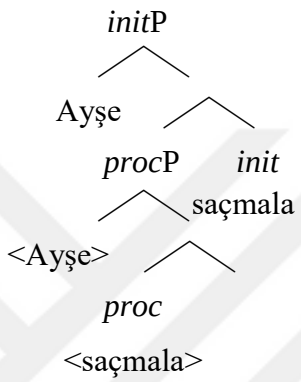
b. Köpek hav-la-dı.

Dog woof-lA-Pst

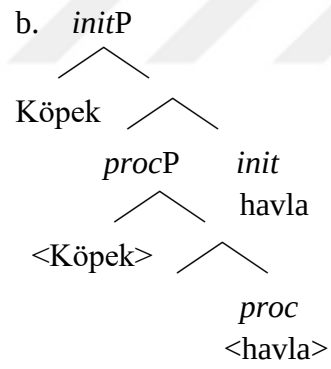
‘The dog barked.’

The representations of (103a) and (103b) are given below:

(104) a.



b.



The DP in this structure occupies the specifier positions of the two projections upon a derivation where it is first merged into the Spec, *Proc*P and then moves to Spec, *Init*P. Their lexical entry, then, is given in (105).

(105) Lexical Entry for *saçmala* ‘act/talk nonsense’: [init$_i$, proc$_i$]

Agentive unergative verbs that the *–lA* suffix can derive presented in chapter 2 are also intransitive [init, proc] verbs.

(106) Ayşe-yle sabah-a kadar laf-la-dı-k.
Ayşe-Com morning-Dat till word-lA-Pst-3Pl
'We chatted with Ayşe till morning.'

The verb *lafla* 'chat' is a process verb that is agentive; on the other hand, it does not express any resultant state. In consequence, it is, just as other agentive unergative verbs, classified in this group.

Verbs of emission, described as non-agentive unergatives by Potashnik (2012), are verbs that project the *Init*P and *Proc*P, too.

(107) Yıldız-lar par-la-r-dı.
Star-Pl onom.-lA-Aor-Pst
'The stars shone.'

In parallel with the discussion of Özkul (2015) and Potashnik (2012) introduced in chapter 2, verbs of emission bear the feature of causing, which requires the initiation projection. Although the causing or initiation involved here in (107) is not agentive, stars have an internal ability, feature or reason to shine.

Parallel to other analyses of the lexical syntax, Ramchand (2008) assumes that at this level of a derivation no tense information can be found due to the fact that 'time is a logically distinct variable from the event variables and their causational relationships' (Ramchand, 2008, p. 68).

4.4.1.2 Initiation – process – result verbs

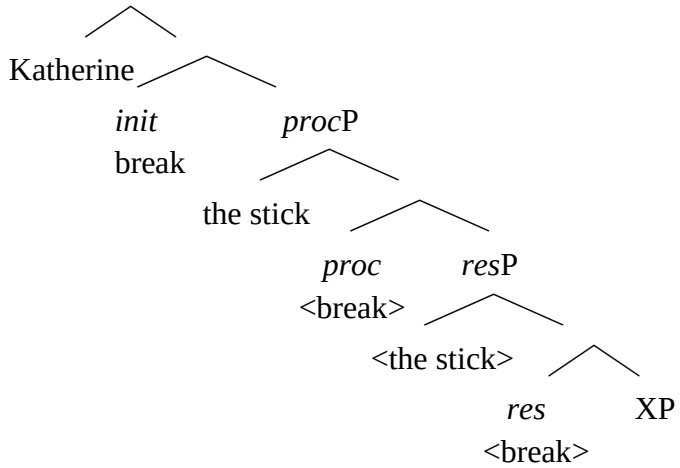
An additional component, Result, accompanies the two previously discussed phrasal categories when telos or result state of a process is present. Transitive verbs like *break, throw, find, explode, enter* and intransitives like *arrive, disappear, jump* are categorized as such. Since these verbs include [proc] and [res] projections in their syntax, they are punctual by nature, which are traditionally classified as achievement verbs in the sense of Vendler (1967).

4.4.1.2.1 Transitives

The specifier position of the projection is filled by a RESULTEE. When such a verb is transitive, there are two distinct arguments in the structure of the verb which are the causational initiator DP and the DP object that is the undergoer of the process. In this case, the undergoer is also the resultee of the event at the same time.

(108) Katherine broke the stick.

(109) *init*P



(Ramchand, 2008, p. 69)

It is possible to derive transitive [init, proc, res] verbs with the *–lA* suffix. Location and locatum verbs (see 2.4.1.1 for discussion) fall into this category.

(110) Fotoğraf-lar-ı çerçeve-le-di-k.
Photgraph-Pl-Acc frame-lA-Pst-1Pl
'We framed the photographs.'

(111) Elbise-yi teyel-le-di.
Dress-Acc tacking-lA-Pst
'He tacked the dress.'

The location (110) and locatum (111) verbs in the examples above require an initiator, thus realize the [initP]. They also specify the nature of change through [procP] and express a result state: the internal argument ending up in a different location or an entity being applied on the internal argument. In Turkish, the evidential suffix *–mIş* can form deverbal adjectives. Aksu (1978) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) specify that *–mIş* contributes the semantics of resultant states. Therefore, the suffix is allowed with verbs that includes a result state, hence a [resP].

(112) Duvar-a bir sürü çerçeve-len-miş fotoğraf as-ıl-mış-tı.
Wall-Dat a lot of frame-lAn-Evid photograph hang-Pas-Evid-Pst
'There were a lot of framed photographs on the wall.'
'Lit: A lot of framed photographs were hung on the wall.'

(113) Teyel-len-miş elbise-yi getir de dik-e-yim.
Tack-lAn-Evid dress-Acc bring sew-Opt-1Sg
'Bring me the dress so that I will sew it.'

(112) and (113) depict that the location (110) and locatum (111) verbs are compatible with the *–mIş* suffix as they include the result flavor.

Instrument verbs are another type mentioned in the previous chapter that can be grouped in this category.

(114) Ayna-yı duvar-a vida-la-dı. fırça-la-dı-m.
Mirror-Acc wall-Dat screw-lA-Pst
'She/He screwed the mirror on the wall.'

Similarly, instrument verbs derived with the *–lA* suffix project all the components of the verbal domain to accomplish the necessities in the first phase syntax. *–lA* can evidently bring in all the functions a transitive agentive verb that leads into a result when attached to a noun denoting a change of location or usage of an instrument.

The lexical entry for transitive verbs of this category is given in (115):

(115) Lexical entry for *çerçevele* 'frame': [$init_i$, $proc_j$, res_j]

4.4.1.2.2 Intransitives

The intransitive [init, proc, res] verbs are the ones where all three arguments are coindexed, such as *arrive* and *jump*. These verbs can take a locative PP argument which gets a result interpretation.

(116) Ayşe su-ya zıp-la-dı.
Ayşe water-Dat jump-lA-Pst
'Ayşe jumped in the water.'

In (116), the verb *zıpla* illustrates that the suffix *–lA* can create verbs to be classified among this category of verbs, as well. As Ayşe jumps in the water, her location changes. Therefore, occurrence of the result projection is entailed.

In addition, unaccusative change of state (COS) verbs both derived from nouns (117) and adjectives (118) fall into this group.

(117) Genç aşık-lar gazeteci-ler-i gör-ünce panik-le-di.
Young lover-Pl journalist-Pl-Acc see-when panic-lA-Pst
'The young lovers panicked when they saw the journalists.'

(118) Adam iyice ihtiyar-la-dı.
Man rather old-lA-Pst
'The man has become rather old.'

Despite being unaccusative, these verbs require a flavor of an initiation of an event. Thus, their lexical entry is presented below:

(119) Lexical entry for *ihtiyarla* 'become old': [$init_i$, $proc_i$, res_i]

We have so far discussed the verb classes which involve [init, proc] or [init, proc, res] together and which are either transitive or intransitive. The rest of the

classification include [proc] verbs, [proc, res] verbs and stative verbs which only denote [init]. It is crucial to note here that, as opposed to the categories discussed above, *–lA* is totally unproductive within the remaining groups of verbs. It is possible to find examples to these classes; nevertheless, they are quite few. This property strongly indicates that the *–lA* suffix has a tendency to attribute [init] and [proc] together. Its productivity decreases dramatically when either [init] projection or [proc] projection is not realized.

4.4.1.3 Process verbs

The first category of the remaining verb classes is the one called process intransitives by Ramchand (2002) with only one projection: process. Such verbs are identified as degree achievement verbs by Ramchand with the property of being deadjectivals.

(120) Cocoa beans dried in the sun for two hours.

(Ramchand, 2008, p. 86)

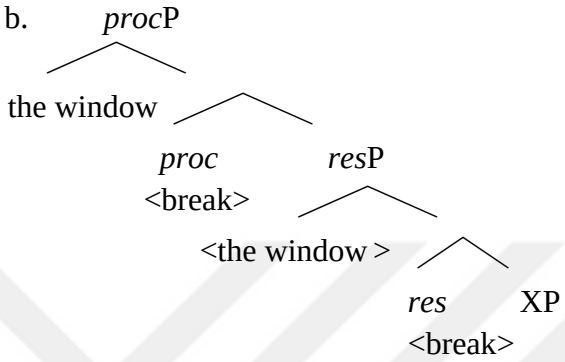
Ramchand argues that the telicity that such verbs can denote is not related to the result projection but to a contextual effect (Ramchand, 2008, p. 86). However, it is not possible to claim that degree achievement verbs in Turkish do not require the [resP]. We will discuss the reasons for this in the next section, and as a result we will claim that the *–lA* suffix cannot derive [proc] verbs and the degree achievement verbs it can derive are [proc, res] verbs which are quite few.

4.4.1.4 Process – result verbs

Another group of verbs are the intransitive verbs which include *proc*P and *res*P as in 'break':

(121) a. The window broke.

b.



Since the causation is external, this type of verbs does not project an *Init*P. Therefore, intransitive [proc, res] verbs that are derived with *–lA* are not numerous at all. The verbs: *çatla* 'crack' and *patla* 'pop/explode' can be categorized as such.

(122) a. Vazo çat-la-dı.
Vase crack-lA-Pst
'The vase cracked.'

b. Balon pat-la-dı.
Balloon boom-lA-Pst
'The balloon popped.'

The event structure of *çatla* 'crack' includes a result state and a process that is externally caused as in 'break'. In fact, both *çat* and *pat* are onomatopoeic sounds. As a deeper meaning, the verb *çatla* conveys the sound of cracking, and *patla* the

sound of exploding literally meaning ‘to make the *çat* or *pat* sound’, just as *cızla* ‘burn with a sizzling noise’. Even in colloquial language, when narrating an event, it is possible to say *vazo çat dedi* which means ‘the vase said *çat*’. However, *çatla* and *patla* can no longer preserve their self-causation interpretations, the reason of which can be diachronic and the frequency of them, yet we will not discuss the reason further and remain agnostic about it. Nonetheless, it is apparent that external causation is encoded through time, and the verbs have undergone a reanalysis to get the interpretations that the subject is completely undergoer of the event and does not have any responsibility at all.

In addition to the externally caused change of state verbs, the suffix *–lA* can derive degree achievement verbs without the [init] projection and including the [proc] and [res] components.

(123) Oda geniş-le-di
Room wide-lA-pst
‘The room widened.’

(124) Çanta hafif-le-di.
Bag light-lA-Pst
‘The bag got lighter.’

In the section 4.4.1.3, we mentioned that the degree achievement verbs in Turkish require the result projection. We will provide evidence for this finding with the employment of the evidential suffix *–mIş* in Turkish which forms deverbal adjectives. Aksu (1978) and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) identify that *–mIş* is used

to encode resultant states. Not surprisingly, it is compatible only with verbs that contain a result state. And, it is possible to form such adjectives with degree achievement verbs, which is an evidence for the presence of a result encoded in the verb.

(125) Hafif-le-miş çanta-yı ban-a ver.
Light-lA-Evid bag-Acc I-Dat give
'Give me the bag that has become lighter.'

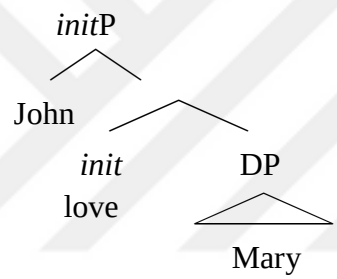
Although *hafifle* 'become lighter' does not necessitate an end result that the bag is light, it still has undergone a change of state in its weight compared to the starting point. Thus, a minimum change in the property of the argument entails a minimum result within the scalarity denoting degree achievement verbs. This argument is in line with Rappaport Hovav (2008)'s definition that "a scalar change is one which involves an ordered set of changes in a particular direction of the values of a single attribute and so can be characterized as movement in a particular direction along the scale" (Rappaport Hovav, 2008, p. 17). All in all, we part ways with Ramchand and argue that the [res] subevent is crucial regarding the degree achievement verbs in Turkish. I will discuss degree achievement verbs with the *–lAş* suffix in a more exhaustive way in section 4.5.2.2 as *–lAş* derives a lot more degree achievement verbs than *–lA* does. One significant point to mention here is that the [proc, res] verbs implicate that causation is involved which is not internally but externally driven, thus lack the initiation projection. In Turkish, if there is external causation within the structure of an intransitive COS verb, it is generally marked with VoiceP; therefore, these kinds of verbs are not preferred, hence few in number.

In accordance with our claim that *–lA* tends to merger [init] and [proc] together, the fewness of [proc, res] verbs with *–lA* provides supplementary evidence that our analysis is in the right track.

4.4.1.5 Stative verbs

Stative verbs, are not dynamic as the name suggests, hence do not involve the *proc*P. Instead, their *init*P selects for a complement which is a rhematic material. The representation of the verb 'to love' is given below:

(126) John loves Mary.



The *–lA* suffix approves of the stative verb in (127).

(127) Ali Ayşe-yi öz-le-di.
Ali Ayşe-Acc self-lA-Pst
'Ali misses Ayşe.'

The properties of the *init*P of statives are analogous to that of dynamic verbs considering that the event of missing someone entails causation or an initiation and that the assignment of the accusative case is available. However, separating the *init*P from *proc*P is problematic for deriving verbs with *–lA*. As a result, *özle* 'miss' is the

only stative verb that can be derived with the suffix. The fewness confirms that the *–lA* suffix does not favor to merge leaving either *Init*P or *Proc*P behind.

4.5 Verb derivation with *–lAn* and *–lAş*

An analysis of verbs that are derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş* is presented in the previous chapter. To sum up for recall, we have mentioned that both affixes obligate a multifaceted analysis. In the case of *–lAn,* it is a homophone of three different forms that can be decomposed into the suffix *–lA* combined with the passive *–n,* or the reflexive *–n,* or the inchoative *–n.* And in the case of *–lAş,* it can be decomposed into *–lA* and the reciprocal *–ş* or the inchoative *–ş*. We will discuss further below to clarify our argument that all forms of *–lAn* and *–lAş* are related to the *–lA* suffix and the additional component is introduced in the structure via the Voice layer.

