

The Adnominal Reduplicative Quantifier Construction in Turkish

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Keywords: Turkish, reduplication, quantifier, numeral classifier, portion reading

Abstract

This paper describes the adnominal reduplicative quantifier (ARQ) construction in Turkish. The ARQ construction is a nominal reduplication construction that takes the form [N(oun)₁~N(oun)₁ N(oun)₂] in Turkish. The N₁~N₁ nominal reduplication indicates that there is a large quantity of the referent of the following noun (N₂) (e.g., *kutu~kutu kitap* ‘many boxes of books’). In this paper, I show that N₁~N₁ in the ARQ construction occupies the quantifier position to indicate that there is a large quantity of the referent of the following N₂. In addition, I show that the nouns used as N₁s in the ARQ construction are restricted to nouns functioning as mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type. I also demonstrate that these three types of mensural classifiers have a portion reading (Sağ 2020), which makes it possible for them to be used as N₁s in the ARQ construction. This study contributes not only to the literature on Turkish typology by describing the ARQ construction, but also to the typology of numeral classifiers by revealing the interaction between the ARQ construction and numeral classifiers.

1. Introduction

This paper explores a Turkish nominal reduplication construction with the form [N(oun)₁~N(oun)₁ N(oun)₂]. In this construction, the nominal reduplication N₁~N₁ indicates that there is a large quantity of the referent of the N₂ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 100, Kornfilt 1997: 433), as seen in (1).

- (1) *kutu~kutu kitap taşı-dı-m.*
box~box book carry-PST-1SG
‘I carried many boxes of books.’

In (1), the noun *kutu* ‘box’ (N₁) is reduplicated and is followed by the noun *kitap* ‘book’ (N₂). The expression *kutu~kutu kitap* indicates that many boxes are filled with books; hence, there are many books. In this paper, I refer to this reduplication as the adnominal reduplicative quantifier (ARQ) construction.

The ARQ construction is more than just a nominal reduplication. It interacts with numeral classifiers and has implications for Turkish numeral classifiers in general. Specifically, the reduplicated N₁ in an ARQ construction is a noun that can function as a numeral classifier. For example, the noun *kutu*, which is reduplicated in (1), functions as a numeral classifier in (2).

- (2) *Üç kutu kitap taşı-dı-m.*
 three box book carry-PST-1SG
 ‘I carried three boxes of books.’

In (2), the noun *kutu* functions as a numeral classifier. This example demonstrates that nouns functioning as numeral classifiers can also be used as N1 in the ARQ construction.

It is not the case that every classifier can be used as N1 in an ARQ construction. For example, the noun *tane* ‘piece’ functions as a numeral classifier in (3), but the reduplication *tane~tane* cannot express a large quantity, as shown in (4).

- (3) *üç tane kitap*
 three piece book
 ‘three books’
- (4) **tane~tane kitap*
 piece~piece book

In (4), the numeral classifier *tane* ‘piece’ is reduplicated, and this example is not grammatical. The examples in (1) – (4) demonstrate that Turkish numeral classifiers do not behave uniformly with regard to the ARQ construction.

In this paper I describe the ARQ construction, revealing its interaction with Turkish classifiers. The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I discuss how N1~N1 reduplication occupies the syntactic quantifier position in an ARQ construction and serves as a means of expressing that there is a large quantity of the referent of the following N2. In Section 3.1, I show that the N1s in the ARQ construction are restricted to nouns functioning as mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type. In Section 3.2, I demonstrate that the three types of mensural classifiers can have a portion reading (Sağ 2020), which makes it possible for them to be used as N1s in the ARQ construction. In Section 4, I conclude the paper and offer some closing remarks on the ARQ construction. Overall, this paper contributes to the literature on Turkish classifiers by describing the ARQ construction and how Turkish classifiers behave with regard to this construction.

