Turkish pluractional inchoatives

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1 Introduction

- This study investigates Turkish inchoatives formed with the so-called "reciprocal" suffix *-(I)ş*
- Unlike more widely studied anticausative markers, it does not derive reflexives or passives, but it does mark reciprocal, intensive and pluractional motion verbs (Key and Ótott-Kovács, 2024)

Reflexive	*giy-**in**-* 'dress' put.on-REFL	**giy-**iş**-* put.on-PLRC	*yıka-**n**-* 'wash' wash-REFL	**yıka-**ş**-* wash-PLRC
Passive	*yap-**ıl**-* 'be built' make-PASS	**yap-**ış**-* make-PLRC	*duy-**ul**-* 'be heard' hear-PASS	**duy-**uş**-* hear-PLRC

Table 1: Where *-ş* can't be used

Inchoative	*bur-uş-* 'crumple' twist-PLRC	*gel-iş-* 'develop' come-PLRC	*hafif-le-ş-* 'lighten' light-V-PLRC
Reciprocal	*bak-ış-* 'look at each other' look-PLRC	*yaz-ış-* 'write to each other' write-PLRC	*toka-la-ş-* 'shake hands' handshake-V-PLRC
Intensive	*titre-ş-* 'vibrate' tremble-PLRC	*kırp-ış-* 'blink rapidly (eyes)' blink-PLRC	
Motion verbs	*uç-uş-* 'fly helter-skelter' fly-PLRC	*kaç-ış-* 'flee in all directions' flee-PLRC	

Table 2: Uses of *-(I)ş*

- We propose that the array of verb types in Table 1 is naturally accounted for if *-(I)ş* spells out a pluractional head, an approach already suggested in Atlamaz and Öztürk 2023 and Key and Ótott-Kovács 2022, 2024
- We name this distribution **p-syncretism**, to contrast it with the more familiar u-syncretism (Embick 1998, 2004) in which the inchoative (anticausative) has the same morphological marking as the passive and reflexive
- Focusing on *-(I)ş* inchoatives, we argue that these are not derived from a transitive verb, but are independent derivations from a root or non-verbal category
- Inchoatives with *-(I)ş* are iterative pluractionals that build degree achievements (Dowty, 1979), whose denotation involves progress along a property scale comprising an iteration of change-of-state (COS) subevents

Roadmap:

§2 presents the distribution of *-(I)ş* in inchoative/causative alternating pairs and the lexical aspect of (ostensibly) deverbal and deadjectival *-(I)ş* verbs, and argues that they are degree achievements derived from a root or non-verbal category

§3 lays out a formal derivation of degree achievements through the interaction of DegP and an iterative Plrc head

§4 outlines an account of p-syncretism, positioning pluractional inchoatives in the family of pluractional types

§5 concludes

2 Inchoatives suffixed with *-(I)ş*

Main claim

- The suffix *-(I)ş* derives inchoatives from simple verbal roots and—in conjunction with the verbalizing suffix *-lA*—from adjectives and nouns
- We argue that **none of these are derived through detransitivization**, and that ***-(I)ş* inchoatives are independently derived degree achievements**

- We have benefited from the data in these extremely useful sources:
  1. Nakipoğlu and Üntak 2008 (henceforth N&Ü)
  2. A lexicon of verbs called from the *Türk Dil Kurumu Türkçe Sözlük* [Turkish Language Association Dictionary] (1998)
  3. Gandon 2013, who has collected all *-(I)ş* verbs from the *Grand dictionnaire turc-français* [Large Turkish-French Dictionary] (2008)

2.1 (Ostensibly) de-verbal inchoatives

2.1.1 Not anticausatives

- In a few verb pairs, ***-(I)ş* appears to have an anticausative function**: a simple transitive has a corresponding complex intransitive marked with *-(I)ş*, e.g., *bur-* 'twist (tr.)'/*bur-uş-* 'crumple (int.)' (Gandon, 2013)

Simple transitive		**(Ostensible) *-(I)ş* anticausative**	
ayır-	'separate'	*ayr-ış-*	'decompose'
bur-	'twist'	*bur-uş-*	'crumple'
kar-	'mix'	*kar-ış-*	'mix'
kır-	'break'	*kır-ış-*	'wrinkle'
yığ-	'heap'	*yığ-ış-*	'heap up on top of one another'

Table 3: (Ostensible) *-(I)ş* anticausative (décausitif) (Gandon, 2013)

- We claim that these are **not anticausatives** in the sense of Haspelmath 1993
- On closer inspection, such pairs exhibit semantic drift and so do not represent a transitivity alternation sharing a core event