4.5.1 Verbs derived with *–lAn*

4.5.1.1 Passive and reflexive with *–lAn*

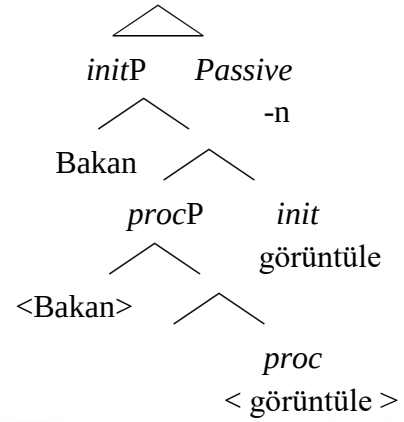
The first form of *–lAn* that we will present here is a version of *–lAn,* where the passive (128a) or the reflexive (128b) morpheme *–n* is affixed to a verb that is derived with *–lA* and that is grammatical without *–n*.

(128) a. Bakan, köpek sev-er-ken görüntü-le-n-di.
Minister dog love-Aor-while image-lA-Pass-Pst
'The minister was filmed while she was playing with a dog.'

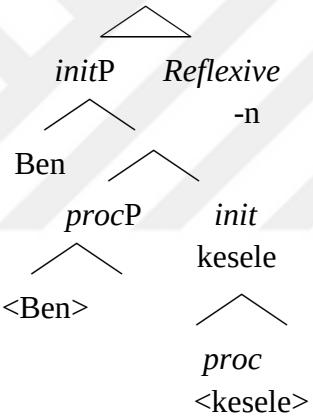
b. Dün bir güzel kese-le-n-di-m.
Yesterday properly a coarse bath-glove-lA-Ref-Pst-1Sg

‘I rubbed myself properly with a coarse bath-glove yesterday.’

(129) a. VoiceP



b. VoiceP



The structure, then, of the verb *görüntülen* ‘be filmed’ in (128a) requires the cooperation of the voice projection upon merger of the *–lA* suffix as seen in (129a). The similar representation is true for (128b) when the VoiceP contributes the reflexive instead of the passive as seen in (129b). These verbs do surface in the forms of *görüntüle* ‘to film’ and *kesele* ‘to rub with a coarse bath-glove’.

4.5.1.2 COS verbs with *–lAn*

The other form is the version of *–lAn* that denotes a change of state. It can attach to nouns or adjectives to form change of state (COS) verbs with the semantic contribution of 'acquire, become or get'. Although the forms without the inchoative *-n* at the end are not grammatical, it requires a bimorphemic analysis, which will be revealed in the representation of the suffix. As is the case with the *–lA* suffix, it is possible to derive verbs from bound roots with *–lAn*.

COS verbs with *–lAn* are divided into two subgroups: internally caused COS verbs and externally caused COS verbs. Verbs that are derived with *–lAn* are internally caused COS verbs which inherently require an initiator of the event.

(130) Yurt dışında yaşa-yınca birçok konu-da cesaret-len-miş.
Abroad live-when many situation-Loc courage-lAn-Evid
'It is evident she has become courageous after she has lived abroad.'

In this respect, the inchoative *–lAn* attributes the meaning of the English verb *get*. Moreover, a number of these inchoative verbs correspond to the *get*-passive in English:

(131) a. Nasıl bu kadar borç-lan-dı-n?
How this much debt-lAn-Pst-2Sg
'How did you get indebted so much?'

b. Parti üç il-de daha teşkilat-lan-dı.
Party three city-Loc more organization-lAn-Pst

‘The party got organized in three more cities.’

Many researchers have addressed *get*-passives in English with different explanations, which leads to a variety of analyses of their nature: i) small clause raising construction analysis (Haegeman, 1985); ii) control analysis (Butler & Tsoulas, 2006; Reed, 2011); iii) adjectival analysis (Fox & Grodzinsky, 1998). We will not seek any superiority of one discussion over the other since it is beyond the scope of this study but will show that verbs derived with *–lAn* are consistent with these explanations and with other properties of *get*-passives that are introduced below.

In her seminal work in 1985, Haegeman argues, rejecting the previous analyses that *be*-passives and *get*-passives are equal, that *get* does not behave as an auxiliary verb but as a lexical verb, and that it takes a small clause as a complement. The object in the small clause first raises to the subject position within the small clause, and then raises to the matrix subject position:

(132) John got [$_{sc}$ ~~John~~ excited ~~John~~]

She relies on Burzio’s generalization (1986), which proposes that a verb has the potential to assign a theta-role to its subject only if it can assign the accusative case to its object, so as to explain the case assignment features of the *get*-passive constructions.

Van Riemsdijk (2001) suggests that there are verbs that are neither an auxiliary verb nor a lexical verb. Since they do not behave as an auxiliary in, for example, making questions or negation, and not as a lexical verb either as they lack

argument selection properties, they have a status of a semi-lexical head. *Get* of *get*-passives then is a semi-lexical variant of a lexical head (Alexiadou, 2005; Emonds, 1999; Haider, 2001; Van Riemsdijk, 1998). In that respect, *–lAn* patterns with this semi-lexical variant of *get*.

(133) Ali telaş-lan-dı.
Ali flurry-lAn-Pst
'Ali got flurried.'

Thus, (133) illustrates that the suffix *–lAn* functionally changes a nominal stem into a verb and lexically denotes the meaning of 'acquire/have the status of'. *Get*-passives are also analysed to be distinguished from regular passive constructions with their predominant agentive nature (Lakoff, 1971). Givon and Yang (1994) posit that the agentive subject-patient of *get*-passives have the properties of being controlling, purposive and responsible. A similar distinction can be observed with the inchoative *–lAn* (134a) and the passive *–lAn* (134b).

(134) a. Dün gösteri-de çok heyecan-lan-dı.
Yesterday show-Loc a lot excitement-lAn-Pst
'He got excited so much in the show yesterday.'

b. Gömlek-ler ütü-le-n-di mi?
Shirt-Pl iron-lA-Pass-Pst Q-Part
'Have the shirts been ironed?'

The subject of (134a) is the initiator of the verb *heyecanlan* 'get excited', whereas that of (134b) is completely the undergoer of the ironing event and does not trigger any cause. This argument is in line with the control analysis of Butler and Tsoulas (2006) and Reed (2011) where the matrix subject is not derived, and the object is a PRO.

(135) a. Mary_i got [PRO_i arrested].

b. Mary got herself arrested.

With respect to the control analysis, (135a) and (135b) have similar meanings.

Fox and Grodzinsky (1998) propose a different explanation in which they suggest that in *get*-passive constructions the verb *get* selects for an adjectival passive where the external argument is suppressed (Pesetsky, 1995). They conclude that as a result of adjectival passive selection, the external argument of *get*-passive constructions is analogously suppressed.

(136) a. The ship was sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].

b. *The ship got sunk [PRO to collect insurance money].

c. The ship got sunk [for John to collect insurance money].

(Fox & Grodzinsky, 1998, p. 327)

The comparison of *be*-passives to *get*-passives observed in (136) reveals that the external argument is not implicit in *get*-passives. They lack an element that has a potential to bind PRO or a reflexive element. From this point of view, the inchoative

nature and the external argument suppression properties of *get*-passives, and of the suffix *–lAn*, are clarified.

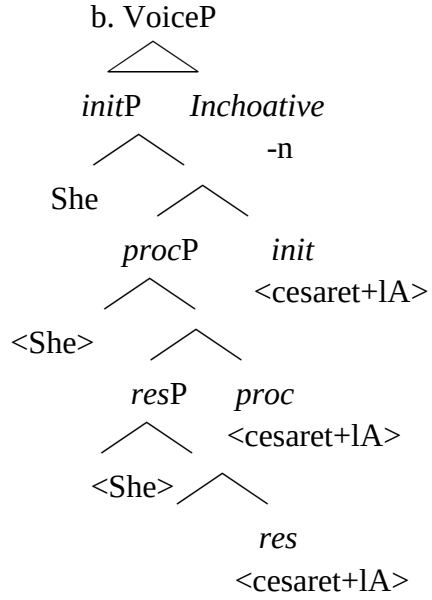
Moreover, Alexiadou argues that *get* is a light verb that takes a resultative phrase as a complement. The subject raises from within the resultative phrase up to the matrix subject. She proposes that *get* is generated in a *v*/Voice type of head (Alexiadou, 2005, pp. 19-20).

In the light of the literature above, and incorporating the Ramchand (2008) framework, the structure of verbs derived with the suffix *–lAn* is presented in what follows. In conclusion, these COS verbs denote that the end result has been acquired by a single argument that is available for each of three projections. Therefore, their structure is similar to the COS verbs derived with *–lA*; additionally, the VoiceP is involved for adjoining *–n* with the inchoative interpretation. Thus,

(137) a. Lexical entry for *cesaretlen* ‘take courage’:

[Voice$_{incho}$ [*init*$_i$, *proc*$_i$, *res*$_i$]]

b. VoiceP



We argue here that, even when the product is a change of state verb, the verb indicates that there is an inherent causer or initiator of the event. This property also supports our claim that it is not possible to analyze *–lAn* to be completely independent of the *–lA* suffix. In this regard, we suggest, following Banguoğlu (2000) and Özkul (2015), that *–lA* and *–lAn* are related to each other and additionally claim that they are in complementary distribution. A nominal that can be affixed to *–lA* is not affixed to *–lAn* to derive a change of state verb, and vice versa. In addition, there is a striking difference between the COS verb productivity of the two suffixes: the number of COS verbs that *–lAn* can derive is more than 300, whereas the number is around 20 when it comes to *–lA* (see Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008). This distribution reveals that the *–lA* suffix tends to realize [init, proc] and allows [res] in the structure only if necessary.

4.5.2 Verbs derived with *–lAş*

4.5.2.1 Reciprocal with *–lAş*

–lAş is a suffix with two forms, first one that we will present here is the *–lAş* that denotes reciprocity. As we observed with the suffix *–lAn*, some reciprocal verbs derived with *–lAş* can be morphologically decomposable where the *–ş* designates reciprocity as it does with other derived or underived verbs.

(138) Öğrenci-ler gül-üş-tü.
Student-Pl laugh-Rec-Pst
'The students all laughed.'

The verb *gülüş* ‘laugh together’ is a combination of the verb *gül* ‘laugh’ and the reciprocal *–(İ)ş*. A similar deployment is observed with *–lAş*:

(139) a. Müşteri-ler-i kaç kez ters-le-miş.
Customer-Pl-Acc how many time opposite-lA-Evid
‘It is said that he has scolded the customers many times.’

b. İki komşu birbiri-yle ters-leş-ti.
Two neighbor each other-Com opposite-lAş-Pst
‘Two neighbors scolded each other.’

A verb that is derived with *–lA*, such as *tersle* in (139a), is further affixed with *–ş* to convey reciprocity as *tersleş* in (139b). However, not all reciprocal verbs with *–lAş* behave the same, some of them are required to occur with the *–ş* thus with *–lAş* as a whole. As a matter of fact, there are 51 items of such inseparable verbs within the reciprocal *–lAş* group (Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008).

(140) a. Önce anne-m-ler-le bayram-laş-tı-k.
First mum-Poss-Pl-Com eid-lAş-Pst-1Pl
‘We exchanged festival greetings with my parents first.’

b. Bütün akşam birbirleri-yle şaka-laş-tı-lar.
Whole evening each other-Com joke-lAş-Pst-3Pl
‘They joked with each other whole evening.’

The verbs in (140) do not have a form with the *–lA* suffix only, i.e. verbs like **bayramla* or **şakala* do not exist. Instead, light verbs are resorted to when their singular versions are required:

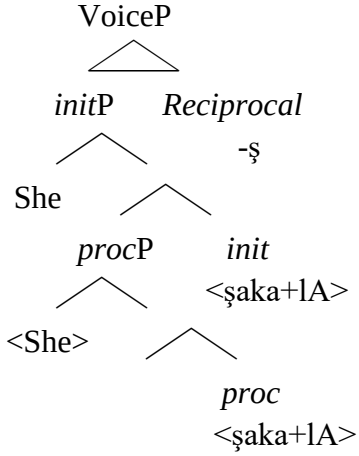
(141) a. Önce annem-ler-in bayram-ın-ı kut-la-dı-k.
First mum-Pl-Gen eid-Poss-Acc happiness-lA-Pst-1Pl
'We observed our parents' festival first.'

b. Bütün akşam birbirlerin-e şaka yap-tı-lar.
Whole evening each other-Dat joke make-Pst-3Pl
'They made jokes to each other whole evening.'

Now, let's turn to the First Phase Syntax of the reciprocal *–lAş* and investigate the constituents of the derivation. These verbs are [init, proc] verbs where we claim that the reciprocal *–ş* is introduced via the voice layer as the reflexive, passive or inchoative *–n* in *–lAn*, regardless of being separable or not in the manner mentioned above.

(142) a. Lexical entry for *şakalaş* 'joke': [Voice$_{\text{reciprocal}}$ [*init*$_i$, *proc*$_i$]]

b.



4.5.2.2 Conveying scalarity via the inchoative *–lAş*

The second form that surfaces as *–lAş* derives degree achievement verbs, which are classified as [proc] verbs in the sense of Ramchand (2008).

Degree achievement verbs have been the focus of interest due to their telicity properties and the scalarity notion that they denote. In terms of telicity, studies such as Filip (2008), Kennedy and Levin (2008) and Rappaport Hovav (2008) show that degree achievements cannot be regarded to be telic or atelic as a basic property. Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2014) summarizes the telicity properties of such verbs as follows:

> (143) "… a predication asserting a specified change in the value of the scalar property is telic, while a predication asserting an unspecified change in the value of the scalar property is atelic."
>
> (Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2014, p. 260)

It can be observed in the examples below:

(144) a. The chemist cooled the solution for three minutes.

b. The chemist cooled the solution in three minutes; it was now at the desired temperature.

(from Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2008, p. 7)

The verb *cool* has an atelic interpretation in (144a) where the cooling event has not come to an end, whereas the same verb is telic in (144b) as the statement expresses an end result asserting a specified change: the desired temperature.

In terms of scalarity, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2008) state that these verbs are mostly related to "gradable adjectives, which are themselves also lexically associated with a scale". The scale is directly encoded in degree achievement verbs since gradable adjectives that are involved in their derivation inherently bear measurement values such as temperature or height with a set of degrees that are in an order (Kennedy, 2007).

Gradable adjectives can be classified with respect to the properties of their scales: They either have closed scales, scales which have bounds such as *full* and *empty*, or open scales, scales without bounds such as *long* and *expensive*. Accordingly, it is widely accepted that degree achievement verbs carry the same scalar property of the adjective they are derived from. For instance, a verb like *cool*, derived from an open scale adjective, lexicalizes an open scale with a change in the thermal value of the entity given and designates a decrease to a standard value generally denoting the room temperature. These properties help Kennedy and Levin (2008) develop the semantic analysis of degree achievements so that they involve adjectival meanings with measure of change functions rather than general measure functions.