2. Form and meaning of the ARQ construction

This section describes the form and meaning of the ARQ construction. In terms of form, the reduplication N1~N1 in the ARQ construction occupies the quantifier position in the NP (Section 2.1). In terms of meaning, the N1~N1 reduplication expresses that there is a large quantity of the referent of the following N2 (Section 2.2).

2.1. Form of the ARQ construction

This section explores the syntactic position of N1~N1 in the ARQ construction. To begin with, let us consider expressions that occupy the quantifier position in Turkish. Turkish has three types of quantifying

expressions: (i) a quantifier construction, (ii) a numeral construction, and (iii) a classifier construction. These constructions are exemplified in (5), (6), and (7), respectively.

- (5) *çok kitap*
many book
'many books'

- (6) *üç kitap*
three book
'three books'

- (7) *üç tane kitap*
three piece book
'three books'

In (5), the quantifier *çok* 'many' expresses the quantity of the referent of the following noun *kitap* 'book'. In (6), the numeral *üç* 'three' indicates the number of *kitap* 'book'. Lastly, as in (7), numerals can be used with classifiers to express the quantity of the referent. In (7), the combination of the numeral and classifier *tane* 'piece' indicates the number of *kitap* 'book'.

The examples in (8) and (9) show the syntactic structure of Turkish quantifying expressions. In Turkish, modifiers precede nouns in NPs, as in (8). Nouns cannot precede modifiers, as seen in (9). Noun modifiers here include demonstratives, quantifying expressions, and adjectives.

- (8) *eski kitap*
old book
'an old book'

- (9) **kitap eski*
book old

In (8), the modifier *eski* 'old' precedes the noun *kitap* 'book'. The example in (9), where the noun *kitap* 'book' precedes the modifier, is not grammatical.

With modifiers, quantifying expressions usually follow demonstratives and precede adjectives, as in (10).

- (10) *bu üç eski elma*
this three old apple
'these three old apples'

In (10), the demonstrative *bu* 'this' precedes the numeral *üç* 'three', and the numeral precedes the adjective *eski* 'old'. Thus, the structure of NPs in Turkish is [(Dem) (QP) (ADJ) N]_{NP}.

Based on the descriptions of Turkish quantifying expressions and syntax shown in (5) – (10), I argue that N1~N1 in the ARQ construction occupies the same quantifier position as the quantifying expressions above. This is borne out by three pieces of evidence. First, an N1~N1 structure in an ARQ construction can syntactically replace a quantifier construction, a numeral construction, and a classifier construction. See (11).

- (11) *çok/üç/üç kutu/kutu~kutu kitap*
 many/three/three box/box~box book
 ‘many/three/three boxes/many boxes of books’

Second, an N1~N1 structure in an ARQ construction cannot co-occur with a quantifier construction or a numeral construction. See (12) and (13).

- (12) **çok kutu~kutu kitap*
 many box~box book

- (13) **yüz kutu~kutu kitap*
 hundred box~box book

Lastly, N1-N1 structures precede adjectives just like other quantifying expressions. For example, in (14), the reduplication *kutu~kutu* precedes the adjective *eski* ‘old’.

- (14) *kutu~kutu eski kitap*
 box~box old book
 ‘many boxes of old books’

Based on the above pieces of evidence, I argue that N1~N1 in the ARQ construction occupies the quantifier position in the NP. My argument is supported by 1) the fact that an N1~N1 structure in an ARQ construction can syntactically replace other quantifier expressions; 2) the impossibility of co-occurrence of an N1-N1 structure with a quantifier or a numeral; and 3) the precedence N1-N1 structures take over adjectives.

2.2. Meaning of the ARQ construction

In the ARQ construction, the N1~N1 reduplication expresses that there is a large quantity of the referent of the following N2. The ARQ construction indicates that the referent of N2 is included in the referent of N1. Thus, since there is a large quantity of the reduplicated N1, there is also a large quantity of the referent of the N2. This is exemplified in (15), (16), and (17).