- The simple transitives have a true anticausative with the non-active Voice suffix *-(I)l* (Key, 2025) while *-(I)ş* inchoatives have a transitive counterpart that stacks the causative *-DIr*[1] onto *-(I)ş*
- A core meaning is shared within the simple/*-(I)l*-marked pairs, and within the *-(I)ş* / *-(I)ş-tIr* pairs, but not between the simple transitive and the *-(I)ş*-marked verb
- Unlike a detransitivizing suffix, **-(I)ş contributes a meaning component that is present on both sides of the alternation**
- Our claim is that this meaning is related to **event plurality**

Anticausative alternation				**Causative alternation**			
Simple transitive		**-l,-n anticausative**		**-(I)ş inchoative**		**-(I)ş-tIr causative**	
bur-	'twist'	*bur-**ul-***	'twist'	*bur-**uş-***	'crumple'	*bur-uş-tur-*	'crumple'
kır-	'break'	*kır-**ıl-***	'break'	*kır-**ış-***	'wrinkle'	*kır-ış-tır-*	'wrinkle'
ayır-	'separate'	*ayr-**ıl-***	'separate'	*ayr-**ış-***	'decompose'	*ayr-ış-tır-*	'decompose'
kar-	'mix'	*kar-**ıl-***	'mix'	*kar-**ış-***	'mix'	*kar-ış-tır-*	'mix'
yığ-	'heap'	*yığ-**ıl-***	'heap up'	*yığ-**ış-***	'heap up on top of one another'	*yığ-ış-tır-*	'heap on top of one another'

Table 4: Anticausative and causative alternations

2.1.2 -(I)ş verbs with corresponding intransitive base

- There are also *-(I)ş* inchoatives whose **corresponding simple verb is intransitive**, Table 5. Obviously, there can **no detransitivization** here
- The transitive variant is again formed by stacking *-DIr* on top of *-(I)ş*, and again the inchoative and causative forms share a meaning component that is absent from the simple verb

		Causative alternation			
Simple intransitive		**-(I)ş inchoative**		**-(I)ş-tIr causative**	
ol-	'become'	*ol-uş-*	'form'	*ol-uş-tur-*	'form'
gel-	'come'	*gel-iş-*	'develop'	*gel-iş-tir-*	'develop'
dön-	'turn'	*dön-üş-*	'metamorphose'	*dön-üş-tür-*	'metamorphose'
kok-	'smell'	*kok-uş-*	'smell rotten'	*kok-uş-tur-*	'cause to smell rotten'
uyu-	'sleep'	*uyu-ş-*	'go numb'	*uyu-ş-tur-*	'make numb'
değ-	'touch (+dat.)'	*değ-iş-*	'change'	*değ-iş-tir-*	'change'
kız-	'get angry'	*kız-ış-*	'get heated/inflamed'	*kız-ış-tır-*	'heat/inflame'
yat-	'lie down'	*yat-ış-*	'calm down'	*yat-ış-tır-*	'calm down'
yet-	'suffice'	*yet-iş-*	'grow (crops, livestock)'	*yet-iş-tir-*	'grow, raise'

Table 5: *-(I)ş* inchoative/transitive pairs corresponding to intransitive basic verbs

Summary

- **-(I)ş does not derive anticausatives via a detransitivization process**

[1]Capital letters in suffix notation indicate variable segments. Capital D may be /d/ or /t/, depending on the voicing of the previous segment. Capital I may be any of the four high vowels /i, ı, ü, u/ according to vowel harmony.

2.1.3 Aspectual properties

- The nonactive Voice exponent *-(I)l-* derives the full range of dynamic lexical aspect types (Vendler 1957) for inchoatives, which they inherit from the core event

	Basic transitive	**Anticausative**	
Achievement	*kır-*	*kır-**ıl-***	'break'
Accomplishment	*sök-*	*sök-**ül-***	'unravel'
Activity	*sars-*	*sars-**ıl-***	'shake'

Table 6: Event types of basic/anticausative pairs

- Inchoatives with *-(I)ş* may be accomplishments or activities, but **never achievements**
- That is to say, they may be telic or atelic, but they always have a process component. This is independent of the event type of any existing basic verb