In connection therewith, the *–lAş* suffix in Turkish can derive degree achievement verbs with adjectives.

(145)	Sorun-u	çözmek	giderek	güç-leş-iyor.
	Problem-Acc	solve	gradually	difficult-lAş-Imprf
	"Solving the problem is gradually getting (more) difficult."			

The verb *güçleş* ‘become (more) difficult’ is derived from an open scale adjective. Its meaning suggests an increase in the difficulty of the situation relative to the degree of difficulty at the starting point. This relative change, as discussed in the section 3.4.1.4, require degree achievement verbs in Turkish project the [*res*P]. We maintain the point that there is a change, though not maximal, in the quality of the argument along a scale, which implicates a (minimum) result to occur. We examined our claim that result is involved in degree achievement verbs via the evidential *–mIş* test of the degree achievement verbs with the *–lA* suffix. The evidential *–mIş* is compatible with verbs derived with *–lAş*, too:

(146) Taş-laş-mış kalp-ler nasıl yumuşa-r?
Stone-lAş-Evid heart-Pl how soften-Aor
‘How do petrified hearts soften?’

Apart from that, these verbs relate an internal causation in their structure, where the subject itself motivates the initiation of the state, as a result of which the structure of the verbs that *–lAş* derives is as depicted in (147):

(147) Lexical entry for *güçleş* ‘become more difficult’:
[$\text{Voice}_{\text{incho}}$ [$\textit{init}_{\text{i}}$, $\textit{proc}_{\text{i}}$, $\textit{res}_{\text{i}}$]]

That the inchoative use of *–lAş* denotes scalarity leads us to pursue a further investigation of the result projection. There is a consensus in the related literature on the fact that scalarity is denoted in degree achievement verbs and that it is based on the scalar property of the adjectives which these de-adjectival verbs are related to

(Hay, Kennedy & Levin, 1999; Kearns, 2007; Kennedy & Levin, 2008; Rappaport Hovav, 2014; Winter, 2005, among others). A comparison of verbs derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş* will obligate a contrasting analysis at least for the scalarity of degree achievement verbs in Turkish.

(148) a. Bebeğ-i bu aralar çok huysuz-laş-tı.
Baby-Poss this time a lot grumpy-lAş-Pst
'His/Her baby has become grumpy these days.'

b. Çocuk uyku-su gel-di diye huysuz-lan-ıyor.
Child sleep-Poss come-Pst for grumpy-lAn-Imprf
'The child is acting grumpily because he needs to sleep.'

The same adjective *huysuz* 'grumpy' can be affixed by both *–lAş* and *–lAn* to form two verbs with distinct meanings. On the one hand, *huysuzlaş* 'become grumpy' in (148a) designates scalarity and expresses a gradable change in the state of the baby relative to its state before. On the other hand, however, *huysuzlan* 'act grumpily' in (148b) denotes a change of state which is non-scalar, the acting observed is grumpy and the change is a complete change. It is self-evident that, although *huysuz* is a gradable adjective, the verbs derived from the adjective can either denote scalarity or not. Therefore, we suggest that the notion of scalarity is encoded in the verbal domain itself and the gradability of adjectives does not have any effect on the derived verbs at all.

As a consequence, the inchoative uses of these suffixes reveal a complementary distribution on the grounds that when the change is maximal the

suffix *–lAn* is preferred, and when a gradable change is involved, then *–lAş* is preferred.

With this in mind, let us take a closer look at another type of degree achievement verbs in Turkish that *–lAş* can derive: degree achievement verbs from nouns.

(149) a. Olay büyü-dükçe facia-laş-ıyor.
Issue get bigger-when disaster-lAş-Pst
'The issue is becoming disastrous as it is getting bigger.'

b. Kardeş-i doğ-unca yeniden bebek-leş-ti.
Sibling-Poss be born-when again baby-lAş-Pst
'She became acting baby-like again when her sibling was born.'

That the verbs are derived from nouns in both (149a) and (149b) supports our claim that it is the verbal domain which is responsible for the origination of scalarity. A noun like *bebek* 'baby' is not comparative or gradable; however, there is scalarity within the verbs derived from them, as well. The verb *bebekleş* 'act like a baby' conveys a comparison of the present and past states of the elder child in (149b). The scalarity here can be envisioned with a continuum of baby-like behaviors where the amount of these behaviors increases with each minimum unit on the scale.

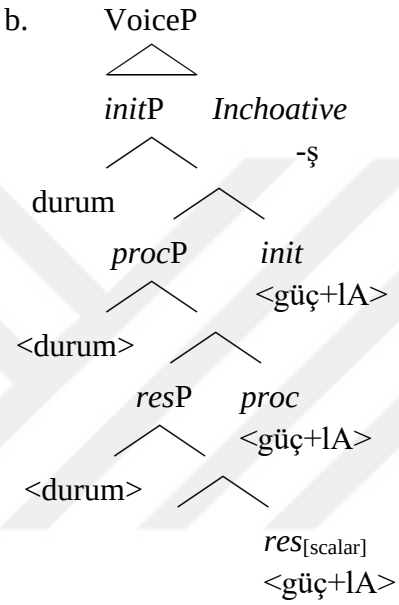
As a consequence of these observations, we propose that degree achievement verbs project a [*res*P] and that the scalarity of such verbs denoted directly in the verb are not based on the gradability of adjectives but on the property of the verb

derivation which requires the [*res*P] component in the affixation process contain a scalarity value. Thus, the representation in (147) is revised as follows:

(150) a. Lexical entry for *güçleş* 'become (more) difficult':

[Voice$_{incho}$ [*init*$_i$, *proc*$_i$, *res*$_{[scalar]i}$]]

b.



To sum up, degree achievement verbs can be derived with *–lAş* suffixed to an adjective or a noun. The suffix bears all three projections of the *v*P in the sense of Ramchand (2008) and scalarity is conveyed with a scalar value on the [*res*P]. Although Ramchand analyzes degree achievement verbs as [proc] verbs, and excludes the [res] projection since she does not envisage an end point in these verbs, we conclude that Turkish degree achievement verbs require the [res] projection, too, in view of the discussion above.

One final point to mention is that, just as the inchoative *–lAn*, the inchoative *–lAş* is also inseparable. That is, the verb *güçleş* does not occur in the form of **güçle*.

However, some verbs can surface either with *–lA* or *–lAş* without any change in the meaning:

(151) a. Ortalık iyice sakin-le-di/sakin-leş-ti.
Things a lot calm-lA-Pst/calm-lAş-Pst
"Things have calmed down a lot."

b. Çanta-m hafif-le-di/hafif-leş-ti.
Bag-Poss light-lA-Pst/light-lAş-Pst
'My bag has become light.'

4.6 VoiceP-*v*P spilt: cross-linguistic evidence

We have seen so far that Pylkkänen's (2008) bundling approach or Harley's (2017) structure can account for specific types of verbal constructions in Turkish; however, neither can explain the entire perspective of the verbal domain in the language. With lexical causative verbs or verbs derived with *–lA*, the language displays a bundling pattern, where one linguistic item can bring the features of VoiceP and *v*P together; on the contrary, causatives show a non-bundling behavior requiring the properties of VoiceP and *v*P merge separately. Similarly, Harley (2017) fails to reveal the bundling nature of the *–lA* suffix, which necessitates VoiceP merge simultaneously with *v*P. Hence, typologically, there is a mixed pattern in Turkish which obligates a dynamic structure.

Harley's discussion is built on examples from various languages. The table in (152) summarizes the characteristics of different structures from these languages.

(152) Table 2 – Bundling Properties of Denominals from Various Languages

Language	Structure	Bundling	Non-bundling
Chol	Unergative verbs with agent: *a-cha'l-e* (light verb) - Introduces agent - Verbalizes - Case checking	✓	
Persian	Passives: *dâr-e* (light verb) - Verbalizes - Introduces agent - Is eventive	✓	
Hiaki	Passives and productive causatives: *-wa* (passive) and *-tevo* (causative) - cannot introduce external argument		✓
Chemehuevi	Causer-less causatives: *-tu'i* (causative) - cannot introduce external argument		✓
Turkish	Lexical causatives *-Ir, -It,* or *Ø* (the null form) (causative) - Verbalizer - Adds causation - Accepts benefactive arguments between *v*P and VoiceP		✓
	Productive causatives: *-DIr* (causative) - is not biclausal (Horvath and Siloni, 2011) - embeds *v*P - Coordination or disjunction of an embedded event is not possible		✓
	Denominal verbs with *–lA* *-lA* (verbalizer) - Verbalizer - Introduces agent - Case checking	✓	
Korean	Lexical causatives *-ecwu* (causative) - Introduces an argument below the Agent in Voice - Independent of Voice		✓
	Productive causatives *-keyha* (causative) - cannot be embedded by ApplP - Embeds VoiceP, not *v*P - Bundled with Voice features	✓	

The first four languages presented in (152) do not challenge the bundling approach; nevertheless, Turkish and Korean verbs can show either a bundling or a non-bundling pattern, regardless of the type of the construction as, for instance, lexical causatives can be bundled in Turkish, but non-bundling in Korean.At this point, the adjustability of the components within minimal structures, such as suffixes, under Ramchand's (2008) framework yields a more fine-grained description of the verbal domain. Depending on the type of the targeted lexical item, the components can either bundle or not. The same suffix, as we have seen with *–lA*, can merge all its ingredients to form a denominal verb, or only one ingredient to form another. Her model can accommodate the difference between suffixes that hold different characteristics. As such, the obscure behaviors of languages such as Turkish or Korean can be elucidated.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown that the framework proposed by Ramchand (2008) helps us enlighten the structure of the verbal domain via connotations of the *–lA* suffix. Being highly productive, the suffix can derive numerous verbs which are required to be classified in various categories. The categorization, thus, obliges an analysis that lets the suffix free to select for what components it demands to carry in. We have seen that the *–lA* suffix prioritizes to hold [init] and [proc] projections together. It is more fruitful when the two projections are combined. [res] projection is also allowed if the former two are involved. On the other hand, combination of [proc, res] or realization of only [init] is not preferred by the suffix since it does not favor the separation of [init] and [proc] projections. As a result, these two types of verbs are not as many as the ones with [init] and [proc] projections.

We have additionally seen that the *–lA* suffix exposes little *v* and VoiceP feature bundling, whereas causative constructions or underived verbs pattern with a non-bundling model. The verbal system of Turkish, thus, supports a coarse organization as Ramchand (2008) suggests.

On the other part, the *–lAn* and *–lAş* suffixes surface with multiple functions. *–lAn* can convey passive, reflexive or inchoative meanings while *–lAş* can convey reciprocal or inchoative meanings. With inchoative verbs that are derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş,* the structure has been given as [init, proc, res] and a [VoiceP] upon the structure to denote inchoativity and to introduce *–n* or *–ş*. We have argued that their inchoative uses are in complementary distribution. *–lAn* is used to convey the meaning of a completed change whereas *–lAş* conveys a scalar change, which occurs as a scalar value on the [*res*P] of *–lAş*. Crucially, we have suggested that the scalarity encoded on the so-called degree achievement verbs is not inherited from the scalarity quality of the adjective the verb is derived from.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the claims and findings

The thesis investigated the structure of the verbal domain by means of Turkish denominal verbs that are derived with the *–lA* suffix. The aim was firstly to present a comprehensive description of the *–lA* denominal verbs, and secondly to illuminate the functional projections in the verb phrase. In this respect, the *–lA* verbs proposed a challenge for Pylkkänen's bundling approach (2002, 2008).

Chapter 2 firstly introduced the previous research that helped shape the structure of *v*P including Hale and Keyser (1993) whose seminal work suggested that verb formation has its own syntax that takes place before sentential syntax. This study influenced many others as well as the ones discussed in the chapter: Harley (2005) and Arad (2003). Secondly, previous studies on the *–lA* verbs in Turkish were presented in Chapter 2. Özkul (2015) suggests that it is not possible to argue for a pure syntactic nor semantic account, therefore, she proposes an analysis combining syntax and semantics. She claims that verb derivation is syntactic; however, the syntactic layers have semantic flavors labelled as CAUSE, ACT and BECOME subevents. Uygun (2009) also proposes a similar account for verb derivation where a category free lexical item becomes a verb by the presence of a vP whose functions are identified as DO, CAUSE and BECOME.

Chapter 3 presented an exhaustive descriptive account of verbs derived with the *–lA, –lAn* and *–lAş* suffixes. To achieve this, the verbs were grouped together with respect to their event and argument structures.

Chapter 4 proposed an analysis of the *–lA* suffix. It first introduced a previous

analysis proposed by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) and argued that the bundling approach cannot account for verbs in Turkish. Second, the chapter presented a comprehensive analysis of the verbalizer suffix with reference to Ramchand (2008). This nano-syntactic analysis provided an explanation to the question as to how it is possible that the same suffix can derive verbs with different event and argument structures. In addition, it shed light into the characteristics of the *–lA* suffix. Third, verbs derived with *–lAn* and *–lAş* were presented with Ramchand's (2008) analysis. We argued that both suffixes are related to *–lA* and the *–n* and *–ş* are spell-outs of Voice. The traditional analysis of scalarity in degree achievement verbs argued for by Hay, Kennedy and Levin (1999); Kearns (2007); Kennedy and Levin (2008); Rappaport Hovav (2014); Winter (2005), among others, was also questioned by the behaviors of *–lAn* and *–lAş*.

5.2 Suggestions for future research

The aim of this study was to investigate the structure of the verbal domain through the syntactic and semantic contribution of the *–lA* suffix. However, several important issues had to be left out due to scopal reasons. Future research is required for some of these issues.

First, the relationship of the semantics of light verbs and *–lA* is reqired to be studied in detail. We mentioned that there are two ways for deriving a verb from a nominal in Turkish, which are the light verb adding method and the suffixation method. As for loan words, they firstly enter the language with a light verb, then is derived via the *–lA* suffix. The relationship of the semantics of these light verbs such as *olmak* 'become', *etmek* 'do, ply', *yapmak* 'do' and *–lA* needs to be investigated to

shed light on the semantics of the light verbs. Of all the light verbs, it is interesting that *yapmak* and *etmek* later leave their position to *–lA*.

Secondly, although *–lA* is very productive and the preferred verbalizing suffix, there are many other verbalizer suffixes which were mentioned in the introduction chapter. These suffixes can provide different perspectives regarding the bundling approach (Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008). Their structures need to be analyzed in terms of feature bundling and also Ramchand's model (2008).

Lastly, it is appealing that there is a considerable number of verbalizer suffixes. The reason behind their existence is an issue that has not been explored yet. The investigation of their syntactic and semantic differences can elucidate why Turkish needs all these suffixes.