- (15) ... *kutu~kutu kibrit al-dı-m.* (turkhukuksitesi.com)
box~box match buy-PST-1SG
‘I bought many boxes of matches.’
- (16) ... *sürü~sürü kuş-lar gönder-di.* (diyanet.gov.tr)
flock~flock bird-PL send-PST
‘He sent many flocks of birds.’
- (17) ... *renk~renk kredi kart-lar-ı var.* (edebiyatdefteri.com)
color~color credit card-PL-3SG exist
‘There are many colors of credit card.’

In (15), the noun *kutu* ‘box’ is reduplicated and is followed by the noun *kibrit* ‘match’. It indicates that many boxes are filled with matches; hence, there are many matches. In (16), the noun *sürü* ‘flock’ is reduplicated and is followed by the noun *kuşlar* ‘birds’.¹ It indicates that there are many flocks composed of birds; hence, there are many birds. In (17), the noun *renk* ‘color’ is reduplicated and is followed by the noun *kredi kartları* ‘credit cards’. It indicates that there are many colors of credit cards; i.e., there are many credit cards.

3. The ARQ construction and numeral classifiers

In Section 1, I showed that the N1s in an ARQ construction are nouns that can function as numeral classifiers. Moreover, I demonstrated that some numeral classifiers can be used as N1 in the ARQ construction (1), whereas other numeral classifiers cannot be used (4).

In this section I explore the interaction between the ARQ construction and Turkish numeral classifiers. Specifically, I show that the nouns that can be used as N1s in the ARQ construction are restricted to mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type (Section 3.1). I then demonstrate that these types of mensural classifiers have a portion reading (Section 3.2).

3.1. N1 in the ARQ construction

This section examines the restriction on N1 in the ARQ construction. Section 3.1.1 describes Turkish numeral classifiers in general. Based on the description of Turkish numeral classifiers, Section 3.1.2 shows that the nouns that can be used as N1s in the ARQ construction are restricted to mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type.

3.1.1 Turkish numeral classifiers in general

Crosslinguistically, there are two types of numeral classifiers: sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers (Aikhenvald 2006). Sortal classifiers are defined as “morphemes that only appear next to a numeral, or a quantifier; they may categorize the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, shape, and other inherent

¹ Note that N2 in the ARQ construction can be either with or without a plural marker, as in (15) and (16).

properties” (Aikhenvald 2006: 466). Mensural classifiers, in contrast, can be used as a measure for a wide variety of nouns (Aikhenvald 2006: 466).

Turkish has both sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. Mensural classifiers in Turkish can be classified into four types based on meaning: (i) container, (ii) group, (iii) type, and (iv) measure (cf. Özyıldız 2017). For ease of reference, examples of Turkish numeral classifiers are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Numeral classifiers in Turkish

Classification	Examples
Mensural	
(i) Container	<i>kutu</i> ‘box’, <i>kadeh</i> ‘glass’, <i>tabak</i> ‘dish’, <i>bardak</i> ‘glass’, <i>kepçe</i> ‘ladle’, <i>fincan</i> ‘cup’, <i>şişe</i> ‘bottle’, <i>çuval</i> ‘sack’, <i>kasa</i> ‘case’, <i>dolap</i> ‘wardrobe’, <i>avuç</i> ‘palm’, <i>araba</i> ‘car’, <i>uçak</i> ‘plane’, <i>gemi</i> ‘ship’, <i>kamyon</i> ‘truck’, <i>tramvay</i> ‘tram’, etc.
(ii) Group	<i>sürü</i> ‘herd’, <i>grup</i> ‘group’, <i>deste</i> ‘bunch’, <i>sıra</i> ‘array’, <i>salkım</i> ‘bunch’, <i>düzine</i> ‘dozen’, <i>demet</i> ‘bunch’, <i>sepet</i> ‘basket’, <i>küme</i> ‘cluster’, etc.
(iii) Type	<i>çeşit</i> ‘kind’, <i>renk</i> ‘color’, <i>tarz</i> ‘style’, <i>beden</i> ‘size’, <i>biçim</i> ‘style,’ <i>marka</i> ‘brand’, etc.
(iv) Measure	<i>kilo</i> ‘kilogram’, <i>kilometer</i> ‘kilometer’, <i>litre</i> ‘liter’, <i>ton</i> ‘ton’, etc.
Sortal	<i>adet</i> ‘item’, <i>diş</i> ‘piece (lit. tooth)’, <i>kişi</i> ‘person’, <i>tane</i> ‘item’, <i>somun</i> ‘loaf’, <i>parça</i> ‘piece’, etc.