Basic verb		**Event type**	***-(I)ş* inchoative**		**Event type**
kır-	'break'	Achievement	*kır-ış-*	'wrinkle'	Accomplishment or Activity
gel-	'come'	Achievement	*gel-iş-*	'develop'	Accomplishment or Activity
değ-	'touch'	State or Achievement	*değ-iş-*	'change'	Accomplishment or Activity
kok-	'smell' (intr.)	State or Achievement	*kok-uş-*	'get smelly'	Activity
dön-	'turn (into)'	Activity/Achievement	*dön-üş-*	'metamorphose'	Accomplishment or Activity

Table 7: Event types of basic verbs and corresponding *-(I)ş* inchoatives

- An anticausative with *-(I)l-* may be punctual, but an inchoative with *-(I)ş* has duration:
- *kır-ıl-* 'break (int.)' is a simple achievement: It is odd in the imperfective (1), except on a special reading (e.g. slow-motion)
- In contrast, *kır-ış-* 'wrinkle' is scalar, readily permitting an in-progress reading in the imperfective (2) (Vivanco 2021)

(1) #Vazo kır-ıl-ıyor.
vase break-NACT-IMPERF.3
'The vase is breaking.'

(2) Cild-im kır-ış-ıyor.
skin-1SG.POSS break-PLRC-IMPERF.3
'My skin is wrinkling.'

- Both *dön-* and *dön-üş-* can have a change-of-state reading with a dative complement, but only the latter is appropriate to describe the durative process of metamorphosis (4)

(3) Erkek-ler tekaüt ol-unca çocuğ-a dön-üyor-lar.
man-PL retirement V.NACT-CNVRB child-DAT turn-IMPRF-PL
'When men retire, they turn into children.' (https://sozluk.gov.tr/, accessed 5/31/2026)

(4) Tırtıl kelebeğ-e ***dön**-üyor / **dön-üş**-üyor.
caterpillar butterfly ***turn**-IMPRF / **turn-PLRC**-IMPRF
'The caterpillar is turning into a butterfly.'

- The verbs *kok-* 'smell; stink' and *kok-uş-* 'go stinking rotten' have a telic reading in the perfect and seem almost interchangeable, with the subtle difference that *kok-uş-* indicates a greater degree of putrefaction

(5) a. Çöp kok-muş.
trash smell-PRF.EVID.3
'The trash has gotten smelly.'

b. Çöp kok-uş-muş.
trash smell-PLRC-PRF.EVID.3
'The trash has gone rotten.'

- We suggest that the difference in intensity is due to the fact that *kok-* is an achievement while *kok-uş-* is an accomplishment whose durativity comprises a series of rotting subevents
- The difference is more salient in the imperfective: *kok-* 'smell' is stative, while *kok-uş-* is obligatorily eventive

(6) a. Çöp kok-uyor.
trash smell-IMPERF.3
'The trash smells.' (state)

b. Çöp kok-uş-uyor.
trash smell-PLRC-IMPERF.3
'The trash is going rotten.' (process)

2.1.4 *-(I)ş* inchoatives are degree achievements

- **The properties of *-(I)ş* inchoatives are suggestive of degree achievements** (Dowty, 1979), a subset of alternating COS verbs that always have duration but may be telic (accomplishment) or atelic (process)
- They are therefore compatible with both 'in' and 'for' temporal modification

(7) Cild-im beş sene **boyunca** / **içinde** kır-**ış**-tı.
skin-1SG.POSS five year **for** / **in** break-**PLRC**-IMPERF.3
'My skin wrinkled for five years/in five years.'

- Since degree achievements are based on scalar properties, they tend to be deadjectival (see §2.2 following).
- Rappaport Hovav (2014) notes that in English, some simple verbs also pattern as scalar COS, e.g., *crumple*
- We equate the *-(I)ş* verbs discussed in this section with this set of English simple verbs; cf. *bur-uş-* 'crumple'

Summary

- Anticausatives derived with nonactive Voice suffix *-(I)l* correspond to a transitive basic verb. The anticausative inherits its lexical semantics, including lexical aspect, from the basic predicate
- **Inchoatives derived with *-(I)ş* do not always correspond to a transitive basic verb**. The inchoative does not inherit its lexical semantics or aspect from any basic verb. Inchoatives with *-ş* are **always durative**, but may be telic or atelic
- **We conclude that *-(I)ş* inchoatives are not derived from an independently occurring basic verb, and suggest that they are degree achievements**

2.2 Deadjectival and denominal inchoatives

- The majority of *-(I)ş* inchoatives are derived from adjectives
  - Gandon (2013) identifies 12 deverbal, 12 denominal, and 100 deadjectival *-(I)ş* inchoatives in her dataset
- **Inchoatives derived from non-verbal categories** feature the suffix sequence ***-lA-ş***