APPENDIX A

SUFFIXES THAT DERIVE VERBS IN TURKISH

Suffix	Example
-A	Eli-m kan-a-dı. Hand-Poss1Sg blood-A-Pst ‘My hand bled.’
-(A)l	Pantolon-u kısa-l-dı. Trousers-Poss3Sg short-l-Pst ‘Her/His trousers got shortened.’
-AlA	Üç kişi gir-mek-le gir-me-mek arası kapı-da dur-ala-dı. Three person enter-Inf enter-Neg-Inf between door-Loc stop-AlA-Pst ‘Three people hesitated at the door between entering or not.’
-An	Aktör-lüğ-e öz-en-iyor. Actor-ness-Dat self-An-Imperf ‘He/She aspires being an actor.’
-Ar	Göz-ler-im yaş-ar-dı. Eye-Pl-Poss1Sg wet-Ar-Pst ‘My eyes got wet.’
-ArlA	Sen bun-a mı iç-erle-di-n? You this-Dat Q-Prt heart-ArlA-Pst-2Sg ‘Have you resented this?’
-At	Ev-i o yön-et-iyor. House-Acc he/she direction-At-Imprf ‘He/She is commanding the house.’
-DA	İsm-i kulağ-ın-a fısıl-da-dı. Name-Acc ear-Poss3Sg-Dat onom-DA-Pst ‘He whispered the name to his ear.’
-DAr	Bugün de iş-ten kay-tar-dı-n. Today too job-Abl slide-Dar-Past-2Sg ‘You have shirked your work today, too.’
-I	Çay ıl-ı-mış. Tea warm-ı-Evi ‘It is evident that the tea has gotten warm.’
-Ik	Ac-ık-tı-m. Hungry-Ik-Pst-1Sg ‘I am hungry.’
-I/AklA	Kadın-ı hemen tut-ukla-dı-lar. Woman-Acc immediately hold-I/AklA-Pst-3PL

Suffix	Example
	‘They arrested the woman immediately.’
-IksA	Durum-u çok-tan kan-ıksa-dı. Situation-Acc a lot-Abl believe-IksA-Pst ‘He has long been inured to the situation.’
-Il (reflexive)	Pencere kenar-ın-a kur-ul-uver-di. Window side-Poss3Sg-Dat set-Il-NonPremed-Pst ‘He suddenly settled himself comfortably next to the window.’
-ImsA	Bu iyi-lik-ler-i sakın az-ımsa-ma! This good-ness-Pl-Acc never little-ImsA-Neg ‘Never regard these favors insufficient!’
-In	Bu konu-yu düş-ün-eceğ-im This issue-Acc illusion-In-Fut-1Sg ‘I will think about this issue.’
-Ir	Götür-me-yeceğ-in kıyafet-ler-i ayır. Take-Neg-Fut-2Sg cloth-Pl-Acc set apart Set apart the clothes that you will not take with you.
-IrgA	Çocuk yeni yer-in-i yad-ırga-dı. Kid new place-Poss3Sg-Acc odd-IrgA-Pst ‘The kid has found his new place odd.’
-IşlA	Uyan-dır-mak için kaç kez dürt-üşle-di-m hatırla-m-ıyorum. Wake-Caus-Inf for how many poke-IşlA-Pst1Sg remember-Neg-Imprf ‘I do not remember how many times I poked him/her/you to wake him/her/you up’
-IştIr	Polis olay-ı gün-ler-ce sor-uştur-du. Police event day-Pl-for inquire-IştIr-Pst ‘The police investigated the event for days.’
-It	Sınav-lar-ı öğrenci-ler-e dağıt-tı-m. Test-Pl-Acc student-Pl-Dat distribute-Pst-1Sg ‘I distributed the tests to the students.’
-kI	Kitab-ı oku-yor mu-sun? Book-Acc read-Imp QPrt-2Sg ‘Are you reading the book?’
-KIn	Üzüntü-yle yut-kun-du ama ağla-ma-dı. Grief-with swallow-Kin-Pst but cry-Neg-Pst ‘He gulped with grief but did not cry.’
-KIr	Hıç-kır-dı-n mı? Onom-KIr-Pst-2Sg QPrt ‘Did you hiccup?’
	Fotoğraf-lar-ı çerçeve-le-di-m.

Suffix	Example
-lA	Photograph-Pl-Acc frame-lA-Pst-1Sg ‘I have framed the photographs.’
-lAn	Anne-n ne zaman hasta-lan-dı? Mum-Poss2Sg when ill-lAn-Pst ‘When did your mum become ill?’
-lAş	Bu yıl bura-lar çok güzel-leş-ti. This year here-Pl very beautiful-lAş-Pst ‘This place has become very beautiful this year.’
-nA	Su kayna-dı. Water boil-Pst ‘The water has boiled.’
-rA	Korku-dan titre-di. Fear-Abl tremble ‘He shaked with fear.’
-sA	Ders-ler-i daha fazla önem-se-meli-sin Lesson-Pl-Acc more much importance-sA-Oblg-2Sg ‘You must give more importance to your lessons.’
-s(I)	Işık karşı cam-dan yansı-dı. Light opposite window-Abl reflect-Pst ‘The light reflected from the opposite window.’
-sIn	Bazı aile-ler çocuk-lar-ın-ı yük-sün-üyor-lar, ne acı! Some family-Pl kid-Pl-Poss3Pl-Acc burden-sIn-Imprf-3Pl what pity What a pity that some families regard their children as burdensome!
-y	Kaç yıl ol-du say-ma-dı-m. How many year be-Pst count-Neg-Pst-1Sg ‘I did not count how many years have passed.’

APPENDIX B

DENOMINAL VERBS DERIVED WITH *-LA*

(Adapted from Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008)

Agentive unergative *–lA* verbs

afalla : 'be puzzled'
akşamla: 'stay until evening'
aykırıla: 'take the short cut'
ayla : 'last'
bocala : 'falter'
buzağıla: 'calve'
çabala : 'endeavour'
çisele : 'drizzle'
çuvalla: 'fail in something'
deneyimle: 'experience'
gecele : 'stay overnight'
gerile : 'regress'
güneşle: 'sunbathe'
güzle : 'spend the autumn'
kavla : 'flake off'
konakla: 'camp'
konukla: 'stay overnight'
köpekle: 'be exhausted'
kulunla: 'foal'
kuzula : 'lamb'
lafla : 'chat'
lığla : 'silt up'
limanla: 'come into harbor'
malakla: 'bring forth water buffalo'
mortla : 'die'
oğlakla: 'bring forth a yeanling'
orsala : 'hug the wind'
otla : 'grass'
oyumla: '(of plants) be deeply rooted'
palazla: 'grow strong'
pepele : 'stutter'
pisle : 'dirty'
sabahla: 'stay up all night'
saçmala: 'talk/act nonsense'
sendele: 'stumble'
tayla : 'bring forth a foal'
topalla : 'hobble'
topukla: 'do a bunk'
tünekle: 'perch'
yalpala: 'totter'
yayla : 'spend the summer in the mountains'
yazla : 'spend the summer in a certain place'
yumurtla: 'ovulate'
zırvala : 'twaddle'

Transitive agent *–lA* verbs

açımla : 'analyze'
adakla : '(of a baby) walk'
adımla : 'pace'
afişle : 'announce via a poster'
aforozla: 'excommunicate'
afsunla: 'bewitch'
ağaçla : 'forest'
ağırla : 'accommodate'
ağızla : 'center a roadstead'
akla : 'acquit'
akortla : 'key'
alacala : 'speckle'
alala : 'camouflage'
alazla : 'sear'
algıla : 'perceive'
alıntıla : 'quote'
alkışla : 'clap'
alla : 'garnish'
altla : '(logic) subsume'
altyazıla: 'subtitle'
amaçla : 'aim at'
anaforla: 'steal'
arakla : 'snoop'
arala : 'half open'
arıla : 'absolve'
arkala : 'back'

arşınla : ‘march up and down’
arşivle : ‘file’
arzula : ‘desire’
astarla : ‘line’
aşağıla : ‘humiliate’
ateşle : ‘ignite’
avla : ‘hunt’
ayarla : ‘calibrate’
ayıkla : ‘winnow out; clean’
ayıpla : ‘reproach’
ayla : ‘wait’
azarla : ‘scold’
bağdala: ‘trip up’
bağla : ‘tie up’
bağımla: ‘influence’
bağışla : ‘forgive, donate’
balyala : ‘bale’
barikatla: ‘barricade’
basınçla: ‘pressurize’
belgele: ‘document’
belgile : ‘mark by a trait’
belikle : ‘(of hair) plait’
belitle : ‘display evidence’
berele : ‘bruise’
bestele : ‘compose’
beşle : ‘quintuplicate’
betimle: ‘describe’
bezekle: ‘adorn’
bezele : ‘make dough balls’
bilmezle: ‘show up ignorance’
birle : ‘make one’
bitle : ‘pick the lice off’
bodosla: ‘explain; propose’
boğumla: ‘make a node’
bokla : ‘befoul’
bordala: ‘hit side of a ship’
boyla : ‘land’
boynuzla: ‘cuckold’
bölümle: ‘partition’
briketle: ‘form briquette’
buğula : ‘steam up’
bulgula: ‘find’
bumla : ‘(of a tyre) burst’
bütçele: ‘make a budget’
bütünle: ‘complete’
büyüle : ‘allure’
büzgüle: ‘make pleats’
ceple : ‘earn’
cevapla: ‘answer’
ciltle : ‘bind’
cumbala: ‘rub smooth’
çalımla: ‘dribble’
çapla : ‘calibrate’
çaprazla: ‘intercross’
çapulla: ‘loot’
çayırla : ‘(of an animal) graze’
çekimle: ‘attract an object due to gravitational forces; conjugate’
çelikle : ‘propagate plants by cuttings’
çelmele: ‘trip someone’
çemberle: ‘circumscribe’
çentikle: ‘jag’
çeşitle : ‘(music) vary’
çeşnile : ‘(food) flavor’
çevrele : ‘surround’
çevrile : ‘explain away; impose interpretation’
çeyizle : ‘prepare a bride’s trousseau’
çeyrekle: ‘make infants exercise by crossing their legs and arms’
çiçekle : ‘decorate with flowers’
çiftele : ‘(for an animal) kick’
çiftle : ‘make two’
çimdikle: ‘pinch’
çimle : ‘grass’
çivitle : ‘blue’
çizgile : ‘stripe’
çoğulla: ‘pluralize’
çömlekle: ‘make earthenware pot’
çözümle: ‘analyze’
darbele: ‘blow; stroke’
darla : ‘overwhelm’
dayakla: ‘support with props’
değerle: ‘appreciate’
değirmile: ‘make circular’
demetle: ‘stook’
demle : ‘brew’
denetle: ‘inspect’
deneyle: ‘experiment on’
dengele: ‘balance’
denkle : ‘even up’
derecele: ‘grade’
desenle: ‘draw figures’
destekle: ‘support’
destele : ‘bundle’
dışla : ‘exclude’
dikizle : ‘peek’
dilimle : ‘slice’
dizele : ‘make line of poetry’

dizginle: ‘restrain’
dizile : ‘arrange in a row’
doğaçla: ‘improvise’
doğrula: ‘verify’
dopingle: ‘dope’
dökümle: ‘list’
dölle : ‘inseminate’
dörtle : ‘quadruplicate’
dumanla: ‘give out smoke’
durula : ‘rinse’
düğümle: ‘tie’
dürümle: ‘fold, pleat’
düşle : ‘imagine’
düzenle: ‘order’
düzle : ‘smooth’
ebele : ‘tag (in children’s games)’
ebrula : ‘marble’
efsunla: ‘bewitch’
ekle : ‘add’
eklemle: ‘articulate’
elektrikle: ‘electrify’
endazele: ‘measure’
endeksle: ‘index’
engelle: ‘prevent’
erginle : ‘enlighten’
ertele : ‘postpone’
esenle : ‘greet’
esinle : ‘inspire’
eşle : ‘pair’
eşitle : ‘equalize’
etiketle: ‘label’
etkile : ‘impress’
evetle : ‘say yes’
ezberle: ‘memorize’
faksla : ‘fax’
faturala: ‘invoice’
fırınla : ‘bake in the oven’
fısfısla : ‘spray’
fışkıla : ‘dung, manure ground with horse dung’
fidele : ‘plant a bed or field with seedlings’
fihristle: ‘make an index’
filarizle: ‘scutch (flax)’
filizle : ‘prune the buds of a plant’
fiskele : ‘give something a flick’
fişle : ‘prepare index card’
fitille : ‘set off’
fitle : ‘set someone against another’
fitnele : ‘snitch’
formatla: ‘format’
fotoğrafla: ‘photograph’
frenle : ‘brake’
harekele: ‘vowelize’
harmanla: ‘blend’
hasırla : ‘cover something with matting’
hatılla : ‘strengthen a wall’
hatırla : ‘remember’
ilintile : ‘sew coarsely’
gagala : ‘peck’
galvanizle: ‘galvanise’
gammazla: ‘snitch’
garantile: ‘guarantee’
gazla : ‘gas’
geçerle: ‘cause to pass’
geçgeçle: ‘channel surf’
gemle : ‘restrain’
genelle: ‘generalize’
gerçekle: ‘confirm’
gezle : ‘aim a weapon’
gıcıkla : ‘tickle’
gölgele: ‘shadow’
gölle : ‘turn (a place) into a lake’
görüntüle: ‘display’
gözlemle: ‘observe’
güderile: ‘turn into chamois’
güdümle: ‘guide, direct’
gümrükle: ‘clear through customs’
gümüşle: ‘silver-plate’
güncelle: ‘update’
günle : ‘set a date’
haçla : ‘crucify’
haddele: ‘mill’
hafızla : ‘grind’
halkala: ‘make a bangle; surround’
havuzla: ‘dry-dock’
hayalle: ‘imagine’
hazırla : ‘prepare’
hecele : ‘syllabicate’
hedefle: ‘aim at’
herekle: ‘stake (a vine or plant)’
hesapla: ‘calculate’
hiçle : ‘disregard completely’
hidrojenle: ‘hydrogenize’
hikayele: ‘depict; tell’
hilalle : ‘make a crescent’
hizala : ‘align’
ırala : ‘characterize’

