Aspectual properties of Turkish denominal verbs

Yeşim Aksan
Mersin University


1. Introduction

Denominal verbs are verbs derived from nouns. Denominal verb formation via zero morphology (boxN→ boxV) is extremely productive in English compared with any other language like Turkish. Turkish uses the suffix {-İA} (kutu N ‘box’→kutu+İA V ‘to box’) most of the time and frequently zero morphology (boya N ‘paint’→boya-Ø V ‘to paint’) to produce noun based verbs. The ease of production in denominal verb formation in English has inspired not only morphologists but also syntacticians and semanticists to make inquiries into their peculiar properties. That’s why, we can observe various different approaches to the same phenomena today.

Studies in morphology question basically the suffixation process in denominal verb formation: how far is zero derivation different from any other type of derivation? (Marchand 1969, Lieber 1992). Syntacticians such as Hale and Keyser (1993, 1998) discuss the noun-verb conversion and develop a syntactic theory of denominal verb formation on the basis of Lexical Relational Structure. Semanticists like Pinker (1989), Jackendoff (1990, 1991), Kageyama (1997), and Labelle (2000) propose different templates or semantic primitives for conceptual structures of denominal verbs. Pragmatic elucidation on denominal verb formation is posed by Clark and Clark (1979), who furnished the most comprehensive data of both lexicalized and innovative denominal verbs in English.
Clark and Clark (1979) classify English denominal verbs into 8 semantic categories as follows: location (shelve the book), locatum (spice the food), goal (group the actors), source (word the sentence), instrument (mop the floor), duration (summer in France), agent (nurse the patient), and miscellaneous (bandage his ankle). This study will carry out its analyses on the basis of three of these major categories: location, locatum and goal.

The aim of the present study is twofold: (i) to demonstrate that aspectual nature of location, locatum and goal verbs can be identified via inherent semantic features of the base noun. Particularly, we expect to find a correlation between the (non)boundedness of the base nominal and the (a) telicity of the derived verb. In doing so, we follow the proposal of Harley (1999, 2003). She observes that semantic features of base nouns have an influence on the aspectual nature of English location and locatum verbs. In addition to this, we claim that the semantic properties of base nouns in goal denominal verbs are effective in specifying the aspectual behaviour of these verbs; (ii) to illustrate that locatum verbs with nonbounded nominal base provide evidence to reinforce the claim of scalar semantics that Incremental Theme argument by itself is not enough to determine the telicity of the predicate.

For this purpose, the study first determines the lexical properties of the so-called denominal verbs. Then it presents the aspectual (or Aktionsart) analysis of location, locatum, goal verbs, and questions the role of inherent semantic features of base nouns (i.e., countable nouns) in determining telicity of these denominal verbs. The study will also discuss the exceptional cases in locatum verbs derived from countable nouns. It finally focuses on the variable aspectual properties of locatum verbs with nonbounded nominal bases (i.e., mass nouns), and points out briefly the explanatory power of scalar semantics in ascribing (a) telicity interpretations to such verbs.

2. Lexical conceptual structure of location, locatum, goal verbs

The conceptual meaning of verbs are represented in lexical conceptual structure (LCS) which structurally organizes finite set of primitive semantic predicates and their arguments (Dowty 1979, Jackendoff 1990). This section will show that location, and locatum verbs are not just different realizations of identical thematic structures as has been hypothesized in previous studies (Jackendoff 1990). They have distinct semantic predicates. For location verbs there exists a locative predicate; for locatum verbs there is a possessional predicate WITH (Kageyama 1997:48).

Location verbs describe an act of ‘putting something in a location’, where the location is described by the base noun that is interpreted as thematic goal or place. Location verbs take as direct object the entity, theme, which is located or moved
with respect to the base noun. To sum up, the noun in the denominal location verbs describes the final location of the entity denoted by the direct object. The following representation of Jackendoff (1990) captures the notion of movement and spatial location in locative verbs.