Non-verbal stem			**-*lA*-ş inchoative**	
sakin	'calm'	**sakin-iş-*	*sakin-**le**-**ş**-*	'calm down'
iyi	'good'	**iyi-ş-*	*iyi-**le**-**ş**-*	'improve, heal'

Table 8: *-(I)ş* inchoatives with non-verbal stems

  - The first element, *-lA*, is a highly productive verbalizer, deriving a range of verb types
  - Nakipoğlu and Üntak (2008) report 953 verbs formed with (unaugmented) *-lA* in their lexicon, of which we provide a sample below
  - Since *-(I)ş* cannot attach directly to a non-verbal base, as shown in Table 8, *-lA* is always interposed

Non-verbal stem		**-*lA* verb**	
etiket	'label'	*etiket-**le**-*	'label'
etki	'influence'	*etki-**le**-*	'impress'
ezber	'rote'	*ezber-**le**-*	'memorize'
kıyas	'comparision'	*kıyas-**la**-*	'compare'
laf	'words'	*laf-**la**-*	'chat'
saçma	'silly'	*saçma-**la**-*	'babble'
ihtiyar	'old'	*ihtiyar-**la**-*	'grow old'
pepe	'stutterer'	*pepe-**le**-*	'stutter'
temiz	'clean'	*temiz-**le**-*	'clean'

Table 9: Illustrative examples of the *-lA* verbalizer

- Here we argue that, like the deverbal formations discussed before, deadjectival/denominal inchoatives with the sequence ***-lA-ş*** **are not derived from a corresponding transitive verb**

2.2.1 No corresponding *-lA* verb

- First, in the overwhelming number of cases, there is **no corresponding basic verb**
- Gandon (2013) reports that verbs in *-lA* exist for only 11 out of 112 *-lA-ş* inchoatives (9.8%)
- By our count, in N&Ü a *-lA* verb exists for 83 of 558 *-lA-ş* inchoatives (15%), see the Tables below and more data in Appendix-A

	Nakipoğlu and Üntak 2008		**Gandon 2013**	
	-lA-ş inchoative	***-lA*** w/ same base	***-lA-ş*** inchoative	***-lA*** w/ same base
Deadjectival	344	42	100	11
Denominal	212	41	12	0
Deadverbial	2	0	0	N/A
Total	**558**	**83**	**112**	**11**

Table 10: The number of *-lA-ş* inchoatives and corresponding *-lA* verbs

Non-verbal stem	***-lA***	***-lA-ş* intransitive**	***-lA-ş-tIr* transitive**
buhar 'vapor'	**buhar-la-*	*buhar-la-ş-* 'vaporize'	*buhar-la-ş-tır-* 'vaporize'
çirkin 'ugly'	**çirkin-le-*	*çirkin-le-ş-* 'become ugly'	*çirkin-le-ş-tir-* 'make ugly'
çöl 'desert'	**çöl-le-*	*çöl-le-ş-* 'desertify'	*çöl-le-ş-tir-* 'desertify'
dar 'narrow'	**dar-la-*	*dar-la-ş-* 'narrow'	*dar-la-ş-tır-* 'narrow'

Table 11: Verbalizing inchoatives with *-lA-ş*

2.2.2 Intransitive *-lA* verbs

- Even when a corresponding *-lA* verb exists, it is usually not a plausible base of anticausativization
- Sometimes, the corresponding ***-lA* verb is itself intransitive**, see Table 12
- This mirrors the previously discussed de-verbal inchoatives where the basic verb is also intransitive

Non-verbal stem	**-*lA* intransitive**	**-*lA*-*ş* intransitive**	**-*lA*-*ş*-*tIr* transitive**
afal	*afal*-***la***-	*afal*-***la*-*ş***-	*afal*-*la*-*ş*-*tır*-
'astonished'	'be astonished'	'be astonished'	'astonish'
hafif	*hafif*-***le***-	*hafif*-***le*-*ş***-	*hafif*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'light'	'lighten'	'get light/silly'	'lighten'
sakin	*sakin*-***le***-	*sakin*-***le*-*ş***-	*sakin*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'calm'	'calm down'	'become calm'	'make calm'
sersem	*sersem*-***le***-	*sersem*-***le*-*ş***-	*sersem*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'dazed'	'become dazed'	'become dazed'	'daze'
sıcak	*sıcak*-***la***-	*sıcak*-***la*-*ş***-	*sıcak*-*la*-*ş*-*tır*-
'hot'	'feel hot'	'become warm'	'make warm'