As heretofore mentioned, sortal classifiers categorize the referent of a noun in terms of its animacy, shape, and other inherent properties. Examples of sortal classifiers in Turkish are given in (18)–(20).

- (18) *üç tane elma*
 three piece apple
 ‘three pieces of apple’

- (19) *üç somun ekmek*
 three loaf bread
 ‘three loaves of bread’

- (20) *üç diş sarımsak*
 three tooth garlic
 ‘three cloves of garlic’

As shown in (18), the numeral classifier *tane* ‘piece’ can be used for counting inanimate objects. As shown in (19) and (20), *somun* ‘loaf’ and *diş* ‘piece (lit. tooth)’ are used for counting bread and garlic, respectively.

Mensural classifiers of container refer to a container to measure the referent of the following noun. Examples of mensural classifiers of container are given in (21)–(23).

- (21) *üç kutu kitap*
 three box book
 ‘three boxes of books’

- (22) *üç kadeh şarap*
 three glass wine
 ‘three glasses of wine’

- (23) *üç kamyon odun*
 three truck wood
 ‘three trucks of wood’

In (21)–(23), the nouns *kutu* ‘box’, *kadeh* ‘glass’, and *kamyon* ‘truck’ indicate containers used to measure entities. Notably, the mensural classifiers of container here include those that can be construed as containers metaphorically. For example, a truck is not commonly considered to be a container, but it is construed as a container in (23).

Mensural classifiers of group are used to measure the number of groups of the referent of the following noun. Examples of mensural classifiers of group are given in (24)–(26).

- (24) *üç sürü koyun*
 three herd sheep
 ‘three herds of sheep’

- (25) *üç grup insan*
 three group person
 ‘three groups of people’

- (26) *üç دسته çiçek*
 three bunch flower
 ‘three bunches of flowers’

In (24)–(26), the nouns *sürü* ‘herd’, *grup* ‘group’, and *deste* ‘bunch’ indicate groups used to measure the number of the referent of the following noun.

Mensural classifiers of type are used to count the number of types of entities. Examples of mensural classifiers of type are given in (27)–(29).

- (27) *üç çeşit elbise*
 three kind clothes
 ‘three kinds of clothes’

- (28) *üç renk çanta*²
three color bag
'three colors of bags'

- (29) *üç tarz mobilya*
three style furniture
'three styles of furniture'

In (27)–(29), the nouns *çeşit* 'kind', *renk* 'color', and *tarz* 'style' are used to count the number of types.

Mensural classifiers of measurement function as a measurement of the referent of the following noun. Examples of mensural classifiers of measurement are given in (30)–(32).

- (30) *üç kilo elma*
three kilogram apple
'three kilograms of apples'

- (31) *üç litre süt*
three liter milk
'three liters of milk'

- (32) *üç metre halat*
three meter rope
'three meters of ropes'

In (30)–(32), the nouns *kilo* 'kilogram', *litre* 'liter', and *metre* 'meter' are mensural classifiers of measurement functioning as measurements.

Many nouns cannot be used as numeral classifiers. See examples in (33) and (34).