   Ali computer-ACC box-LA-PAST-O
   ‘Ali boxed the computer.’

b. to box: CAUSE ([Thing V], [Event GO ([([Thing 3], [path TO ([place IN ([Thing BOX])])])])])

Locatum verbs describe an act of ‘putting a theme somewhere’. The theme argument is identified by the base noun. Such verbs take as direct object the entity interpreted as the final location (goal) of the base noun. For instance, in the predicate ‘polish the table’, the locatum noun (i.e., theme argument) ‘polish’ goes onto the goal, ‘the table’ as in (2b).

(2) a. Deniz masa-yı cila-la-di.
   Deniz table-ACC polish-LA-PAST-O
   ‘Deniz polished the table.’

b. to polish: CAUSE ([Thing V], [Event INCH [BE ([Thing POLISH], [Place ([ONd ([Thing ]))])])])

In his LCS representation of locatum verbs as shown in (2b), Jackendoff not only illustrates that the theme argument moves towards the goal argument but he also emphasizes that the whole area of a goal argument is covered. The subscript _d_ on ON stands for the feature [+distributive], which indicates the coverage of the whole area of the goal argument. Briefly, the agent causes the noun (polish) to come to be all over the place (the table).

To sum up, according to Jackendoff (1990) the only difference between the location and locatum verbs is that a location verb has an incorporated theme, while a locatum verb has an incorporated goal. After giving the LCS representation of location and locatum verbs described by Jackendoff, we want to focus on Kageyama’s (1997) LCS representation of location, locatum and goal denominal verbs.

According to Kageyama (1997), LCS representation does not involve any movement. On his view, LCS constitutes a linguistic level which is determined independently over semantic predicates rather than widely accepted syntactic categories like VP. The relationship of LCS with syntactic structure is achieved via linking rules which link LCS argument positions to syntactic arguments in the sentence.
Under this approach, the location predicate "box the computer" is represented as in (3). The nominal concept "box" is inserted in location argument slot. In other words, "neither the inserted noun nor the semantic predicates like AT, BE, and BECOME climb up to the highest predicate CAUSE. All these predicates stay in their places and the structure as a whole represents the LCS of the denominal verbs" (Kageyama 1997:52).

(3) to box: [x CAUSE [BECOME [y BE AT-[N]z]]]
    to box the computer: CAUSE [BECOME [computer BE AT-IN BOX]]

Kageyama explains the LCS of goal verbs through the same operation developed for locatum verbs. In goal verbs, the noun constant (i.e., group in 4) describes the final shape, form, or role of the entity denoted by the direct object (i.e., the students). Verbs in this group generally indicate a change of state rather than a change of position. The subscript "property" in (4b) indicates this change of state.

(4) a. Deniz öğrenci-ler- i grup-la-dr.
    Deniz student-PL-ACC group-LA-PAST-O
    'Deniz grouped the students.'

    b. to group: [x CAUSE [BECOME [y BE AT-IN-[property N]]
       [Deniz CAUSE [BECOME [students BE AT-IN-[property GROUP]]]]]

For locatum denominal verbs, Kageyama (1997:54-55) argues against the movement of locatum nouns, not finding the LCS proposed in this line adequate. Inherent lexical meaning of these verbs reveals that when we spice the food, or saddle the horse it is not just that ‘spice is on the food’ or ‘saddle is on the horse’ rather it indicates that ‘spice is mixed with the food and adds spicy property to it’ or ‘the saddle is fixed on the relevant part of the horse’s body so that the horse becomes ready to ride’. Thus, what is crucial in locatum verbs is “the coming together of theme and the place in such a way that they essentially form one unit” (Buck 1993:143). This is named as “affectedness” by Buck. Yet, if LCS of locatum verbs is hypothesized as in Jackendoff’s representation, it is not clear where the affectedness comes from. Hence, Kageyama (1997) proposes a new semantic predicate WITH which signifies possession in a broad sense. “y BE WITH z” essentially means “y has z”. This abstract notion of possession reflects the notion of affectedness observed in locatum verbs. Using this template, the LCS of “to polish” is as in (5). The semantic predicate WITH POLISH is interpreted as ‘the state of being covered with polish’. In this study, we adopt Kageyama’s LCS representation of locatum verbs:

(5) to polish: [x CAUSE [BECOME [y BE WITH [NOUN]z]]]
    to polish the table: CAUSE [BECOME [[[table]] BE WITH [POLISH]]]
3. Aspectual properties of location, locatum and goal verbs

The relation between the verb and its arguments determine the aspectual class of the predicate which is identified via aspectual feature telicity. Telicity shows terminativity or quantization of the internal contour of an event described. As maintained by Krifka (1989), telicity includes a mapping between the structure of an argument of a verb and the structure of the event indicated by the verb (cf. Dowty 1991, Verkuyl 1993, Tenny 1994, Jackendoff 1996). The semantic nature of the object argument may have a direct effect on telicity. According to Dowty (1979) and Krifka (1989) telic interpretation originates when the object or Incremental Theme argument is quantized. As defined by Dowty (1991:567-71), Incremental Theme argument is an affected object entailing an homomorphic relationship between its argument denonations and the temporal progress of the event. Since ‘a plate of rice’ in (6a) denotes a quantized amount of substance, an endpoint for the described event can be detected as the point at which all the substance in question is consumed. On the other hand, verbs with mass or uncountable objects as in (6b) do not allow a telic interpretation.

(6) a. Deniz bir tabak pilavı bir saatte yedi.
   ‘Deniz ate a plate of rice in an hour.’
 b. Deniz bir saat boyunca pilav yedi.
   ‘Deniz ate rice for half an hour.’

This fact about the aspectual interpretation of predicates displays the obvious parallel between the nominal meaning and verbal meaning. The mass/count distinction in the spatial dimension shown by things is similar to the telic/atelic distinction in the temporal dimension exhibited by events (Krifka 1989, Brinton 1991, Jackendoff 1991, Dowty 1991, Tenny 1994, Jackendoff 1991, 1996).

In this line, Jackendoff (1991) proposes the semantic function of boundedness [± BOUNDED] to distinguish between count and mass nouns. Count nouns are described as [+BOUNDED] and mass nouns as [-BOUNDED]. The basic idea is that count nouns are units: if we divide an apple by slicing we do not get further instances of the basic unit. Mass nouns are not units and they can be divided into further instances of themselves: if you divide five litres of water into one liter bottles, each of one liter bottles can still be referred to as ‘water’. Apart from the boundedness feature, Jackendoff also proposes the semantic feature [± INTERNAL STRUCTURE] to distinguish between plural count nouns and mass nouns. Plural count nouns can be divided into their composite units. It means that they are composed of individual units. On the other hand, mass nouns cannot be divided into their further instances. Thus, mass nouns are [-i], plural count nouns are [+i]. The typology of semantic classes of nouns according to Jackendoff (1991) is summarized in (7).
count nouns (individuals): [+b, -i] araba ‘car’, muz ‘banana’

mass nouns (substances): [-b, -i] su ‘water’, oksijen ‘oxygen’

plural nouns (aggregates): [-b, +i] muzlar ‘bananas’, arabalar ‘cars’

3.1. Location, locatum, goal verbs and telicity

Drawing on the analogy between the nominal and verbal meaning, we argue that aspectual properties of denominal verbs can be identified via inherent semantic features of the base noun. Harley (1999, 2003) observes that in English the telicity of location and locatum verbs depends on base nouns. When the base noun is a count noun, the related verb is necessarily telic. When it is a mass noun, the related verb is necessarily atelic. Extending Harley’s observations, we claim that location (kitabi kutula- ‘box the books’), locatum (atti eyerle- ‘saddle the horse’) and goal (ögrencileri grupula- ‘group the students’) denominal verbs derived from count nouns (e.g., box, saddle, group) will be telic. Thus, we predict that verbs derived from count nouns are classified as accomplishment verbs, which is consistent with their LCS analysis. On the other hand, the ones derived from mass nouns (e.g., butter, polish, cream) will be atelic, hence they may belong to the class of incremental theme verbs.