Table 12: -*lA*-*ş* inchoatives where the corresponding -*lA* verb is intransitive

2.2.3 -*lA* verbs with significant semantic drift

- When the -*lA* verb is transitive, there is **often significant semantic drift** between it and the -*lA*-*ş* verb
- There is always a corresonding transitive that stacks the causative -*DIr* and preserves the core meaning of the -*lA*-*ş* verb
- This is the same pattern observed in for simple verbs
- See Table below and more data in Appendix-B

Non-verbal stem	**-*lA* transitive**	**-*lA*-*ş* intransitive**	**-*lA*-*ş*-*tIr* transitive**
ağır	*ağır*-***la***-	*ağır*-***la*-*ş***-	*ağır*-*la*-*ş*-*tır*-
'heavy'	'provide with accommodations'	'become heavy'	'make heavy'
kök	*kök*-***le***-	*kök*-***le*-*ş***-	*kök*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'root'	'uproot'	'take root'	'cause to take root'
kötü	*kötü*-***le***-	*kötü*-***le*-*ş***-	*kötü*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'bad'	'denigrate'	'worsen'	'worsen'
köz	*köz*-***le***-	*köz*-***le*-*ş***-	*köz*-*le*-*ş*-*tir*-
'live charcoal'	'grill over charcoal'	'become charcoal'	'turn to charcoal'

Table 13: -*lA*-*ş* inchoatives where the corresponding -*lA* verb is transitive

2.2.4 Some plausible -*lA* stems

- By our count, there are 61 -*lA*-*ş* verbs in N&Ü for which a corresponding transitive -*lA* verb exists
- Of these, 14 are semantically close, such that the -*lA* transitive appears to be a plausible base for the -*lA*-*ş* inchoative
- Yet even in these cases, **there exists a stacking transitive in -*lA*-*ş*-*tIr***
- We suggest that the -*lA* and -*lA*-*ş*-*(tIr)* verbs in Table 14 are separate derivations from a common root whose meanings happen to converge

Non-verbal stem	**-*lA* transitive**	**-*lA-ş* intransitive**	**-*lA-ş-tIr* transitive**
denk	*denk-**le-***	*denk-**le-ş-***	*denk-**le-ş-tir-***
'equivalent'	'even up'	'come into equilibrium'	'bring into equilibrium'
düz	*düz-**le-***	*düz-**le-ş-***	*düz-**le-ş-tır-***
'smooth'	'smooth'	'become flat'	'flatten'
güncel	*güncel-**le-***	*güncel-**le-ş-***	*güncel-**le-ş-tir-***
'up-to-date'	'update'	'update'	'update'
taze	*taze-**le-***	*taze-**le-ş-***	*taze-**le-ş-tir-***
'fresh'	'freshen'	'become fresh'	'freshen'
ozon	*ozon-**la-***	*ozon-**la-ş-***	*ozon-**la-ş-tır-***
'ozone'	'ozonize'	'become ozone'	'ozonize'
üç	*üç-**le-***	*üç-**le-ş-***	*üç-**le-ş-tir-***
'three'	'make three'	'become three'	'make three'

Table 14: *-lA-ş* inchoatives and the corresponding transitive *-lA* verbs with similar meaning

2.2.5 Monomorphemic *-lAş*?

- For the overwhelming majority of *-lA-ş* inchoatives, there is no viable basic transitive in *-lA*
- Noting this, **some authors therefore conclude that *-lAş* is monomorphemic**, not analyzable into component parts
- However, there are compelling reasons **not to take this approach**:
  - Both *-lA* and *-(I)ş* are abundantly attested in Turkish:
    N&Ü catalog 953 verbs derived with *-lA* alone and 147 with *-(I)ş* alone.
  - In *-lA-ş* inchoatives the two suffixes have functions that they exhibit independently: *-lA* attaches to a noun or adjective to derive a verb, and *-(I)ş* forms a scalar change-of-state verb that may be telic or atelic (see below)
  - The sequence *-lA-ş* is therefore readily segmentable by speakers

2.2.6 Aspectual properties

- Like the deverbal derivations, denominal inchoatives with *-(I)ş* test as accomplishments and as activities
  - Like the deverbal cases in §2.1., deadjectival verbs with ***-lA-ş* always have a process component denoting scalar change**
  - They are felicitous in the imperfective, (8a); and with both 'in' and 'for' temporal phrases, (8b)

(8) a. Şehir gittikçe güzel-le-ş-**iyor**.
city gradually beautiful-v-PLRC-**IMPERF**.3
'The city is gradually beautifying.'

b. Şehir beş sene **boyunca** / **içinde** güzel-le-ş-ti.
city five year **for** / **in** beautiful-v-PLRC-PST.3
'The city beautified for / in five years.' (process / accomplishment)

- They are therefore a perfect fit for degree achievements: **they denote a gradual change in the degree or extent of a property along an abstract scale** (Beavers 2011; Dowty 1979; Kennedy and Levin 2008, i.a.)