- (33) **üç el kitap*
three hand book

- (34) **üç masa kitap*
three table book

In (33) and (34), the nouns *el* 'hand' and *masa* 'table' cannot occur with a numeral expressing quantity, i.e., they cannot function as classifiers.

² Note that the notion of "a bag with three colors" can be expressed as in (i):

- (i) *üç renk-li çanta*
three color-with bag
'a bag with three colors'

3.1.2 The restriction on N1 in the ARQ construction

In the previous section, I showed that Turkish has sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, (iii) type, and (iv) measure. Among these numeral classifiers, N1s that can be used in the ARQ construction are restricted to three kinds of mensural classifiers: (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type. Mensural classifiers of measure, sortal classifiers, and nouns other than numeral classifiers cannot be used in the ARQ construction. As previously discussed, when mensural classifiers referring to containers are used as N1 in the ARQ construction, it indicates that the N2 referent is inside the N1 container, and that there is a large quantity of both the N1 and N2. See (35)–(37) for further examples.

- (35) *kutu~kutu kitap*
 box~box book
 ‘many boxes of books’

- (36) *kadeh~kadeh şarap*
 glass~glass wine
 ‘many glasses of wine’

- (37) *kamyon~kamyon odun*
 truck~truck wood
 ‘many trucks of wood’

In (35), the mensural classifier of container *kutu* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *kitap*. It indicates that there are many boxes, and thus, there are also many books. In (36), the mensural classifier of container *kadeh* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *şarap*. It indicates that there is a large quantity of glasses and thus, that there is a large amount of wine in the glasses. Finally, in (37), the mensural classifier of container *kamyon* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *odun*. It indicates that there are many trucks, and thus, that there is a lot of wood in said trucks.

Mensural classifiers of group can be used as N1s in the ARQ construction to indicate that the referents of N2 are in groups of N1, and that there are many groups. Thus, there is also a large quantity/amount of the referents of N2. See (38)–(40), for examples.

- (38) *sürü~sürü koyun*
 herd~herd sheep
 ‘many herds of sheep’

- (39) *grup~grup insan*
 group~group person
 ‘many groups of people’

- (40) *deste~deste çiçek*
 bunch~bunch flower
 ‘many bunches of flowers’

In (38), the mensural classifier of group *sürü* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *koyun*. It indicates that there are many herds, and thus, there are also many sheep. In (39), the mensural classifier of group *grup* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *insan*. It indicates that there are many groups, and thus, that there are many people. Finally, in (40), the mensural classifier of group *deste* is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *çiçek*. It indicates that there are many bunches, and thus, that there are many flowers.

Mensural classifiers of type can be used as N1 of the ARQ construction. See (41)–(43).

- (41) *çeşit~çeşit elbise*
 kind~kind clothes
 ‘many kinds of clothes’

- (42) *renk~renk çanta*
 color~color bag
 ‘many colors of bags’

- (43) *tarz~tarz mobilya*
 style~style furniture
 ‘many styles of furniture’

In (41), the mensural classifier of type *çeşit* ‘kind’ is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *elbise* ‘clothes’. It indicates that there are many kinds of clothes, and thus, that there are many clothes. In (42), the mensural classifier of type *renk* ‘colors’ is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *çanta* ‘bag’. It indicates that there are many colors of bags, and thus, that there are many bags. Finally, in (43), the mensural classifier of type *tarz* ‘style’ is reduplicated as N1 and precedes the N2 *mobilya* ‘furniture’. It means that there are many styles of furniture, and thus, that there is a lot of furniture.

Mensural classifiers of measure cannot be used as N1 in an ARQ construction. See (44)–(46).

- (44) *?kilo~kilo elma*
 kilogram~kilogram apple

- (45) *?litre~litre süt*
 liter~liter milk

- (46) *?metre~metre halat*
 meter~meter rope

In (44), (45), and (46), the mensural classifiers of measure *kilo* ‘kilogram’, *litre* ‘liter’, and *metre* ‘meter’ are reduplicated. These examples are not grammatical.