The present study verifies the above mentioned claims on data built upon Clark and Clark’s semantic subcategories of location, locatum and goal verbs. 200 canonical examples of location, locatum and goal verbs whose nominal base denote a thing constitute the database. The data have been compiled from the standard dictionary of Turkish published by Türk Dil Kurumu. All sorts of metaphorical extensions of determined denominal verbs are excluded from the database. To test the aspectual well-formedness of the predicates, standard telicity tests, namely entailment and temporal adverb (X boyunca ‘for X-time’ / X’de ‘in X-time’) compatibility are used. Since English does not lexicalize the same nouns as Turkish does in denominal verb formation, question marks in English translations display non-occurring denominal verbs in English.

3.1.1. Location and locatum verbs

Location (as in 8, 9, 10) and locatum (as in 11, 12) verbs derived from countable nouns, which are independent units by themselves, yield telic interpretations with respect to standard telicity tests, as illustrated in the example sentences. They are all compatible with the time span adverbial (in-X time) which occurs only with telic predicates.

(8) Storage places (on): sepeti sırtla- ‘shoulder the basket’, mevvaları tezgahla- ‘stand the fruit’...

Ali sepeti 2 dakikada /# 2 dakika boyunca sırtladı.
‘Ali shouldered the basket in 2 minutes /# for two minutes.’
3.1.2. Goal verbs

Goal verbs have either collective (group) or countable (bundle, cluster, pile) base nominals. Under Jackendoff’s (1991) account, countable nouns are units, so they are bounded; collective nouns contain individual units like bare plurals, so they have [+i]. However, if we divide a group into smaller segments, we can not name each of the results as a ‘group’. Thus, such nouns are also [+bounded]. As is expected, goal denominal verbs derived from collective nouns and countable nouns are bounded in time. With respect to entailment tests, they give rise to telic interpretations.

Behaviour of predicates with respect to entailment test (Dowty 1979) distinguishes between telic and atelic predicates: the progressive form entails the corresponding perfect form for atelic predicates, as in (13), but not for telic predicates as in (14).

(13) Deniz koşuyor. => Deniz koştu.
‘Deniz is running. => Deniz has run.’

(14) Deniz bir kitap yazıyor. *⇒ Deniz bir kitap yazdı.
‘Deniz is writing a book. *⇒Deniz has written a book.’

As is displayed in (15-17), telic goal denominal predicates are not entailed by their progressive forms. Due to this principle, for instance in (15) ‘Deniz is grouping the
students’ entails that ‘Deniz has not yet grouped the students.’

(15) **Groups:** öğrencileri grupla- ‘group the students’, sınıfı sırala- ‘line up the class’, kitapları sınıfla- ‘cluster the books’...

Deniz öğrencileri grupluyor. ➔ Deniz öğrencileri grupladı.
‘Deniz is grouping the students ➔ Deniz has grouped the students.’

(16) **Masses:** kağıtları destele- ‘bundle the papers’, giyisileri kümele- ‘pile the clothes’, çiçekleri demetle- ‘bouquet the flowers’...

Deniz kağıtları desteliyor. ➔ Deniz kağıtları desteledi.
‘Deniz is bundling the papers. ➔ Deniz has bundled the papers.’

(17) **Shapes:** ipi düğümle- ‘knot the string’...

Deniz ipi düğümlüyor. ➔ Deniz ipi düğümdedi.
‘Deniz is knotting the string. ➔ Deniz has knotted the string.’

3. 2. Aspect shift: Repeated event
A change in the semantic properties of object noun in telic location and locatum verbs affects the aspectual interpretation of the verb. When a bare plural appears in the direct object position of telic verbs like eyerle- ‘saddle’ or kutula- ‘box’, the event receives the interpretation of repeated instances of saddling or boxing, i.e, each repeated event has been completed.

‘Ali saddled horses for an hour.’

b. Ali bir saat boyunca bilgisayarlар kutuladı.
‘Ali boxed computers for an hour.’