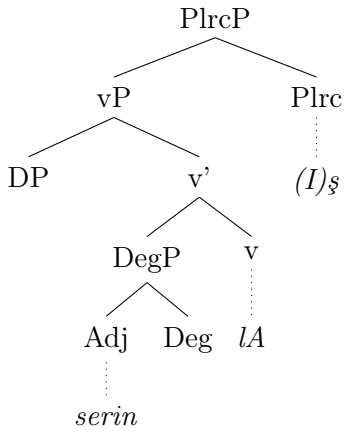
3 Proposal

- We have presented evidence that *-(I)ş* inchoatives, whether deverbal or deadjectival, are degree achievements
- We now propose that *-(I)ş* spells out a pluractional (PLRC) head whose role is to denote progress along a multi-point property scale through an iteration of subevents

3.1 Deadjectival/Denominal verbs

- We propose the following structure in (9) for non-verbal *-lA-ş* derivates, e.g., *serin-le-ş-* 'to cool'

(9)



- Kearns (2007) argues that COS predicates with duration, such as x cooled, are interpreted as movement along a property scale, where the theme has different degrees (d, d') of, e.g., coolness at different times (t, t') such that an increase in time correlates to an increase in degree

(10) x bears the property of coolness to degree d at time t
x bears the property of coolness to degree d' at t'
t < t' & d < d'

(Kearns 2007:28)

- The transitions to comparative result states are non-unique and hence repeatable. Kearns argues that these transitions are an iteration of achievements. The iterative pluractional is therefore a natural fit for deriving the process component. We take Lasersohn's (1995) iterative pluractional semantics as our starting point

(11) V-PLRC(X) $\Leftrightarrow \forall e,e' \in X[V(e) \wedge \neg\, \tau(e) \circ \tau(e')] \wedge \text{CARD}(X) \geq n$

(based on Lasersohn 1995: 251)

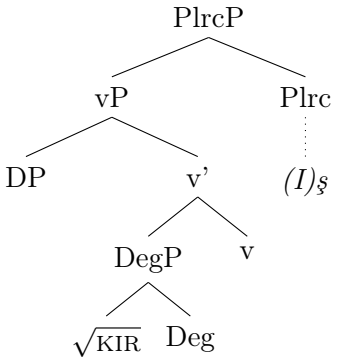
- According to Kearns, a deadjectival verb involves a series of iterated achievements, each of which means 'become A-er,' where 'A' is the property named by the adjective. If the base predicate has the appropriate denotation, then the iteration contributed by the pluractional will ensure progress along a scale

- Following Vivanco (2021), we formalize the scalar structure by postulating a DegP
- Deg introduces an ordered set of points (degrees): d, d', d", etc.; it is a function that takes a property as its argument and returns a property scale.
- In the case of denominal verbs, the base noun is also interpreted as a gradable property, e.g., *çöl* 'desert,' the base of *çöl-le-ş-* 'desertify,' is related to a property scale along the dimension of desert-ness
- Little-v introduces a punctual event with a result state. When it is applied to a property scale, the result state is an increased degree of the property: $d_n \rightarrow d_{n+1}$
- Thus, the denotation of the vP node is 'become A-er.' The pluractional then takes the denotation of vP as the base predicate V, which it iterates, finally deriving scalar change

3.2 (Ostensibly) deverbal inchoatives

- As for ostensibly deverbal inchoatives, we equate these with the simple scalar verbs found in English
- Rappaport Hovav (2014) observes that the same scalar COS types found in deadjectival verbs are also found with simple verbs, e.g. 'stretch' and 'shrivel' (cf. *bur-uş-* 'crumple')
- She further notes that some verbs denote progress along a scale without specifying the property, e.g. 'evolve' and 'develop' (cf. *gel-iş-* 'develop')
- In other words, the base of these verbs is still a property scale even though it is not categorically an adjective. These roots are interpreted as properties in the context of Deg. The output is a property scale, which is the argument of little-v

(12)



3.3 Degree achievement without Plrc

- N&Ü list 71 deadjectival verbs featuring the verbalizer *-lA* without the pluractional *-(I)ş*
- Of these, 46 are transitive (taking a diffentially marked accusative complement)
- Of the 25 intransitive Adj. + *-lA* verbs, we count 20 inchoatives
- Gedik (2019) also notes the low number of inchoatives with *-lA*
- She concludes that *-lA* bundles v with (active) Voice and so does not derive unaccusatives. She dismisses the small number of exceptions as lexicalizations.