ıskala : ‘miss the target’
ıslıkla : ‘catcall’
ıstampala: ‘stamp metal’
ışınla : ‘radiate’
ihbarla : ‘snitch’
ikile : ‘reduplicate’
ilikle : ‘button up’
ilmekle: ‘tie in a loop’
ilmikle : ‘tie in a loop’
imgele : ‘envisage’
imle : ‘indicate’
imzala : ‘sign’
indükle: ‘induce’
inekle : ‘bone up’
iple : ‘pay attention to’
isle : ‘smoke’
ispatla : ‘prove’
ispiyonla: ‘inform on’
istifle : ‘stack neatly’
işaretle : ‘mark’
işle : ‘penetrate’
jurnalle: ‘denounce’
kalafatla: ‘caulk’
kalıpla : ‘mould’
kangalla: ‘coil’
kanıtla : ‘prove’
kapla : ‘cover’
karala : ‘scrabble’
kararla : ‘make a rough estimate’
karbonla: ‘carburize’
karele : ‘square off’
karıkla : ‘open irrigation canal’
karınla : ‘pull up alongside’
karışla : ‘measure by the span of one’s hand’
karla : ‘snow’
karşıla : ‘welcome’
karşıtla : ‘offer an opposite view’
kaskola: ‘insure a car’
kaşele : ‘stamp’
kaşla : ‘place the stone of a ring in the center’
katalogla: ‘catalogue’
katıkla : ‘eat something with bread’
katla : ‘fold’
kayıtla : ‘enroll’
kazıkla : ‘impale; cheat’
kefele : ‘groom a horse with a hair glove’
kemerle: ‘give the ridge of a book a curve in binding’
kenetle : ‘clamp together’
kepçele: ‘catch a ball with hands shaped like a ladle’
kertikle: ‘notch’
kılağıla: ‘sharpen’
kılavuzla: ‘guide’
kırıkla : ‘crumble’
kırkla : ‘complete forty days after an event’
kısıtla : ‘restrict’
kıyasla : ‘compare’
kıyıla : ‘sail along the coast’
kızakla : ‘slide’
kilitle : ‘lock’
kirala : ‘rent’
kireçsile: ‘turn something into lime’
kirişle : ‘string a bow’
klonla : ‘clone’
kolayla: ‘finish the hardest part of a job’
koltukla: ‘flatter’
konumla: ‘position’
kopyala: ‘copy’
koşulla : ‘condition’
kotla : ‘put down the elevations of places on a map’
kökle : ‘uproot’
körükle: ‘foment’
köstekle: ‘hamper’
köşele : ‘put something at a corner’
kötüle : ‘denigrate’
közle : ‘grill’
kredile : ‘give credit’
kucakla: ‘hug’
kulaçla : ‘swim a stroke’
kurcala: ‘tamper’
kurgula: ‘fictionalize’
kurula : ‘dry’
kuşakla: ‘band’
kutlula : ‘congratulate’
külle : ‘damp down’
kümele: ‘aggregate’
kündele: ‘throw by a trick in wrestling’
lambala: ‘examine in the lamp light’
lanetle : ‘curse’
lekele : ‘stain’
listele : ‘list’

maddele: ‘list’
madikle: ‘trick’
marizle: ‘beat up’
markala: ‘trademark’
masajla: ‘massage’
mayala: ‘yeast’
melezle: ‘hybridize’
mıhla : ‘transfix’
mimle : ‘black list’
montajla: ‘assemble’
muştala: ‘hit with fist’
muştula: ‘give someone good news’
mühürle: ‘seal’
müjdele: ‘give someone good news’
nakışla : ‘embroider (a piece of cloth)’
nicele : ‘quantify’
nikahla: ‘wed’
nişanla : ‘engage’
nitele : ‘qualify’
noktala: ‘dot’
notala : ‘copy musical notes’
numarala: ‘number’
okkala : ‘estimate the weight of something’
oksitle : ‘oxidize’
onayla : ‘affirm’
oranla : ‘estimate’
orantıla : ‘proportion’
ortala : ‘center’
oyala : ‘detain’
oyla : ‘poll’
oylumla: ‘give something a three-dimensional appearance’
ozonla : ‘ozonize’
ödünle : ‘make concessions’
öğütle : ‘advise someone’
öksele : ‘smear with bird-lime’
ölçümle: ‘appraise’
öncele : ‘give priority’
önle : ‘thwart’
örgütle: ‘organize’
örnekle: ‘sample’
ötele : ‘postpone’
öyküle : ‘narrate’
özdeşle: ‘make identical’
özetle : ‘summarize’
özgüle : ‘allocate’
özümle: ‘assimilate’
pahla : ‘bevel, chamfer’
pakla : ‘clean’
parafele: ‘initialize’
parafla : ‘initialize’
parçala: ‘break to pieces’
parala : ‘maul’
parkele: ‘lay parquet’
parselle: ‘lot’
patakla: ‘beat’
pazarla: ‘market’
peçele : ‘veil’
perçinle: ‘rivet’
perdahla: ‘polish’
perdele: ‘curtain, conceal’
peydahla: ‘have a child illegitimately’
peyle : ‘have an eye on something’
piyazla: ‘marinate’
planla : ‘arrange’
planyala: ‘plane’
plasele: ‘place’
postala: ‘post’
presle : ‘press’
programla: ‘program’
puanla : ‘grade’
pusula : ‘lay an ambush’
rakamla: ‘number’
rampala: ‘sidling up to’
raporla: ‘report’
renkle : ‘enliven’
resimle: ‘illustrate’
rezele : ‘latch’
rötuşla : ‘retouch’
rüzgârla: ‘bluster’
sahnele: ‘stage’
sakatla: ‘disable’
sanrıla : ‘hallucinate’
sansürle: ‘censor’
sarkaçla: ‘(of body parts) dangle’
savatla: ‘engrave’
savla : ‘assert’
savsakla: ‘neglect’
sayfala: ‘paginate’
sayıla : ‘number’
sayımla: ‘make a counting’
saykalla: ‘polish’
sekile : ‘forest a slope’
selamla: ‘greet’
sepetle : ‘get rid of a tiresome person’
sepile : ‘tan’
sergile : ‘exhibit’

sıfırla : ‘reset’
sıkıla : ‘make something tight’
sınıfla : ‘classify’
sınırla : ‘confine’
sırala : ‘concatenate’
sıvazla : ‘stroke’
sifonla : ‘flush toilet’
siftahla: ‘make the first sale of the day’
sigortala: ‘insure’
silahla : ‘arm’
silikatla: ‘silicate’
simgele: ‘symbolize’
sinirle : ‘hamstring’
sobele : ‘reach base before someone else’
solla : ‘overtake’
sonla : ‘finish’
sonuçla: ‘bring to an end’
sorgula: ‘interrogate’
soyutla: ‘abstract’
söğüşle: ‘bleed’
sönümle: ‘(oscillation) damp’
suçla : ‘blame’
sülfürle: ‘sulphurize’
süngüle: ‘bayonet’
sünnetle: ‘circumcise’
sürgüle: ‘bolt’
sürmele: ‘fasten’
süsle : ‘bedeck’
şamarla: ‘slap’
şandelle: ‘kick the ball towards the goal’
şartla : ‘lustrate’
şerbetle: ‘charm someone by magic’
şeritle : ‘wrap a ribbon around something’
şifrele : ‘cipher’
şinikle : ‘measure with şinik (a measure for cereals equaling 10 liters)’
şutla : ‘drive away’
tabakala: ‘layer; fold’
talanla : ‘plunder’
tamamla: ‘accomplish’
tanele : ‘granulate’
tanıkla : ‘provide a witness’
tanıla : ‘diagnose’
tanımla: ‘define’
tanıtla : ‘prove’
tapula : ‘get title to a piece of land’
tarazla : ‘make rough by combing’
tasarla : ‘design’
tasımla: ‘reckon’
tasla : ‘affect’
tasnifle: ‘assort’
tavla : ‘chat up’
tazele : ‘freshen’
tedarikle: ‘supply’
tekmele: ‘kick’
tekmille: ‘finish’
tekrarla: ‘repeat’
telle : ‘wire’
temizle: ‘clean’
terasla : ‘terrace (a slope)’
terazile: ‘balance’
terbiyele: ‘cultivate’
tersle : ‘scold’
tertiple: ‘organize’
tetikle : ‘trigger’
teyelle : ‘tack’
tezgâhla: ‘plan’
tezle : ‘speed up’
tıraşla : ‘crop’
tiple : ‘represent a character’
tirele : ‘put a dash’
titremle: ‘pay attention to intonation in speaking’
tohumla: ‘seed’
tokatla : ‘slap’
topakla: ‘form into pellets’
topla : ‘sum’
topukla: ‘prod with one’s heels’
tunçla : ‘make bronze’
turala : ‘skein’
turla : ‘tour’
tuşla : ‘press (button)’
tutamla: ‘take a small handful of sth’
tuzakla: ‘lay a trap’
tümle : ‘integrate’
türküle: ‘sing a folk song’
uğurla : ‘send off’
ulula : ‘glorify’
üçle : ‘make three’
ünle : ‘cry out; sing’
üstele : ‘persist’
vakumla: ‘vacuum’
vergile : ‘impose a tax on’
vitrinle: ‘make a shop window’
vurgula: ‘emphasize’

yaftala : ‘label’
yağmala: ‘plunder’
yalanla: ‘impugn’
yalazla : ‘flame’
yamala: ‘vamp’
yanıtla : ‘answer’
yarala : ‘wound’
yargıla : ‘judge’
yarıla : ‘be halfway through’
yarımla: ‘halve’
yarmala: ‘split length-wise’
yasakla: ‘ban’
yayımla: ‘publish’
yedekle: ‘back up’
yeğle : ‘prefer’
yelekle: ‘put feather at the end of an arrow’
yelkenle: ‘sail’
yelle : ‘blow upon’
yemle : ‘peck’
yinele : ‘repeat’
yongala: ‘make a chip’
yorumla: ‘interpret’
yudumla: ‘sup’
yuhla : ‘boo’
yumakla: ‘clew’
yumrukla: ‘punch’
yükle : ‘load’
yüzle : ‘accuse openly’
zamanla: ‘time’
zedele : ‘damage’
zehirle : ‘poison’
zorla : ‘force’

Location verbs with *–lA*

ambalajla: ‘pack’
ambarla: ‘store’
bohçala: ‘bundle’
çıkıla : ‘tie up in a bundle’
çıkınla : ‘tie up in a bundle’
depola : ‘store’
dosyala: ‘file’
fıçıla : ‘barrel’
kafesle : ‘encage’
kartonla: ‘bind in boards’
kasala : ‘crate’
kefenle: ‘shroud’
kılıfla : ‘encase’
kınla : ‘put in a sheath’
kutula : ‘box up’
paketle: ‘pack’
poşetle : ‘bag’
sandıkla: ‘box’
sargıla : ‘roll a bandage’
silola : ‘put something in a silo’
stokla : ‘stockpile’
şişele : ‘bottle’
torbala : ‘bag’
tüple : ‘put in a tube’
zarfla : ‘envelope’

Locatum verbs with *–lA*

açkıla : ‘polish’
afyonla: ‘opiate’
aharla : ‘smoothen’
ağıla : ‘poison’
ağula : ‘poison’
alaşımla: ‘alloy’
aprele : ‘(cloth) finish’
argaçla : ‘weave’
asfaltla : ‘cover with asphalt’
aşıla : ‘implant, vaccinate’
atkıla : ‘weave’
azotla : ‘nitrify’
badanala: ‘whitewash’
benzinle: ‘cover with benzine’
bezirle : ‘apply linseed oil’
biberle : ‘pepper’
bitümle: ‘bituminize’
boyala : ‘paint casually’
bukağıla: ‘hobble’
bulgurla: ‘crumble’
camla : ‘fit with glass’
cilala : ‘burnish’

contala : ‘put gasket’
çamurla: ‘muddy’
çarşafla: ‘cover with bed sheet’
çemenle: ‘smear with cumin paste’
çepelle : ‘muddy’
çimentola: ‘cover with cement’
çirişle : ‘smear with paste’
çulla : ‘cover a horse with a rug’
dizginle: ‘bridle’
duvakla: ‘put a bridal veil on a bride’
emayla: ‘enamel’
eterle : ‘anaesthetize’
eyerle : ‘saddle’
flitle : ‘spray insecticide’
fosfatla: ‘phosphatize’
gebrele: ‘groom a horse with a haircloth glove’
gemle : ‘fit the bit’
gübrele: ‘manure’
hamurla: ‘cover with dough’
ilaçla : ‘apply medicine to’
jelatinle: ‘gelatinize’
kâğıtla : ‘cover with paper’
kalayla : ‘tin’
kanla : ‘stain something with blood’
katranla: ‘tar’
keçele : ‘cover with felt’
kınala : ‘apply henna’
kıtıkla : ‘fill with refuse of flax’
kireçle : ‘lime’
klorla : ‘chlorinate’
kolala : ‘starch’
kolonyala: ‘pour cologne on’
kremle : ‘apply cream’
kumla : ‘sandblast’
kükürtle: ‘dust with sulfur’
limonla: ‘put lemon in’
macunla: ‘putty’
marnla : ‘add marl to soil’
mayınla: ‘mine’
mazotla: ‘cover with diesel oil’
mumla : ‘wax’
naflatinle: ‘put naphthalin among woolens’
nalla : ‘shoe’
nikelle : ‘plate with nickel’
oksijenle: ‘oxygenize’
pudrala: ‘powder’
pulla : ‘stamp’
rimelle : ‘wear mascara’
rujla : ‘wear lipstick; smear with lipstick’
sabunla: ‘lather’
salçala : ‘sauce’
sarımsakla: ‘put garlic in’
sırla : ‘glaze’
sıvala : ‘plaster’
soğanla: ‘add onion’
sula : ‘water’
şekerle : ‘sugar’
takozla: ‘chock’
talaşla : ‘cover with sawdust’
tebeşirle: ‘chalk; smear with chalk’
telala : ‘stiffen with tela’
tımarla : ‘(horse) groom’
toprakla: ‘earth’
tutkalla: ‘glue’
tuzla : ‘salt’
tütsüle : ‘fume’
unla : ‘flour’
üzengile: ‘spur a horse with stirrups’
varakla: ‘silver’
vazelinle: ‘cover with vase-line’
vernikle: ‘varnish’
yağla : ‘oil’
yaldızla: ‘gild’
yastıkla: ‘cushion’
yoğurtla: ‘add yogurt’
zamkla: ‘glue’
ziftle : ‘bituminize’