Bare plurals bear a high potential for creating ambiguity. Many of them can be understood either as denoting a collection of individuals or quantifying over the members of that collection, and thus give rise to collective/distributive ambiguity. In our case, speakers resolve such ambiguity by relying on their world knowledge or generic knowledge. In (18 a, b), by virtue of generic knowledge to saddle horses would normally mean there was one saddle for each horse (distributive reading), not that there was one or more saddles for the horses taken as a set (collective reading). To box computers can be taken either way: it could be collective (19a) when one or more boxes for the computers is understood as a set or it could be distributive (19b) when one box for each computer is assigned.

(19) a. Ali bilgisayarların tümünü bir kutuya koydu.
‘Ali put all the computers in a box.’

b. Ali bilgisayarları ayrı ayrı kutulara koydu.
‘Ali put each computer in a different box.’
3. 3. Exceptional data in locatum verbs

Verbs categorized under the semantic classes of symbols çeki imzala- ‘sign the check’, çeki tarihle- ‘date the check’ pasaportu damgala- ‘stamp the passport’ and labels kavanozu etikete- ‘label the jar’, mektubu mühürle- ‘seal the letter’ have exceptional cases in terms of telic interpretation. Although these locatum verbs have bounded nominal bases, like sign, label, stamp which are expected to give rise to telic predicates, our world knowledge tells us that the event of labeling, stamping, signing, sealing can be carried out more than once on a particular entity. Given the appropriate context, such denominal verbs can have an atelic interpretation as well as more usual telic interpretation.

(20) a. Ali 5 dakika boyunca/ 5 dakikada belgeyi imzaladı.  
     ‘Ali signed the document for 5 minutes/ in 5 minutes.’  
     Possible interpretations:  
     Ali signed different places of the same document for 5 minutes.  
     Ali signed one particular place of the document in 5 minutes.

b. Ali 5 dakika boyunca/ 5 dakikada kavanozu etiketledi.  
     ‘Ali labelled the jar for 5 minutes/ in 5 minutes.’  
     Possible interpretations:  
     Ali labelled different sides of the same jar for 5 minutes.  
     Ali labelled one particular side of the jar in 5 minutes.

Locatum verbs categorized under the semantic class of decoration constitute another group of exception. Again, the locatum verbs in this category derived from count nouns, like resim ‘picture’, desen ‘pattern’, süs ‘ornament’ are supposed to be telic. Yet, it is very likely to interpret the event described with these verbs as atelic, simply because nominal bases of locatum verbs of decoration class are plural in their inherent lexical senses. For instance, resimle- ‘picture’ means “draw, paint or print on a surface a lot of pictures”. This inherent plural sense of these derived verbs enforces us to make undelimited, or atelic readings. When we utter ‘Deniz pictured the book’, the process of picturing the book involves drawing more than one picture (or a series of pictures) in a book.

(21) Deniz kitabı bir saatte/ bir saat boyunca resimledi.  
     ‘Deniz pictured the book in an hour/for an hour.’

Again the well known collective/distributive interpretation occurs with plural sense of the predicate resimle- ‘to picture’. Telic reading of sentence (21) considers pictures in a book as a set, whereas atelic reading views each picture in the book separately.

3. 4. Aspectual vagueness in locatum verbs

Final part of this study focuses on the aspectual vagueness of locatum verbs derived from mass nouns. Most of the locatum verbs have mass nouns as nominal bases, so
according to our proposal, such verbs should be atelic. However, aspectual tests illustrate that locatum verbs with nonbounded nominal bases, which are the members of different semantic subclasses, allow both telic and atelic readings as displayed in (22-26).

(22) **Coverings (on) / Permanent:** mобilyayı vernikle- ‘varnish the furniture’, дuvarı kireçle- ‘lime the wall’, тарлай иlaçla-* ‘medicine the field’ (spray the field with pesticide)’…

Deniz masayı 10 dakikada/10 dakika boyunca cıraladı.
‘Deniz polished the table in 10 minutes/for 10 minutes.’

(23) **Coverings (on) / Permanent solid:** зemini ziftle- ‘?pitch the floor’, yolu кatranla- ‘?tar the road’....

İşçiler yolu 2 günde/2 gün boyunca asfaltladı.
‘Workmen asphalted the road in 2 days/for 2 days.’