- We disagree with this conclusion
- Instead, we attribute the low number of ADJ + *-lA* inchoatives to competition with the pluractional derivation outlined above
- We further note:
  - All *-lA* degree achievements are deadjectival
  - 20 out of 344 deadjectival verbs and 0 out of 212 denominal verbs with *-lA* (not *-lA-ş*) are inchoative
  - We suggest that, in these cases, the property scale is contained within the AdjP projection

	Adjective		**Verb**	
Transitive	*temiz*	'clean'	*temiz-le-*	'clean'
Dative complement	*pis*	'filthy'	*pis-le-*	'befoul'
Unergative	*topal*	'lame'	*topal-la-*	'walk with a limp'
Unaccusative COS	*geniş*	'wide'	*geniş-le-*	'widen'

Table 15: ADJ + *-lA* inchoatives

4 Other pluractional types in Turkish: p-syncretism

- We have identified (at least) three other pluractional types in Turkish with the exponent /(I)ş/
  1. **Intensive verbs**
     - The *-(I)ş*-marked verb expresses the intensive performance of the event denoted by the base
     - The pluractional requires the iteration of the embedded event

Base verb		***-(I)ş* verb**	
titre-	'shiver, pulsate'	*titre-ş-*	'vibrate'
kırp-	'wink, blink'	*kırp-ış-*	'blink rapidly (eyes)'

Table 16: Intensive *-(I)ş* verbs

  2. **Pluractional motion verbs**
     - The verbs in Table 17 denote chaotic motion
     - We model this by analyzing the PLRC as denoting contemporaneous events whose temporal traces overlap (Key and Ótott-Kovács, 2024)

Base verb		***-(I)ş* verb**	
kaç-	'escape, flee'	*kaç-**ış**-*	'flee helter-skelter'
koş-	'run'	*koş-**uş**-*	'run helter-skelter'
uç-	'fly'	*uç-**uş**-*	'fly helter-skelter'

Table 17: Pluractional motion verbs

(13) Kuş-lar uç-uş-tu.
bird-PL fly-PLRC-PST.3SG
'The birds flew helter-skelter.'

(Kornfilt 1997: 178 ex. (651))

3. **Reciprocal verbs**
   - The *-(I)ş*-marked verb expresses reciprocity
   - The PLRC expresses event plurality and it is responsible for introducing the INS argument into the structure (more more details on argument-introducing pluractionals, see Ótott-Kovács 2024)
   - The PLRC composes with an independently not attested stem, which may contain (at least) one implicit argument, 'one other'

Base verb		***-(I)ş* verb**	
bak-	'look'	*bak-**ış**-*	'look at e.o.'
**dert-le-*		*dert-le-**ş**-*	'have a heart-to-heart talk with e.o.'
öp-	'kiss on the cheeks or lips'	*öp-**üş**-*	'kiss e.o. on the lips'
tanı-	'recognize, be acquainted with'	*tanı-**ş**-*	'get/be acquainted with e.o.'
**toka-la-*		*toka-la-**ş**-*	'shake hands'
yaz-	'write'	*yaz-**ış**-*	'write to e. o.'

Table 18: Representative examples of reciprocal verbs

(14) Figen Çiğdem'-le yaz-ış-tı.
Figen Çiğdem-INS write-PLRC-PST.3
'Figen and Çiğdem exchanged correspondences with each other.'

- We propose that /(I)ş/ is an underspecified Vocabulary Item, which spells out the [–singular] feature in the context of verbs, 15

(15) [–singular] ↔ /(I)ş/ | [+V]_

5 Conclusion

- *-(I)ş* derives inchoative verbs, but it does not derive reflexives or passives
- We argued that *-(I)ş* inchoatives are not derived through detransitivization of a transitive stem
  - The (ostensive) verbal base is in anticausative alternation with *-(I)l/(I)n* verbs; *-(I)ş* verbs are in causative alternation with *-DIr* verbs
  - The corresponding verb can be intransitive
  - *-lA-ş* verbs overwhelmingly lack a *-lA* stem
  - Even if the corresponding *-lA* stem exists, it can be intransitive, or exhibit significant semantic drift

