

Emergence of verbal categories in Turkic

Intro: All Turkic languages have serial verb constructions (SVC) (1), characterized by common intonation, meaning and TAM (Durie 1997, Erdal 2004). SVCs started out as para/hypo-taxis constructions, with V2s as lexical verbs, (Johanson 1995, Anderson 2005), but ended as fully grammatical serial verbs. We ask: *How did grammatical function develop from lexical items?*

Proposal: I propose that grammaticalized V2s turned to F-heads (2). The reanalysis and change of meaning was driven by the drift from complex to simple structures (Roberts & Roussou 2003). Adopting parsing simplicity (Hawkins 1994, Gibson 2000) as a measure of syntactic complexity, I claim that novel grammatical meanings are in line with the decompositional/cartographical approach (Laenzlinger 2000, Cinque 2001, Pytkannen 2002, Ramchand 2008 a.o.)

Analysis. To acquire grammatical meanings, V2 had to stop functioning as a lexical verb heading its own clause. The process is represented in (3a-c). (3a) is a schema for the dependent clause with a lexical V2; in (3b) V2 does not project; all arguments are introduced by V1; in (3c) V2 is a serial verb. (3.c) is more economical than (3.a/b) w.r.t. parsing simplicity. Even if (3.a/b) and (3.c) have the same amount of items, the latter is parsed faster since to parse the embedded clause in (3.a/b), the hearer has to keep in memory the projecting ability of V2. The development of the functional use of V2 was supported in two ways. On the one hand, syntactic items first attributed to V2, were reanalyzed as projected by V1 (3.b). On the other, configurations where V2 had lexical meaning, but lacked arguments (3.b), was restructured as (3.c), thus losing its bi-clausal nature. When the monoclausal pattern appeared, the significant part of V2's lexical meaning vanished. Therefore, in the course of its development, V2 started entering the enumeration as an F-head, not as a lexical item.

The novel generalization is that functional meanings expressed by different V2s form a hierarchy that corresponds directly to the hierarchy of functional heads independently established in the literature (see references above). Correspondences between different V2s and different positions in the hierarchy are represented in (4). As shown in (2) and (4), directionals modify the lexical meaning of V; resultatives merge in ResP; applicatives are ApplLowPs; perfectives, inchoatives and terminatives in AspP; progressives in TP; attemptives and capacitives in ModP.

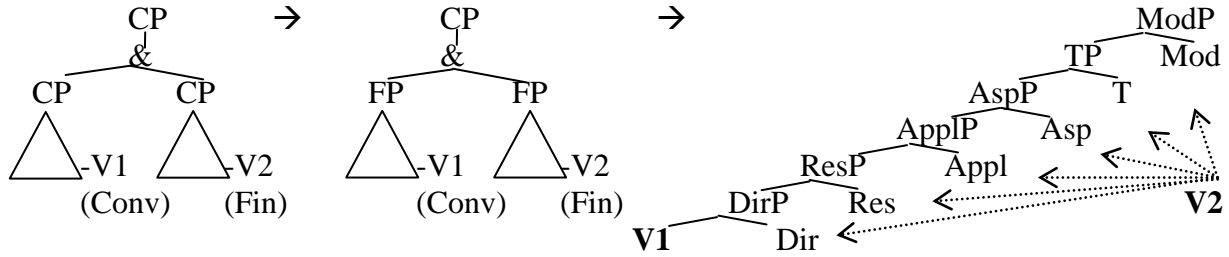
Predictions. First, para/hypo-taxis constructions have no semantic constraints on V2. Yet, only those meanings survive in the process of semantic change that are regularly expressed grammatically in the languages of the world. This is exactly what happens in (4). Secondly, a single V1 is expected to have a wider range of interpretations than a V1 combined with a serial V2, since V2s introduce specific grammatical features in appropriate F-head positions that narrow down the interpretation of V1. Indeed, (5) can have subject-oriented, "third part" or no applicative participant; (6) can denote either state or process. Combining with serial verbs, all examples receive a fixed interpretation (7-8). Third, since higher F-heads have propositional functions, whereas lower F-heads affect the event structure of V1, V2s placed in Mod and T (9), should display less lexical restrictions than other V2s. Indeed, verbs like *see* and *lay* may combine with almost any V (cf. 9.a), while resultative verbs like *go* are much more restricted (10). Under the functional hierarchy scenario, the same grammatical meanings and features may be supplied by different V2s, and this is also the case in Turkic (4). Finally, if V2 expresses more than one grammatical meaning, those meanings should correspond to adjacent F-heads. And this holds as well: verbs like *come* (directional/ resultative), *take* (applicative /perfective), *give* (applicative / inchoative) are associated with a contiguous area in the functional domain (4).

Summary: Semantic changes in Turkic SVC are drawn by syntactic reanalysis and follow clear identifiable stages, supporting the structural view on grammaticalization (Newmeyer 2001 a.o.)

(1) [CP [XP₁] ... [XP₂] ... [vP Lexical V1-Conv + Serial V2-Finite Form]]

(2) **Development of SVC in Turkic**

(NB! Left Branching matters)



Coordinated Clauses → Coordinated FPs → Functional Heads

- (3.a) [Subj(V1/V2) ARG_i(V2)... [ARG_k(V1) ... V1-Conv] V2-finite]
 (3.b) [Subj(V1/V2) ... [ARG_i ... ARG_k ... V1-Conv] V2-finite]
 (3.c) Subj ARG_i ... ARG_k ... [V1(Lex)+V2(Ser)-finite]

(4.a) Verb	<i>come/go</i>	<i>come/go/remain</i>	<i>give/take</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>give</i>	<i>finish</i>	<i>stand/lay</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>know</i>
Semantics	<i>DIRECT</i>	<i>RES</i>	<i>APPL</i>	<i>PERF</i>	<i>INCH</i>	<i>TERM</i>	<i>PROGR</i>	<i>ATTMP</i>	<i>CAPAC</i>

(4.b) DirP < ResP < ApplP < AspP < TP < ModP

(5) kurmanbek koj soj-up al-dy / ber-de Kyrghyz
 Kurmanbek ram cut-CNV give-PST / take-PST
Kurmanbek cut a ram (for himself / for somebody).

(6) was¹a maša-ny kör-di Tubalar
 Vas'a Masha-Acc see-Pst (Shluinsky'09)
 a. *Vas'a noticed Masha.*
 b. *Vas'a saw Masha for some time.*

(7) kurmanbek koj soj-up al-dy / ber-de Kyrghyz
 Kurmanbek ram cut-CNV give-PST / take-PST
Kurmanbek cut a ram for himself (with 'give') / for somebody (with 'take').

(8) was¹a maša-ny kör-üp ber-di Tubalar
 Vas'a Masha-Acc see-Conv give-Pst (Shluinsky'09)
 a. *Vas'a noticed Masha.*
 b. **Vas'a saw Masha for some time.*

(9.a) ?čaška tül-üp kör-di (9.b) was¹a uxta-p tur-dy Tubalar
 cup fall-Conv see-Pst Vas'a sleep-Conv go-Pst (Shluinsky'09)
The cup could fall. (ATTMPT) Vas'a was sleeping. (PROGR)

(10.a) toš qajyl-yp par-dy (10.b) was¹a pyčyk š'i-ip par-dy Tubalar
 ice melt-Conv go-Pst Vas'a letter write-Conv go-Pst (Shluinsky'09)
*The ice got melted. (RES) Vas'a wrote a letter and went. (≠finished a letter, *RES)*