(24) **Coverings (on) / Viscous:** екмеги yağla- ‘butter the bread’, yüzünü kremle- ‘cream your face’, yarayı merhemle- ‘balm the wound’, vazoyu туткalla- ‘?glue the vase’...

Deniz yüzünü 10 dakikada/10 dakika boyunca kremledi.
‘Deniz creamed her face in 10 minutes/for 10 minutes.’

(25) **Coverings (on) / Powdery:** yüzünü pudrala- ‘powder your face’, balığı unla- ‘flour the fish’...

Deniz balığı 5 dakikada/5 dakika boyunca unladı.
‘Deniz floured the fish in 5 minutes/for 5 minutes.’

(26) **Coverings (in) / Condiments:** yemeği biberle- ‘pepper the food’, salatayı limonla- ‘lemon the salad’...

Deniz salatayı 2 dakikada/2 dakika boyunca limonladı.
‘Deniz lemoned the salad in 2 minutes/for 2 minutes.’

As we maintained before, what is crucial in locatum verbs is the semantic relation of possession predicate WITH, which signifies addition of a relevant property to the object. For instance, the locatum verb *polish* in the predicate *polish the table* implies ‘polish is mixed with the surface of the table and adds polished property to it’. Thus, these verbs are change of state verbs which display variable telicity along the line of other change of state verbs as in degree achievements (e.g, *cool, lengthen, widen*).

In view of the observation above, our study paves the way to a discussion of telicity interpretation in the verb classes which show variable telicity. What is crucial in the sample sentences (22-26) is that they involve Incremental Theme
arguments, but these arguments do not affect telicity of the predicates, which is quite contrary to the claims of Krifka (1989) and Dowty (1991).

We explicate this fact by using the means of scalar semantics which reanalyzes and extends the notion of Incremental Theme in terms of scalar representation. Scalar semantics elucidates the grading relations in lexical categories, basically adjectives and verbs, whose canonical examples involve grading. For instance, consider the verb build, which describes a kind of “process of creation”, and therefore supports an ordering of objects according to how far along in a scale of completion they are (Kennedy 2000).

Locatum verbs with mass noun bases displaying a variable telicity describe an event in which direct object arguments undergo a gradual change. This is characterized in a scalar representation as a change in the degree to which the direct object arguments possess some gradable property. For instance, with the predicate polish the table two scales are possible:

1. brightness of the table: the desired result may be the brightest table, with the scale being one of brightness.
2. extent/surface area of the table: the process of polishing is conceived to be complete when the act of polishing has covered the entire table.

As stated in Kennedy and Levin (2000), if any identifiable degree of change is assigned to one of the above scales this immediately determines the telicity of the predicate. That is to say:

(i) When the degree of change has a quantized scalar structure, an endpoint to the event can be identified, and the predicate is telic.

(ii) When the degree of change does not have a quantized scalar structure as in ‘Deniz polished the table’, an endpoint to the event can not be identified, and the predicate can be atelic.

In short, telicity corresponds to the degree of change which is a scalar property of verb meaning. It is determined in terms of mapping between the “structure of the degree of change and the structure of the event” (Kennedy & Levin 2000). On the
other hand, Incremental Theme argument itself does not directly determine telicity. Hay, Kennedy and Levin (1999) and Kennedy and Levin (2000) point out that “it indirectly determines telicity to the extent that its structure affects possible values of the degree of change”.

A last word is on the telic reading of the sentences which do no have any delimiting elements such as measure phrases, goal phrases or resultative secondary predicates. Although the degree of change does not have quantized scalar structure in atelic interpretations of locatum verbs with mass nouns, we can still assign telic interpretations to such predicates. This is imposed by our world knowledge or generic knowledge of the specific process (e.g., polishing), and the object involved (e.g., table). In the sentence ‘Deniz polished the table in 10 minutes’, the event is considered to have been completed when the table reaches to a point which would conventionally be considered “polished” (Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999, Smollett 2001, Ramchand 2001).