Instrument verbs with *–lA*

akaçla : ‘drain’
alçıla : ‘plaster’
baltala : ‘axe, sabotage’
balyozla: ‘hammer’
bantla : ‘plaster’
bandajla: ‘bandage’
belle : ‘dig with a spade’
bezle : ‘cover with cloth’
bıçakla: ‘stab’
bombala: ‘bomb’

burgula: ‘drill’
cımbızla: ‘pluck stg. with tweezers’
cıvatala: ‘bolt’
copla : ‘cosh’
çapala : ‘hoe’
çekiçle : ‘hammer’
çengelle: ‘hang on a hook’
çerçevele: ‘frame’
çırçırla : ‘clean cotton with a cotton-gin’
çıtçıtla : ‘button with press stud’
çitle : ‘hedge’
çivile : ‘nail’
çomakla: ‘hit with a club’
çubukla: ‘beat (a carpet, etc.) with a stick’
damgala: ‘seal’
değnekle: ‘beat with a stick’
demirle: ‘anchor’
dinamitle: ‘dynamite’
dipçikle: ‘club with a rifle butt’
direnle : ‘pitchfork’
düğmele: ‘button’
eğele : ‘rasp’
fırçala : ‘brush’
firketele: ‘pin up (one’s hair)’
frezele : ‘mill’
hançerle: ‘stab’
gırgırla: ‘clean the floor with a carpet sweeper’
gönyele: ‘measure stg. with a set square’
iğnele : ‘needle’
kalburla: ‘sift’
kamala: ‘stab’
kamçıla: ‘whip’
kancala: ‘hook up’
kantarla: ‘weigh with a weigh-bridge’
kargıla : ‘spear’
kaşağıla: ‘curry’
kaşıkla : ‘spoon’
kesele : ‘rub with a coarse bath-glove’
kılıçla : ‘slaughter with a sword’
kırbaçla: ‘horsewhip’
kille : ‘wash laundry with clay’
kopçala: ‘hook in’
kurşunla: ‘shoot’
kürele : ‘shovel up’
lehimle: ‘seal with lead’
lifle : ‘scrub with a luffa’
makasla: ‘scissor’
malala : ‘trowel’
maskele: ‘mask’
masala : ‘crimp (hair) with a curling iron’
minele : ‘enamel’
neşterle: ‘lance’
okla : ‘shoot something with an arrow’
paspasla: ‘swab’
pompala: ‘pump’
ponzala: ‘pumice’
raptiyele: ‘thumbtack’
raspala : ‘scrape the paint or rust off a surface’
rendele: ‘grate’
sırıkla : ‘stake’
sistirele: ‘plane’
sopala : ‘give a beating to’
süzgeçle: ‘strain’
şakulle : ‘plumb’
şırıngala: ‘inject’
şişle : ‘stab’
tapala : ‘stopper’
tapanla : ‘harrow’
tarakla : ‘comb’
taşla : ‘lapidate’
testerele: ‘saw’
tıkaçla : ‘plug’
tıpala : ‘bung’
tırmıkla: ‘rake’
tırpanla: ‘scythe’
tokaçla : ‘beat (washing) with a clothes stick’
tornala : ‘lathe’
torpille : ‘torpedo’
törpüle : ‘rasp’
üstüpüle: ‘caulk with oakum’
ütüle : ‘iron’
vidala : ‘screw’
yabala : ‘winnow’
yelpazele: ‘fan’
zımbala: ‘staple’
zımparala: ‘sandpaper’
zıpkınla: ‘harpoon’
zincirle: ‘chain’

–*lA* verbs from parts of body nominals

apazla : ‘grasp in the hand’
avuçla : ‘grasp’
avurtla : ‘brag’
ayakla : ‘measure a distance by pacing’
boğazla: ‘strangle’
burunla: ‘lower, degrade’
dirsekle: ‘elbow’
dişle : ‘bite’
dizle : ‘press with a knee’
elle : ‘touch’
ensele : ‘catch’
hapazla: ‘grasp with the palms’
gırtlakla: ‘strangle’
göğüsle: ‘breast’
kola : ‘watch for’
omuzla: ‘shoulder’
parmakla: ‘finger’
sırtla : ‘support, shoulder’
tırnakla: ‘scratch’

Change of state verbs with –*lA*

ayazla : ‘(of weather) become cold’
bayatla : ‘go stale’
ferahla : ‘feel relieved’
genişle : ‘broaden’
hafifle : ‘lighten’
hamla : ‘get out of condition’
ihtiyarla: ‘grow old’
kışla : ‘(of winter) set in’
lodosla : ‘(of wind) blow from southwester’
panikle: ‘panic’
poyrazla: ‘(of wind) blow from northeaster’
rahatla : ‘relax’
sakinle : ‘calm down’
semizle: ‘grow fat’
serbestle: ‘breathe easily’
serinle : ‘get cool’
sersemle: ‘become dazed’
sıcakla : ‘feel hot’
solukla : ‘become pale, faded’
şişmanla: ‘get fat’
tekle : ‘(engine) miss’
tırılla : ‘be destitute’
tipile : ‘(of a snowstorm) rage’
ucuzla : ‘cheapen’
yağmurla: ‘turn into rain’
yavaşla: ‘slow down’
yıldızla: ‘(of wind) blow from North’
zayıfla : ‘get thin’

Verbs of emission with –*lA*

Substance emission verbs with –*lA*

salgıla : ‘excrete’
terle : ‘sweat’

Sound emission verbs with –*lA* from onomatopoeic roots

ahla : ‘sigh, moan’
carla : ‘talk loudly’
cırtla : ‘screech’
cıyakla : ‘squeal’
cızla : ‘burn with a sizzling noise’
çatla : ‘crack’
çınla : ‘clang; tinkle’
çıtla : ‘make a slight cracking sound’
defle : ‘drive away; expel’
dehle : ‘(animal) to urge on’
fırla : ‘pop out’

fısla : ‘fizz’
fosla : ‘fail; be disconcerted’
gakla : ‘caw’
gıdakla: ‘cackle’
gırtla : ‘drink tea with sugar kept in the mouth’
gurkla : ‘(of a bird) to sit’
gurla : ‘rumble’
gümle : ‘emit a loudly echoing or booming sound’
gürle : ‘roar’
harla : ‘burn furiously’
haşla : ‘boil’
havla : ‘bark’
hayla : ‘ride (an animal) by shouting *hay’*
hırla : ‘growl’
hışla : ‘make a wheezing or rustling sound’
hohla : ‘breathe’
hopla : ‘jump’
horla : ‘snore’
ıhla : ‘groan’
inle : ‘moan’
kekele : ‘stutter’
kışkışla: ‘shoo’
kütle : ‘emit a thudding noise’
lüple : ‘gulp down’
mele : ‘bleat’
mıncıkla: ‘pinch and squeeze’
mırla : ‘purr’
miyavla: ‘meow’
ofla : ‘grunt with vexation’
patla : ‘explode’
pehpehle: ‘applaud’
pırla : ‘flutter’
pırpırla: ‘(of light) blink’
pırtla : ‘protrude’
pışpışla: ‘pat’
pohpohla: ‘flatter’
pörtle : ‘bulge out’
pufla : ‘blow; puff’
püfle : ‘puff’
sızla : ‘ache’
şakla : ‘snap’
şakşakla: ‘applaud’
şapla : ‘make a smacking noise’
şarla : ‘flow with a splashing noise’
şırla : ‘burble’
şorla : ‘(of liquids) flow loudly’
tıkla : ‘tick’
tınla : ‘clang’
tırtıkla : ‘fleece’
tısla : ‘hiss’
tosla : ‘bump’
ufla : ‘sigh’
üfle : ‘blow upon’
vakla : ‘quack’
vakvakla: ‘quack’
vıcıkla : ‘make something into a goo’
vınla : ‘buzz’
vırla : ‘nag’
vızla : ‘buzz’
viyakla: ‘squawk’
zırla : ‘snotter’
zıpla : ‘jump’
zonkla : ‘throb with pain’

Light emission verbs with *–lA*

parla : ‘shine’

Other onomatopoeic verbs with *–lA*

ağla : ‘weep’
çağla : ‘ripple’
hortla : ‘rise from the grave’

–*lA* verbs derived from bound roots

anla : ‘understand’
atla : ‘jump’
başla : ‘start’
bekle : ‘wait’
belinle : ‘wake up and blench’
belirle : ‘determine’
belle : ‘learn’
besle : ‘feed’
çakozla: ‘latch on’
çitile : ‘(clothes) rub together while washing’
dağla : ‘scorch’
dazla : ‘be picky’
derle : ‘compile’
dızla : ‘swindle; acquire by fraud’
dinle : ‘listen’
eğle : ‘amuse’
emekle: ‘crawl’
etekle : ‘crawl to’
eyle : ‘do’
fıstıkla : ‘provoke’
gizle : ‘hide’
gözle : ‘watch’
hakla : ‘vanquish’
ısla : ‘wet’
ısmarla: ‘order’
incele : ‘investigate’
irdele : ‘explicate’
izle : ‘trace’
keşle : ‘ignore’
kokla : ‘smell’
kutla : ‘celebrate’
özle : ‘miss’
payla : ‘rebuke’
rastla : ‘encounter’
sakla : ‘cover’
salla : ‘shake’
sapla : ‘plunge’
sezinle : ‘sense’
söyle : ‘say’
tasla : ‘affect’
tökezle: ‘stumble’
uslamla: ‘think; reckon’
yasla : ‘recline against’
yolla : ‘send’

–*lA* verbs from other borrowed roots

forvırdla: ‘forward’
fulle : ‘fill up’
gugılla : ‘google’
klikle : ‘click’
laykla : ‘like’
okeyle : ‘accept’
ritivitle: ‘retweet’
stolkla : ‘stalk’
tivitle : ‘tweet’

APPENDIX C

DENOMINAL VERBS DERIVED WITH *-LAN*

(Adapted from Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008)

Change of state verbs derived with *–lAn* (become/get/acquire)

acılan : 'become bitter'
adaklan: 'get engaged'
ağdalan: 'become coagulated'
ağırşaklan: '(of a boil) swell; protrude'
akçıllan: 'become whitish, faded'
akıllan : 'become wiser'
aksilen : 'bridle'
alacalan: 'become colorful'
alakalan: 'show interest in'
alevlen : 'inflame'
ardaklan: '(of tree) rot due to fungus'
arılan : 'become clean'
arızalan: 'break down'
arlan : 'be ashamed'
arsızlan: 'act shamelessly'
asılan : 'benefit'
ateşlen : 'catch fire'
ayaklan: 'rebel'
aydınlan: 'brighten'
ayrılan : 'become separated'
ballan : '(of fruit) get sweet'
barklan: 'set up house'
başaklan: 'come into ear'
bedirlen: 'become a full moon'
beneklen: 'become spotted'
benlen : 'get moles'
bereketlen: 'get fertile'
berelen: 'bruise'
beyazlan: 'whiten'
bıyıklan: 'get a moustache'
biçimlen: 'get a form'
bilgilen: 'get knowledge'
bilinçlen: 'become conscious'
bilmezlen: 'pretend not to know'
bitlen : 'get infested with lice'
boğumlan: 'become articulated'
boklan : 'get dirty; be in a bad situation'
bollan : 'get loose'
boncuklan: '(of tears, sweat) become bead-like'
borçlan: 'get indebted'
boylan : 'grow taller'
boynuzlan: 'grow horns'
böceklen: 'be infested with insects'
böcelen: '(of grain) become infested with insects'
budaklan: 'knot'
buğulan: 'mist over'
bulutlan: 'get cloudy'
buzlan : 'get icy'
canlan : 'revive
celallen: 'get into a rage'
cephelen: 'form a front'
cerahatlen: 'suppurate'
cesaretlen: 'take courage'
cezalan: 'be punished'
cıvıklan: 'become sticky, wet'
cihazlan: 'be equipped with the latest technology'
cisimlen: 'materialize'
coşkulan: 'become exuberant'
cücüklen: 'form embryo'
cüretlen: 'dare'
çapaklan: '(of eye) become gummy'
çarşaflan: '(of women) cover oneself'
çatallan: 'furcate'
çavlan : 'make noise'
çayırlan: 'graze'
çeğmellen: 'become bow-like'
çerezlen: 'snack'
çığalan : '(of a horse tail) stand stiff'
çıplan : 'become naked'
çiçeklen: 'bloom'
çillen : 'get freckles'
çimlen : 'sprout'
çizgilen: 'come to possess lines'
çöreklen: 'twine'
çukurlan: 'become hollow'

çullan : ‘descend’
dalgalan: ‘fluctuate’
dallan : ‘branch’
damarlan: ‘become veined’
darlan : ‘feel uncomfortable’
değerlen: ‘gain value’
dehşetlen: ‘fear’
demlen: ‘be steeped’
delilen : ‘get crazy, mad’
dengelen: ‘be balanced’
densizlen: ‘act tactlessly’
dertlen : ‘have troubles’
diklen : ‘get stubborn’
dillen : ‘become chatty’
dinçlen: ‘feel refreshed’
dinlen : ‘relax’
dişlen : ‘gain authority’
dumanlan: ‘be filled with smoke or mist’
duvaklan: ‘(of a bride) wear a veil’
duygulan: ‘be moved’
düğümlen: ‘be tied with a knot’
edeplen: ‘be or become well-behaved’
efkarlan: ‘become thoughtful or anxious’
elektriklen: ‘be electrified’
endişelen: ‘be anxious’
esaslan: ‘become firmly established’
eseflen : ‘regret’
esinlen : ‘be inspired by’
etenelen: ‘establish a chemical relation between the fetus and mother’
etlen : ‘fatten’
evhamlan: ‘be full of false apprehensions’
evlen : ‘get married’
ezgilen: ‘become rhythmic’
faydalan: ‘derive benefit from’
fenlen : ‘know what one is supposed to know at a certain age’
ferahlan: ‘become spacious or airy’
feyizlen: ‘benefit by’
filizlen: ‘sprout’
fiyatlan: ‘get expensive’
gamlan: ‘be grieved’
gayretlen: ‘endeavour’
gazaplan: ‘become wrathful’
gazellen: ‘(trees) to lose their leaves’
gazlan : ‘become gaseous’
gevezelen: ‘chatter’
gıcıklan: ‘have a tickling sensation’
göbeklen: ‘become paunchy’
gönüllen: ‘be offended, hurt’
görevlen: ‘be assigned duty’
görgülen: ‘get good manners’
gövdelen: ‘become bulky’
gruplan: ‘be grouped’
gururlan: ‘take pride in’
güçlen : ‘grow stronger’
güneşlen: ‘sunbathe’
güvelen: ‘get clothes-moths’
halelen: ‘form a halo’
hararetlen: ‘become heated’
hareketlen: ‘brisk’
harelen: ‘have a sheen’
harılan : ‘(of animals) become bad-tempered’
hasetlen: ‘envy’
hastalan: ‘become ill’
havalan: ‘be aired’
hayıflan: ‘bewail’
helecanlan: ‘become excited’
helmelen: ‘become like paste’
heveslen: ‘be eager’
heyecanlan: ‘become excited’
hırslan : ‘seethe’
hışımlan: ‘become furious’
hızlan : ‘quicken’
hiddetlen: ‘become angry’
hislen : ‘be moved’
huylan : ‘get nervous’
hoşlan : ‘like’
huysuzlan: ‘fret’
hüzünlen: ‘feel sad’
ışıklan : ‘be illuminated’
içlen : ‘be emotionally affected’
ikirciklen: ‘get suspicious’
ilgilen : ‘be interested’
iltihaplan: ‘become inflamed’
ipliklen: ‘become threadbare’
irinlen : ‘suppurate’
isteklen: ‘want’
işkillen: ‘be dubious’
iştahlan: ‘get pleasantly hungry’
ivedilen- ‘hurry’
kabuklan: ‘grow bark’
kademelen: ‘become gradual’
kahırlan: ‘be grieved’
kahpelen: ‘behave deceitfully’
kanatlan: ‘develop wings’