Sortal classifiers cannot be used as N1 in the ARQ construction. See (47)–(49).

(47) **tane~tane elma*
piece~piece apple

(48) **somun~somun ekme*
loaf~loaf bread

(49) **diş~diş sarımsak*
tooth~tooth garlic

In (47), (48), and (49), the sortal classifiers *tane* ‘piece’, *somun* ‘loaf’, and *diş* ‘tooth’ are reduplicated. These examples are not grammatical.

Nouns other than numeral classifiers cannot be used as N1 in the ARQ construction either. See (50) and (51).

(50) **el~el taş*
hand~hand stone

(51) **masa~masa kitap*
table~table book

In (50) and (51), the nouns *el* ‘hand’ and *masa* ‘table’ are reduplicated, and they cannot be used as N1s in the ARQ construction.

The findings in this section are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Restrictions on N1 in the ARQ construction		
Noun type		N1 in the ARQ construction
Mensural	Container	OK
	Group	OK
	Type	OK
	Measure	*
Sortal		*
Other		*

As demonstrated by the examples in this section and summarized in Table 2, the nouns used as N1s in the ARQ construction are restricted to mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type. Mensural classifiers of measure, sortal classifiers, and nouns other than numeral classifiers cannot be used as N1s in

ARQ constructions.

3.2 The ARQ construction and the typological literature on Turkish classifiers

In Section 3.1, I showed that mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type can be used as N1 in the ARQ construction, but mensural classifiers of measure, sortal classifiers and other nouns cannot. In the typological literature, mensural classifiers can be categorized based on what numeral classifiers refer to in the numeral construction (Greenberg 1972, Sağ 2020). In this section, I demonstrate that the three types of mensural classifiers can have a portion reading (Sağ 2020), which makes it possible for N1 to be used in the ARQ construction. In Section 3.2.1, I introduce the typology of mensural classifiers. In Section 3.2.2, based on the typology of mensural classifiers, I examine mensural classifiers in Turkish with reference to Sağ (2020). Finally, in Section 3.2.3, I attempt to explain why only the mensural classifiers having a portion reading can appear in the ARQ construction.

3.2.1. Typology of numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers can be categorized based on what numeral classifiers refer to in the numeral construction, as in Figure 1. To begin with, mensural classifiers have two main readings: the individuating reading and the measure reading. The individuating reading is either realized as the container reading or the portion reading (Greenberg 1972).

Figure 1. Classification of mensural classifiers

Mensural classifiers	Reading	
	Individuating reading	Container reading Portion reading
	Measure reading	

Each reading is exemplified in the expression *two cups/liters of water* in (52), (53), and (54).

(52) **Container reading:**

Mary brought two cups/liters of water on the tray. They were blue. (Sağ 2020: 352)

(53) **Portion reading:**

Mary drank two cups/liters of water, one in the morning, the other in the evening. (Sağ 2020: 352)

(54) **Measure reading:**

Mary added two cups/liters of water to the soup. (Sağ 2020: 352)

In the container reading in (52), the expression *two cups/liters of water* refers to the cups or one-liter containers, each of which is filled with some amount of water. The sentence that follows, *they were blue*, confirms that the containers are being referred to, as it describes that either the cups or the one-liter containers are blue. In the portion reading in (53), the expression *two cups/liters of water* refers to the

quantity, or portion, of water. The phrase that follow, *one in the morning, the other in the evening*, refers to the portion of water drunk. Finally, in the measure reading in (54), the expression *two cups/liters of water* refers to a measurement of water; in this case, two standard cupful amounts/two liters.

Unlike mensural classifiers, sortal classifiers have no reference in the numeral construction. Sortal classifiers only serve to profile an essential or inherent feature of the head noun (Her 2012), and thus have no reference by themselves. In the next section, I consider possible reading of mensural classifiers in Turkish.