4. Conclusion

It is possible to determine the aspectual properties of denominal verbs in Turkish to some extent by regarding the semantic features of the base nouns. As is discussed, location, locatum and goal verbs derived from countable nouns are most of the time, telic. We have exemplified that each class of denominal verbs involve exceptions to the telicity claim, e.g., plural senses of decoration subclass of locatum verbs. Moreover, collective/distributive interpretations caused by plural arguments of the verbs easily affect the aspectual properties of location, locatum and goal verbs. Our data from Turkish provide evidence for scalar semantic explanation for predicates having variable telicity. Finally, the discussion in this study emphasizes that world knowledge and contextual conditions are very influential in carrying out effective interpretations on the aspectual nature of predicates.

Notes

1. This article is a revised version of two papers I presented at XVIIth National Linguistic Conference, in May 2003, Anadolu University with M. Aksan as co-presenter and at the 8th Annual Meeting of the Gesellschaft für Semantik, in September–October 2003, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University.

2. It is noteworthy that except for the semantic category of agent, Turkish has all these semantic classes in its denominal verb classification with different degrees of productivity.

3. The counter evidence proposed by Kageyama (1997:55) against the movement of locatum nouns comes from cases where the locatum noun denotes the result of the action, and does not have any substance before the action is carried out. To button hole the shirt or to dog-ear the page are good examples. Since buttonholes can not exist independently of clothes, it is meaningless to say move buttonholes on the shirt.

4. Entailment test used in identifying aspectual properties of predicates is that:
   (i) If O is an accomplishment verb, then x is (now) Oing entails that x has not (yet) Oed.
(ii) If $\theta$ is an activity verb, then $x$ is (now) $\theta$ing entails that $x$ has $\theta$ed.

Storage places (in) and containers (in) are thought to be the same by the referee of this paper. The difference between these categories lies in where the entity is put "in a storage place" like depo or "in a container" like şişe. We remain faithful to Clark and Clark's categories in this respect (see Clark & Clark, 1979:772).

The unnaturalness displayed in the example sentences (18a, b) originates from {-lAr} marked bare plural nouns. {-lAr} in Turkish is not considered as a "genuine plural marker" by itself, and it is not necessary for plural interpretation of a noun (Tura 1973, Ketrez 2004 among others). The example sentences are more natural with bare nouns functioning as direct objects as in (i), (ii).

(i) Ali bir saat boyunca at eyerledi.
(ii) Ali bir saat boyunca bilgisayar kutuladı.

However, bare direct objects make multiple readings possible:
1. Ali bir saat boyunca bir at eyerledi.
   'Ali saddled a horse for an hour.'
   'Ali saddled horses for an hour.'
3. Ali bir saat boyunca at-eyerleme yaptı.
   'Ali was involved in horse-saddling for an hour.'

To avoid such readings of bare nouns, and to emphasize only the plural senses of the direct object nouns in exemplifying the aspectual shift in denominal verbs we have deliberately used {-lAr} marked bare plural nouns in our example sentences (18a), (18b).

Regarding the contextual explanation developed for subcategories of symbol and label locatum verbs, one can claim that under appropriate context, locatum verbs from semantic subclasses of temporary dress (like diaper the baby), animal paraphernalia and clothing part (like saddle the horse) may allow atelic interpretations. However, such a claim does not hold for the above mentioned subcategories. In the same vein, location denominal verbs with countable nominal bases do not have such a tendency since they are necessarily telic by nature. The only way to change their telicity is to manipulate the boundedness feature of their arguments. On the other hand, our world knowledge naturally triggers the relevant context which makes atelic reading possible with locatum verbs from the semantic subclasses of symbol and label.

Followings are inherent lexical meaning of locatum verbs categorized under the semantic class of decoration:

- desenle- 'pattern': a pattern is an arrangement of lines or shapes, especially a design in which the same shape is repeated at regular intervals over a surface.
- sülse- 'festoon' (n-count, usually plural): If sth. is festooned -eg. lights, balloons or flowers, a large number of things are hung from it or wrapped around it, especially in order to decorate it.
- işle- 'garland' (n-count, usually plural): circular decoration made from flowers and leaves.
- pulla- 'sequin' (n-count, usually plural): sequins are small shiny discs that are sewn on clothes to decorate them.

References