kanlan : ‘become bloodshot’
kapaklan: ‘fall flat on one’s face’
kapılan: ‘take service’
karıncalan: ‘prickle’
kasvetlen: ‘become sad’
kaşarlan: ‘become callous’
katkılan: ‘contain an additive’
kavlan : ‘be desquamated’
kaygılan: ‘worry’
keçelen: ‘become matted’
kederlen: ‘mourn’
kepeklen: ‘become scurfy’
keyiflen: ‘cheer up’
kıllan : ‘become hairy’
kırçıllan: ‘become sprinkled with grey’
kıvamlan: ‘reach the right consistency’
kıvançlan: ‘be proud’
kıvılcımlan: ‘start to give off sparks’
kıvrımlan: ‘become curled’
kıymetlen: ‘become more valuable’
kibirlen: ‘become arrogant’
kinlen : ‘hold a grudge’
kirlen : ‘become dirty’
kokorozlan: ‘intimidate; challenge’
kokozlan: ‘become poor and destitute’
kokulan: ‘perfume’
konuşlan: ‘deploy’
konutlan: ‘use a place as a residence’
koşullan: ‘be conditioned’
kökenlen: ‘have an origin’
köklen : ‘put forth roots’
köprülen: ‘have a bridge’
körlen : ‘become blind/ blunt; get rusty’
kristallen: ‘crystallize’
kullan : ‘use’
kurtlan : ‘get wormy’
kurumlan: ‘be puffed-up’
kuşkulan: ‘feel suspicious’
kutuplan: ‘be polarized’
kuvvetlen: ‘grow stronger’
küflen : ‘get moldy’
kültürlen: ‘become cultivated’
kümbetlen: ‘become dome-like’
kümelen: ‘cluster’
lezzetlen: ‘become delicious’
mağrurlan: ‘be puffed up; give oneself airs’
mallan : ‘acquire property’
meraklan: ‘worry about’
merkezlen: ‘be centered’
mevzilen: ‘take up a position’
meyvelen: ‘(of tree) have fruits’
mikroplan: ‘be infected’
millen : ‘silt up’
mutlan : ‘become happy’
mutlulan: ‘become happy’
neşelen: ‘become cheerful’
oğullan: ‘(of bees) swarm’
öbeklen: ‘form a group’
öçlen : ‘cherish a grudge’
öfkelen: ‘grow angry’
örgütlen: ‘be organized’
örümceklen: ‘become covered with cobwebs’
pahalan: ‘become expensive’
palazlan: ‘grow strong’
paralan: ‘be torn’
parazitlen: ‘have parasits’
paslan : ‘become rusty’
peltelen: ‘become jellified’
pıhtılan: ‘become coagulated’
pipiriklen: ‘be afflicted with unfounded fears’
pimpiriklen: ‘doubt’
pirelen : ‘become infested with fleas’
pislen : ‘get dirty’
posalan: ‘deposit a sediment’
potlan : ‘be creased’
puslan : ‘(of a cold glass) be misty with condensation’
pürçeklen: ‘become tasseled’
pürtüklen: ‘become knobby’
pürüzlen: ‘become rough or shaggy’
pütürlen: ‘become chilblained’
rahatsızlan: ‘become ill’
raşelen : ‘shiver’
renklen: ‘take on a lively note’
rutubetlen: ‘become damp’
ruziklen: ‘live in destitution’
rüzgârlan: ‘become windy’
sabırsızlan: ‘grow impatient’
saçaklan: ‘become fringed’
sahiplen: ‘claim possession’
sakallan: ‘sprout a beard’
sakatlan: ‘become disabled’
sancılan: ‘gripe’
sebeplen: ‘get a share of the pie’

serinlen: ‘become cool’
sertlen : ‘get tough’
seslen : ‘call’
sevdalan: ‘fall passionately in love with’
sıtmalan: ‘get malaria’
sihirlen: ‘be enthralled’
silahlan: ‘become armed’
silahsızlan: ‘become disarmed’
sineklen: ‘become infested with flies’
sinirlen: ‘become irritated’
siperlen: ‘take shelter’
sislen : ‘get foggy’
siyahlan: ‘turn black’
soluklan: ‘take a breath’
sonlan : ‘end’
sonuçlan: ‘result in’
sorguçlan: ‘look like a plume’
sporlan: ‘sporificate’
sütlen : ‘lactate’
streslen: ‘become stressful’
sulan : ‘deliquesce’
süratlen: ‘gain speed’
şekillen: ‘acquire a shape’
şenlen : ‘become cheerful’
şereflen: ‘be honoured’
şiddetlen: ‘become intensified’
şimşeklen: ‘(lightning) flash’
şuurlan: ‘become conscious’
şüphelen: ‘doubt’
talazlan: ‘(of silk) be ruffled up’
tanelen: ‘granulate’
tasalan : ‘worry’
tatlan : ‘(fruit) get sweet’
telaşlan: ‘get agitated’
temellen: ‘become firmly fixed’
terslen : ‘draw a rebuff’
teşkilatlan: ‘get organized’
tıkımlan: ‘devour’
tırtıllan: ‘become infested with caterpillars’
tiftiklen: ‘become fuzzy’
tirfillen: ‘become threadbare’
titizlen : ‘fuss about’
tohumlan: ‘(of a plant) develop seed’
tomurcuklan: ‘bud’
torbalan: ‘sag’
tortulan: ‘sediment’
tozlan : ‘get dusty’
tüllen : ‘become tulle-like’
tümlen : ‘be integrated’
tümörlen: ‘get a tumor’
tüylen : ‘grow feathers’
uçlan : ‘shower down’
umutlan: ‘become hopeful’
uslan : ‘become well-behaved’
uzaklan: ‘feign reluctance’
ümitlen: ‘become hopeful’
ünlen : ‘become famous’
üslen : ‘position oneself at a place’
üstlen : ‘undertake’
yankılan: ‘echo’
vasıflan: ‘become qualified’
yakamozlan: ‘form phosphorescence in the sea’
yapraklan: ‘become foliated’
yararlan: ‘benefit’
yaşlan : ‘grow old’
yaylan : ‘bounce’
yelelen: ‘(of hair) wave in the air’
yellen : ‘break wind’
yemişlen: ‘fruit’
yeşillen: ‘become green’
yıllan : ‘age’
yosunlan: ‘become mossy’
yurtlan : ‘settle’
yüreklen: ‘take heart’
zevklen: ‘become pleased’

Verbs derived with *–lAn* (behave in a certain manner)

ağalan : ‘swagger’
aylan : ‘turn around a place (like a moon)’
babalan: ‘glower at’
büyüklen: ‘become haughty’
cinlen : ‘become furious’
cilvelen: ‘act in a coquettish manner’
dayılan: ‘swagger’
efelen : ‘behave in an obstinate and defiant way’
erkeklen: ‘act like a bully’
horozlan: ‘bluster’
itlen : ‘behave in an ill-mannered way’

kabadayılan: ‘bully’
koçlan : ‘become a ram; act bravely’
köpeklen: ‘cringe’
şahlan : ‘rear’
yavuzlan: ‘become resolute; bully’

Verbs derived with *–lAn* from Onomatopoeic Roots

betelen: ‘resist obstinately’
böbürlen: ‘boast’
dırdırlan: ‘grumble’
dırlan : ‘yammer’
mızıklan: ‘not play the game’
mızmızlan: ‘whine’
sabuklan: ‘talk nonsense’
vahvahlan: ‘say *alas*, *what a pity*’
yazıklan: ‘say *what a shame/ pity’*

APPENDIX D

DENOMINAL VERBS DERIVED WITH *-LAŞ*

(Adapted from Nakipoğlu & Üntak, 2008)

Change of state verbs with *–lAş*

abanozlaş: ‘darken’
abideleş: ‘be commemorated’
acayipleş: ‘become strange’
acemileş: ‘become novice like’
acemleş: ‘become Persian’
acılaş : ‘become bitter’
açıklaş : ‘become lighter in color’
adlaş : ‘become a noun’
adileş : ‘become vulgar’
afacanlaş: ‘become implike’
afallaş : ‘be stupefied, astonished’
ağaçlaş: ‘become tree-like’
ağdalaş: ‘become viscous’
ağılaş : ‘become poisonous’
ağırlaş : ‘become heavier/slower’
ağızlaş : ‘anastomose’
ahmaklaş: ‘become like an idiot’
akçıllaş: ‘become whitish’
aklaş : ‘turn white’
aksileş : ‘become difficult; obstinate’
aktifleş: ‘become active’
alafrangalaş: ‘become European-like’
alaturkalaş: ‘become Turkish-like’
alçaklaş: ‘become low, ignoble’
alenileş: ‘become publicly known’
alıklaş : ‘become astounded’
allaş : ‘become red’
altınlaş: ‘become gold’
Almanlaş: ‘become German-like’
anaçlaş: ‘become mother-like’
anılaş : ‘become a memory’
anıtlaş : ‘acquire a monument status’
anormalleş: ‘become abnormal’
aptallaş: ‘become stupefied’
apseleş: ‘become an abscess’
Araplaş: ‘become Arab-like’
argolaş: ‘become slang’
arılaş : ‘become purified’
arsızlaş: ‘become shameless/impudent’
asabileş: ‘become irritable’
asalaklaş: ‘become parasite-like’
asileş : ‘become rebellious’
askerileş: ‘become militarized’
asrileş : ‘modernize’
aşağılaş: ‘become ignoble’
avareleş: ‘come to be wandering aimlessly’
aykırılaş: ‘become incongruous; perverse’
ayranlaş: ‘become like ayran (a drink made of yogurt and water)’
ayrılaş : ‘stand out’
ayrımlaş: ‘become differentiated’
azgınlaş: ‘become randy; excessive’
azmanlaş: ‘become monstrous’
bağımlaş: ‘become dependent on each other’
bağlılaş: ‘become committed to’
bağnazlaş: ‘become bigoted’
bakırlaş: ‘turn the color of copper’
balabanlaş: ‘become bigger’
bançolaş: ‘become banjo-like’
barbarlaş: ‘become barbarous’
barizleş: ‘become apparent’
basitleş: ‘become simple/vulgar’
başkalaş: ‘grow different’
batılılaş: ‘become westernized’
bayağılaş: ‘become coarse; common’
baygınlaş: ‘become languid’
bayırlaş: ‘(of a road) rise; get steep’
bayraklaş: ‘have the status of a flag’
bebekleş: ‘become baby-like’
bedavalaş: ‘become free of charge’
bedbinleş: ‘become pessimistic’
bediileş: ‘become beautiful’
bedirleş: ‘become a full moon’
belirginleş: ‘become clear/marked’
bencilleş: ‘become selfish’
benekleş: ‘become spot-like’
bengileş: ‘become eternal’

berraklaş: ‘become clear; limpid’
beterleş: ‘worsen’
betonlaş: ‘become full with concrete buildings’
beyazlaş: ‘get white’
bezginleş: ‘become weary’
bıçkınlaş: ‘become a roughneck’
billurlaş: ‘become crystallized’
bireyselleş: ‘become individualized’
birleş : ‘unite’
bitkileş: ‘become plant-like’
bloklaş: ‘form a block’
bodurlaş: ‘become short’
boğuklaş: ‘become hoarse’
boklaş : ‘(for a situation) go bad’
bollaş : ‘become plentiful/get wide’
boncuklaş: ‘become bead-like’
boynuzlaş: ‘become horn-like’
bozkırlaş: ‘become steppe-like’
bönleş : ‘become silly/ naive’
bronzlaş: ‘get a tan’
budalalaş: ‘become silly’
buğulaş: ‘vaporize’
buharlaş: ‘evaporate’
bulanıklaş: ‘become foggy/dim’
buruklaş: ‘become upset/acrid’
buzağılaş: ‘become a calf’
buzlaş : ‘get icy’
buzullaş: ‘glaciate’
bücürleş: ‘become squat’
bülbülleş: ‘speak fluently’
bütünleş: ‘become a unified whole’
cadalozlaş: ‘become shrewish’
cadılaş : ‘(of a woman) become bad-tempered’
camlaş : ‘become glassy’
canavarlaş: ‘become monster-like’
cansızlaş: ‘become weak/lifeless’
cazibeleş: ‘become attractive’
cazipleş: ‘become attractive/catchy’
cemaatleş: ‘become a congregation, community’
cennetleş: ‘become paradise-like’
cepheleş: ‘solidify in opposition’
cılızlaş: ‘become bony/weedy’
cılklaş : ‘become rotten/festered’
cıvıklaş: ‘become wet, sticky’
ciddileş: ‘become serious’
cimrileş: ‘become stingy’
cinleş : ‘become smart’
cisimleş: ‘materialize’
coşkunlaş: ‘become exuberant’
cömertleş: ‘become generous’
cüceleş: ‘become dwarf-like’
cücükleş: ‘bud’
çabuklaş: ‘quicken’
çağcıllaş: ‘become modernized’
çağdaşlaş: ‘become contemporary’
çakırlaş: ‘become greyish blue’
çamurlaş: ‘turn into mud; get importunate’
çapkınlaş: ‘become licentious’
çaprazlaş: ‘become involved and confused’
çarpıklaş: ‘become deviant’
çatallaş: ‘bifurcate’
çatıklaş: ‘become sulky’
çayırlaş: ‘become meadowy’
çelikleş: ‘become steel-like’
çeteleş : ‘become a gang’
çetinleş: ‘become arduous’
çetrefilleş: ‘become complicated’
çevikleş: ‘become agile’
çıbanlaş: ‘become boil-like’
çılgınlaş: ‘become crazy’
çıplaklaş: ‘become naked’
çiçekleş: ‘become a flower’
çiftleş : ‘copulate (of animals); pair’
çiğleş : ‘become tactless’
çingeneleş: ‘become a gypsy’
çipilleş: ‘become bleary-eyed’
çirozlaş: ‘become thin’
çirkefleş: ‘become loathsome’
çirkinleş: ‘become ugly/indecent’
çizgileş: ‘become line-like’
çocuklaş: ‘become childish’
çopurlaş: ‘become pock-marked’
çoraklaş: ‘become arid/barren’
çökkünleş: ‘become depressed’
çölleş : ‘become desert’
çukurlaş: ‘become hollow’
dalgınlaş: ‘become absent-minded’
dargınlaş: ‘become cross’
darlaş : ‘get narrow/tight’
dazlaklaş: ‘become bold’
demirleş: ‘become iron-like’
denkleş: ‘become equal’
densizleş: ‘become peevish’