  - In the case of the handful of *-lA-ş* verbs where there is a plausible *-lA* stem, we observe that the *-lA-ş* verbs are in causative alternation with the causative-marked verb in *-lA-ş-tIr*
  - *-(I)ş* verbs always involve a process component; this contrasts with *-(I)l* anticausatives, which can derive the full range of lexical aspect types

- *-(I)ş* verbs are independetly derived degree achievements
  - DegP adds a property scale over property denoted by the stem (root, adjective or noun)
  - Little-v introduces a punctual event with a result state
  - When applied to the property scale, the result state is an increased degree of the property
  - The pluractional, spelled out by *-(I)ş*, derives the iteration of achievements

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A Non-verbal stems

base	***-lA***	***-lA-ş* intransitive**	***-lA-ş-DIr* transitive**
acı 'bitter'	*acı-la-	acı-la-ş- 'become bitter'	acı-la-ş-tır- 'make bitter'
alçak 'low; base'	*alçak-la-	alçak-la-ş- 'become low'	alçak-la-ş-tır- 'make low'
başka 'other'	*başka-la-	başka-la-ş- 'become other'	başka-la-ş-tır- 'otherize'
batılı 'western'	*batılı-la-	batılı-la-ş- 'westernize'	batılı-la-ş-tır- 'westernize'
buhar 'vapor'	*buhar-la-	buhar-la-ş- 'vaporize'	buhar-la-ş-tır- 'vaporize'
çirkin 'ugly'	*çirkin-le-	çirkin-le-ş- 'become ugly'	çirkin-le-ş-tir- 'make ugly'
çöl 'desert'	*çöl-le-	çöl-le-ş- 'desertify'	çöl-le-ş-tir- 'desertify'
dar 'narrow'	*dar-la-	dar-la-ş- 'narrow'	dar-la-ş-tır- 'narrow'
etkin 'active'	*etkin-le-	etkin-le-ş- 'activate'	etkin-le-ş-tir- 'activate'
ılık 'warm'	*ılık-la-	ılık-la-ş- 'warm up'	ılık-la-ş-tır- 'warm up'
iyi 'good'	*iyi-le-	iyi-le-ş- 'improve'	iyi-le-ş-tir- 'improve'
kalın 'thick'	*kalın-la-	kalın-la-ş- 'thicken'	kalın-la-ş-tır- 'thicken'
radikal 'radical'	*radikal-le-	radikal-le-ş- 'radicalize'	radikal-le-ş-tir- 'radicalize'
tabu 'taboo'	*tabu-la-	tabu-la-ş- 'become taboo'	tabu-la-ş-tır- 'make taboo'
uzak 'far'	*uzak-la-	uzak-la-ş- 'go away from'	uzak-la-ş-tır- 'send away'
yoğun 'dense'	*yoğun-la-	yoğun-la-ş- 'become dense'	yoğun-la-ş-tır- 'make dense'

B Corresponding *-lA* verb exists but with different meaning

base	***-lA* transitive**	***-lA-ş* intransitive**	***-lA-ş-DIr* transitive**
ağır 'heavy'	ağır-la- 'provide with accommodations'	ağır-la-ş- 'become heavy'	ağır-la-ş-tır- 'make heavy'
ak 'white'	ak-la- 'acquit'	ak-la-ş- 'turn white'	ak-la-ş-tır- 'make white'
bütün 'whole'	bütün-le- 'complete, complement'	bütün-le-ş- 'become whole'	bütün-le-ş-tir- 'make whole'
eter 'ether'	eter-le- 'anesthetize with ether'	eter-le-ş- 'become ether'	eter-le-ş-tir- 'etherify'
genel 'general'	genel-le- '(over)generalize'	genel-le-ş- 'become widespread'	genel-le-ş-tir- 'make widespread'
kök 'root'	kök-le- 'uproot'	kök-le-ş- 'take root'	kök-le-ş-tir- 'cause to take root'
kötü 'bad'	kötü-le- 'denigrate'	kötü-le-ş- 'worsen'	kötü-le-ş-tir- 'worsen'
köz 'live charcoal'	köz-le- 'grill over charcoal'	köz-le-ş- 'become charcoal'	köz-le-ş-tir- 'turn to charcoal'
lif 'fiber; loofah'	lif-le- 'scrub with a loofah'	lif-le-ş- 'become fibrous'	lif-le-ş-tir- 'make fibrous'
zor 'force; difficult'	zor-la- 'force'	zor-la-ş- 'get difficult'	zor-la-ş-tır- 'make difficult'