3.2.2. Possible reading of mensural classifiers in Turkish

Possible readings of Turkish mensural classifiers are examined partially by Sağ (2020). According to Sağ (2020), Turkish numeral classifiers cannot have a container reading. This point is confirmed by the fact that the sentence in (55) is not felicitous.

- (55) *Mary tepsi-de iki bardak/litre su getir-di. #Renk-(ler)-i mavi-y-di.*
three tray-LOC two glass/liter water bring-PST color-PL-3.POSS blue-COP-PST
‘Mary brought two cups/liters of water on the tray.’ (Adopted from Sağ 2020: 363)

In (55), the classifiers *bardak/litre* ‘glass/liter’ cannot refer to the container.

In Turkish, mensural classifiers can have two types of reading: a portion reading or a measure reading. Sağ (2020) argues that mensural classifiers of container have a portion reading and that mensural classifiers of measure have a measure reading. A test of distributivity can be used to test possible readings. When the distributive expression (e.g., *each other*) cooccurs in a portion reading, the referent of a mensural classifier is distributive; in a measure reading, the referent of the noun that follows a classifier is distributive.

Using this test, I examined the possible readings of mensural classifiers in Turkish. Sağ investigates the possible reading of the mensural classifiers of container and measure, but the mensural classifiers of group and type remain uninvestigated. Following Sağ’s research, I examined distributivity in reciprocal expressions with four types of mensural classifiers and found that the mensural classifiers of container, group, and type have a portion reading. See examples of mensural classifiers of container, group, and type in (56), (57), and (58), respectively.

- (56) *Üç kutu kitab-ı dolap-ta yan yan-a yerleştir-di-k.*
three box book-ACC closet-LOC next next-DAT put-PST-1PL
‘I put three boxes of books next to each other in the closet.’ (Adopted from Sağ 2020: 354)
Portion reading: box1, box2, box3
?Measure reading: book1, book2, book3, book4, book5...

- (57) *Üç demet çiçeğ-i dolap-ta yan yan-a yerleştir-di-k.*
three bunch flower-ACC closet-LOC next next-DAT put-PST-1PL
‘I put three bunches of flowers next to each other in the closet.’
Portion reading: bunch1, bunch2, bunch3

?Measure reading: flower1, flower2, flower3, flower4, flower5...

(58) *Üç çeşit elbise-yi dolap-ta yan yan-a yerleştir-di-k.*

three kind clothes-ACC closet-LOC next next-DAT put-PST-1PL

‘I put three kinds of clothes next to each other in the closet.’

Portion reading: kind1, kind2, kind3

?Measure reading: clothes1, clothes2, clothes3, clothes4, clothes5...

In (57), (58), and (59), the dominant interpretation is distributivity over the referent of the unit nouns *kutu* ‘box’, *demet* ‘bunch’, and *çeşit* ‘kind’. The interpretation of distributivity over *kitap* ‘book’, and *çiçek* ‘flower’, and *elbise* ‘clothes’ is marginal.

On the other hand, Turkish mensural classifier of measure have a measure reading, whereas portion readings only occur marginally. See examples of mensural classifiers of measure in (59).

(59) *Üç kilo elma dolap-ta yan yan-a yerleştir-di-k.*

three kilogram apple closet-LOC next next-DAT put-PST-1PL

‘I put three kilograms of apples next to each other in the closet.’

?Portion reading: kilogram-bag1, kilogram-bag2, kilogram-bag3

Measure reading: apple1, apple2, apple3, apple4, apple5...

In (59), distributivity over *elma* ‘apple’ is the preferred reading. The interpretation that the unit of kilogram is distributive is marginal.

Table 3 summarizes the points presented in this section.