derinleş: ‘deepen’
destanlaş: ‘become an epic/legendary’
devleş : ‘become gigantic’
deyimleş: ‘become an idiom’
dikenleş: ‘become thorn-like’
dikleş : ‘become steep/upright’
dinçleş : ‘become vigorous’
dinginleş: ‘become tranquil/calm’
direleş : ‘become energetic’
dişileş : ‘feminize’
divaneleş: ‘become mad’
doğallaş: ‘become natural’
dolgunlaş: ‘get plump’
domuzlaş: ‘become obstinate and disagreeable’
donuklaş: ‘become dim/ expressionless’
durulaş: ‘become clear/limpid’
düzleş : ‘become flat/straight/plain’
ebedileş: ‘become eternal’
eblehleş: ‘become stupid’
edepsizleş: ‘become ill-mannered/ shameless’
edilgenleş: ‘become passive’
efeleş : ‘become hector-like’
efsaneleş: ‘become a legend’
ehlileş : ‘become tame’
ekleş : ‘become affix-like’
enayileş: ‘become credulous; fool’
enezeleş: ‘become thin/weak’
enginleş: ‘become vast/boundless’
ergenleş: ‘become adolescent’
erginleş: ‘become mature’
erkekleş: ‘become masculine’
esenleş : ‘become well/safe’
eskileş : ‘become old’
esmerleş: ‘become dark’
esnekleş: ‘become flexible’
eşekleş : ‘behave rudely’
eterleş : ‘become ether’
etkinleş: ‘become active’
etkisizleş: ‘become ineffective’
evcilleş: ‘become tamed’
facialaş: ‘become disastrous’
fakirleş: ‘become poor’
farklılaş: ‘become different’
farksızlaş: ‘become identical’
faşistleş: ‘become fascist’
federalleş: ‘become federal’
fenalaş : ‘get worse; feel faint’
fersizleş: ‘lose radiance; become dull’
fettanlaş: ‘become cunning’
filozoflaş: ‘philosophize’
firavunlaş: ‘behave cruelly and despotically’
formülleş: ‘become a formula’
fosilleş: ‘fossilize’
Fransızlaş: ‘frenchify’
Frenkleş: ‘behave like a European’
gazlaş : ‘become gaseous’
garipleş: ‘become bizarre’
garplılaş: ‘become westernized’
gavurlaş: ‘become an infidel’
gençleş: ‘become youthful or vigorous’
genelleş: ‘become general’
genleş : ‘dilate’
gerçekleş: ‘come true’
gerginleş: ‘become stretched/ strained’
gerillalaş: ‘become a guerilla’
göçebeleş: ‘become a nomad’
gölleş : ‘become lake-like’
globalleş: ‘become global’
gruplaş: ‘form groups’
güçleş : ‘become difficult’
güdükleş: ‘become stumpy’
gülünçleş: ‘become absurd/comic’
gümüşileş: ‘become silvery’
güncelleş: ‘be up-to-date’
gürbüzleş: ‘become robust’
gürleş : ‘become abundant; dense’
güzelleş: ‘become beautiful/good’
hafifleş: ‘get light’
hainleş : ‘become malicious; behave treacherously’
halsizleş: ‘become weak/tired out’
hamlaş : ‘get out of condition’
hamurlaş: ‘become dough-like’
hantallaş: ‘become clumsy/coarse’
haraplaş: ‘fall into ruins’
haşarılaş: ‘become naughty’
haşinleş: ‘become harsh’
haylazlaş: ‘become mischievous’
hayvanlaş: ‘become swinish, become brutish’
helvalaş: ‘become halvah-like’
hevenkleş: ‘become a bunch of fruits’
hımbıllaş: ‘get lazy’
hınzırlaş: ‘become wicked’
hırçınlaş: ‘become ill-tempered’

hıyarlaş: ‘become doltish, turn into a dolt’
hinleş : ‘become a scoundrel; crafty’
hizipleş: ‘separate into factions’
holdingleş: ‘conglomerate’
horozlaş: ‘become a bully’
hoşlaş : ‘become pleasant and agreeable’
hödükleş: ‘become boorish’
hulyalaş: ‘become a dream’
huysuzlaş: ‘become peevish’
ılıklaş : ‘become tepid’
ıraklaş : ‘go far away’
ırmaklaş: ‘become river-like’
ıssızlaş: ‘become desolate’
ifritleş : ‘get angry’
ihtisaslaş: ‘specialize’
ikileş : ‘become two/be doubled’
ilahlaş : ‘become god-like’
ilginçleş: ‘become interesting’
ilkeleş : ‘become a principle’
ilkelleş: ‘become primitive’
ilsizleş : ‘become homeless/ nationless’
insanlaş: ‘humanize’
insancıllaş: ‘become humane’
insafsızlaş: 'become unjust/cruel’
irileş : ‘grow gradually large’
İslamlaş: ‘convert to Islam’
itleş : ‘become contemptible’
ivedileş: ‘become urgent’
iyileş : ‘recover’
kabalaş: ‘become vulgar’
kadınlaş: ‘become feminine’
kadrolaş: ‘place one’s men in key places’
kâfirleş: ‘become heretic’
kalınlaş: ‘become thick’
kalıplaş: ‘take a fixed form; become stereotyped’
kalplaş: ‘start turning out shoddy work’
karılaş : ‘behave like a woman’
kartelleş: ‘cartelize’
kartlaş : ‘grow old’
kaslaş : ‘become muscle-like’
katılaş : ‘become rigid’
katırlaş: ‘start acting muleheadedly’
katileş : ‘become definite’
kavileş: ‘become strong/robust’
kavlaş : ‘become tindery or punky’
keçeleş: ‘mat; felt’
keçileş : ‘become obstinate’
kelleş : ‘become bald’
kentleş : ‘become urbanized’
kesatlaş: ‘(of a market) become stagnant’
kesinleş: ‘become definite’
kılıbıklaş: ‘become henpecked’
kıraçlaş: ‘become arid’
kırçıllaş: ‘(of hair) become grey’
kırlaş : ‘turn grey’
kısırlaş: ‘become barren’
kıtlaş : ‘become scarce’
kıyaklaş: ‘become nice, desirable’
kızgınlaş: ‘become red-hot/get angry’
kızıllaş: ‘turn red’
kibarlaş: ‘become courteous’
kireçleş: ‘calcify’
kistleş : ‘become cyst-like’
kişileş : ‘become a person’
klasikleş: ‘become a classic’
klişeleş: ‘become a cliché’
koflaş : ‘become hollow/stupid’
kolaylaş: ‘become easier’
korlaş : ‘become an ember’
koyulaş: ‘become dark/thick’
kökleş : ‘become established’
köleleş: ‘turn into a slave’
körleş : ‘become blind/ blunt’
kötüleş: ‘deteriorate’
köyleş : ‘become village-like’
közleş : ‘become cinder’
kullaş : ‘serve someone with utter faithfulness’
kurallaş: ‘become a rule’
kurşunlaş: ‘become heavy as lead’
kurulaş: ‘become dry’
kutsallaş: ‘become holy’
kutsileş: ‘become holy’
kuzulaş: ‘become as gentle as a lamb’
külçeleş: ‘harden in a lump’
kütleş : ‘become blunt’
kütükleş: ‘become rude and insensible’
laçkalaş: ‘get slack; loose’
laikleş : ‘become secular’
laubalileş: ‘be too free and easy’
legalleş: ‘become legal’
liberalleş: ‘become liberal’

lifleş : ‘become fiber-like’
matlaş : ‘become dull, matt’
mavileş: ‘turn blue’
melezleş: ‘become cross-bred’
milletleş: ‘become a nation’
millîleş: ‘become nationalized’
mitleş : ‘become a myth’
modalaş: ‘come into fashion’
morlaş : ‘turn purple’
mumlaş: ‘become wax-like’
muzırlaş: ‘become detrimental’
muzipleş: ‘become prankish; teasing’
nankörleş: ‘become ungrateful’
nasırlaş: ‘become calloused’
nazikleş: ‘become polite’
neftileş: ‘turn dark green’
nesneleş: ‘turn into an object’
neticeleş: ‘end’
netleş : ‘become clear’
normalleş: ‘become normal’
oburlaş: ‘become gluttonous’
odunlaş: ‘get rude’
okullaş: ‘become school-like’
olağanlaş: ‘become normal’
olgunlaş: ‘become mature’
oluklaş: ‘become trough-like’
organlaş: ‘(of a living thing) to develop organs’
ormanlaş: ‘become forested’
oyunlaş: ‘become a game’
ozonlaş: ‘become ozone’
öbekleş: ‘become a mass, pile’
özdeşleş: ‘identify’
özelleş : ‘become special/private’
özerkleş: ‘become autonomous’
özgünleş: ‘become genuine/original’
özgürleş: ‘become free’
özleş : ‘become the consistency of pastry’
pahalılaş: ‘become expensive’
palazlaş: ‘grow large’
partileş: ‘become a party’
pasifleş: ‘become passive’
pekleş : ‘become stronger/rigid’
pelteleş: ‘jellify’
pesleş : ‘(of voice) become soft/low’
pıhtılaş: ‘coagulate’
piçleş : be ruined, turn into a ballup’
pintileş: ‘become stingy’
pisleş : ‘become dirty’
pratikleş: ‘become practical’
putlaş : ‘be idolized’
radikalleş: ‘become a radical’
resimleş: ‘become picture-like’
resmîleş: ‘become formal/authorized’
revanlaş: ‘become harmonious’
rezilleş: ‘become contemptible’
robotlaş: ‘become a robot’
Rumlaş: ‘become Greek-like’
Ruslaş : ‘become Russian-like’
sabunlaş: ‘saponify’
sabitleş: ‘become stable’
sadeleş: ‘become plain’
saflaş : ‘become pure’
sağırlaş: ‘become deaf’
sakarlaş: ‘become clumsy’
sakızlaş: ‘become sticky’
sakinleş: ‘become calm’
salaklaş: ‘become foolish’
salgınlaş: ‘become an epidemic’
salozlaş: ‘become stupid’
sapıklaş: ‘become a pervert’
sarılaş : ‘turn yellow’
sarplaş : ‘become steep; hard’
sathileş: ‘become superficial’
semeleş: ‘become stupefied’
semizleş: ‘become fat, fleshy’
serinleş: ‘become cool/chilly’
sersemleş: ‘become stupefied’
sertleş : ‘become hard/austere’
sessizleş: ‘become quiet’
sıcaklaş: ‘become warm’
sıklaş : ‘become frequent/densely massed’
sınıflaş: ‘form a social class’
sıskalaş: ‘get thin and weak’
sıvıklaş: ‘become sticky’
sıvılaş : ‘condense; liquefy’
silikleş: ‘become indistinct’
simgeleş: ‘become a symbol’
sinsileş: ‘become sly’
sirkeleş: ‘turn sour/into vinegar’
sivilleş: ‘become civilian’
sivrileş: ‘become pointed’
siyahlaş: ‘blacken’
Slavlaş: ‘become Slavic’
softalaş: ‘become very pious’
soğuklaş: ‘get cold’
soluklaş: ‘become dim/pale’
soyutlaş: ‘become abstract’

sterilleş: ‘become sterile’
sucuklaş: ‘sweat’
sululaş : ‘become watery/too familiar’
süflileş: ‘become low/common’
şabanlaş: ‘become stupid’
şapşallaş: ‘become slovenly’
şarklılaş: ‘become easternized’
şaşılaş : ‘become cross-eyed’
şaşkınlaş: ‘become baffled’
şeffaflaş: ‘become transparent’
şehirleş: ‘become urbanized’
şehirlileş: ‘become urbanized’
şekerleş: ‘become sweet/cute’
şekilleş: ‘take a certain shape’
şıklaş : ‘become chic’
şirinleş: ‘become affable’
şirketleş: ‘become a company’
şirretleş: ‘become malicious’
şistleş : ‘become schist-like’
şuurlaş: ‘become conscious’
tabileş : ‘become natural’
tabulaş: ‘become a taboo’
tahtalaş: ‘become wood-like’
tanrılaş: ‘become a god’
tarafsızlaş: ‘become neutral’
taşıllaş : ‘fossillize’
taşlaş : ‘become stone-like’
Tatarlaş: ‘become Tatar-like’
tatlılaş : ‘get sweet/become pleasant’
tatsızlaş: ‘become distasteful/ unpleasant’
tazeleş : ‘become fresh’
tazılaş : ‘become thin, fast’
tekelleş: ‘become monopolized’
tekleş : ‘become sole’
temelleş: ‘become permanent’
tenhalaş: ‘become deserted’
tersleş : ‘become adverse’
tetikleş: ‘become alert’
tezleş : ‘become fast’
tıkızlaş: ‘become firm and hard’
ticarileş: ‘become commercial’
tilkileş : ‘become crafty’
tipleş : ‘become representative of’
tiritleş : ‘become old and feeble’
tirşeleş: ‘become pale green’
titizleş : ‘become captious’
titrekleş: ‘become vibrant’
tizleş : ‘become shrill’
topaklaş: ‘become lumpy’
tortulaş: ‘become turbid’
trajikleş: ‘become tragic’
tuhaflaş: ‘become odd’
türküleş: ‘become a folk-song’
uçuklaş: ‘become pallid’
ululaş : ‘become sublime’
ulusallaş: ‘become nationalized’
uluslaş : ‘become a nation’
urlaş : ‘become a tumour’
ustalaş : ‘become skilled’
uyanıklaş: ‘become vigilant’
uydulaş: ‘become a satellite nation’
uygarlaş: ‘become civilized’
uysallaş: ‘become amenable’
uyuzlaş: ‘become mangy’
uzaklaş: ‘retire to a distance’
uzmanlaş: ‘specialize; become an expert’
üçleş : ‘become triple’
ürkekleş: ‘become timorous’
üstünleş: ‘become superior’
vahşileş: ‘become savage’
varsıllaş: ‘become wealthy’
viranlaş: ‘become ruinous’
yabanileş: ‘go wild’
yakınlaş: ‘draw near, approach’
yaklaş : ‘approach; approximate’
yalçınlaş: ‘become craggy’
yalnızlaş: ‘become isolated’
yansızlaş: ‘become impartial’
yapaylaş: ‘become artificial’
yapılaş : ‘structure’
yapısallaş: ‘become structured’
yasalaş : ‘become law’
yassılaş: ‘become flattened’
yatkınlaş: ‘become inclined to something’
yavanlaş: ‘become dull or uninteresting’
yaygınlaş: ‘become prevalent’
yayvanlaş: ‘become wide and shallow’
yedekleş: ‘become a substitute’
yeğinleş: ‘become harsh’
yenileş : ‘become new’
yerelleş: ‘become local’
yerlileş: ‘become indigenous, native’
yetkinleş: ‘become competent’
yıldızlaş: ‘become successful and famous’

yiğitleş: ‘become brave’
yobazlaş: ‘become bigoted’
yoğunlaş: ‘become concentrated’
yoksullaş: ‘become destitute’
yozlaş : ‘become degenerate’
yöreselleş: ‘become local’
yüzsüzleş: ‘become brash’
zebunlaş: ‘become helpless and weak’
zenginleş: ‘get rich’
zindeleş: ‘become energetic and alert’
zirzoplaş: ‘become crazy’
zorlaş : ‘get difficult/hard’
züğürtleş: ‘become broke’
züppeleş: ‘become a fop’

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