Table 3. Possible readings of numeral classifiers in Turkish

		Portion reading	Measure reading
Mensural	Container	OK	?
	Group	OK	?
	Type	OK	?
	Measure	?	OK
Sortal		N/A	N/A

To summarize, Turkish mensural classifiers of container, group, and type can have a portion reading but not a measure reading, and Turkish mensural classifiers of measure can have measure reading but not a portion reading.

3.2.3. Explanation of the restriction on N1 in the ARQ construction

Mensural classifiers of (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type can be reduplicated in the ARQ construction, but mensural classifiers of measure or sortal classifiers cannot (Section 3.1.2). All three types of mensural

classifier can have a portion reading (Section 3.2.2). And why can only mensural classifiers having a portion reading appear in the ARQ construction? In a portion reading, mensural classifiers refer to a concrete entity of count/measurement. Thus, when reduplicated, such a noun can iconically express that there are many units of count/measurement, which in turn has a pragmatic implication that the referent of N2 is large in quantity. The example in (60) illustrates this point.

- (60) *kutu~kutu* *kitap*
 box~box book
 ‘many boxes of books.’

In (60), the mensural classifier *kutu* ‘box’ refers to the box, which is a part of the whole amount. The reduplication indicates that there are many boxes, which in turn has a pragmatic implication that the number of books in the boxes is also large. Therefore, mensural classifiers with a portion reading can be used as N1s in the ARQ construction.

On the contrary, mensural classifiers with a measure reading, as well as sortal classifiers, do not refer to a concrete entity, and thus, reduplication of such nouns cannot refer to anything. Therefore, a portion reading makes it possible for reduplicated nouns to express a large amount.

4. Conclusion

This paper offered a description and analysis of the ARQ construction with regards to Turkish classifiers. In the ARQ construction, N1~N1 occupies the quantifier position to express that there is a large quantity/amount of the referent of the following N2. The nouns used as N1 in the ARQ construction are restricted to mensural classifiers denoting (i) container, (ii) group, and (iii) type. In addition, these three types of mensural classifiers can have a portion reading (Sağ 2020). Turkish numeral classifiers are not monolithic with regard to the ARQ construction. This study contributes to the literature on Turkish classifiers by describing the characteristics of the ARQ construction in Turkish, as well as to the typology of numeral classifiers by describing the interaction between the ARQ construction and numeral classifiers.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	POSS	possessive
COP	copula	PST	past
DAT	dative	SG	singular
LOC	locative	1	first person
PL	plural	3	third person

Acknowledgments

Part of an earlier version of this paper was presented at the 160th meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan in July 2020. I am thankful to Mai Hayashi, Yuko Morokuma, Naonori Nagaya, Yuta Sakon, Mizuki Tanigawa, Tokai Zhou for their valuable comments and criticisms, which have helped to improve the manuscript. Any remaining errors are my responsibility. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI

Grant Number JP21J21799.

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トルコ語における連体重複数量表現について

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キーワード：トルコ語、数量詞、類別詞、重複

要旨

本論文ではトルコ語における連体重複数量表現 (the adnominal reduplicative quantifier construction; ARQ 構文) の記述を行う。この構文は [N1~N1 N2] という名詞 N1 の重複に名詞 N2 が後続する形式で、「大量の N1 の (中に入った)N2」という意味を表す。本論文は、ARQ 構文の N1~N1 は数量詞の統語的位置を占め、後続する N2 の指示物の量が多いことを表すことを示す。さらに、ARQ 構文の N1 で繰り返される名詞は①容器、②グループ、③種類を表す計量類別詞の機能を持つ名詞に限られることを示す。この 3 種類の計量類別詞には部分読み (Sağ 2020) の解釈があり、この読みを持つため ARQ 構文の N1 として使えることを論じる。こうして、本研究は、ARQ 構文の記述を提供することでトルコ語の記述研究に貢献するだけでなく、ARQ 構文と類別詞の相互作用を明らかにすることで類別詞の類型論的研究にも貢献することができる。

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