

Verb-linking and Events in Syntax: The Case of Uyghur -(i)p Constructions

Alexander Dylan Sugar

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Reading Committee:

Edith Aldridge, Chair

Emily Bender

Ana Fernández Dobao

Toshiyuki Ogihara

Karen Zagona

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Department of Linguistics

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Alexander Dylan Sugar

University of Washington

Abstract

Verb-linking and Events in Syntax: The Case of Uyghur $-(i)p$ Constructions

Alexander Dylan Sugar

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Edith Aldridge

Department of Linguistics

This dissertation explores the syntactic structures of Uyghur multi-verb constructions formed using the verb-linking $-(i)p$ suffix. In such constructions, only the final verb is inflected for tense, and $-(i)p$ attaches to all non-final verbs in lieu of tense inflection. I demonstrate that not all $-(i)p$ constructions share a uniform structure; instead, they are formed through a variety of structural configurations. The common element to the different analyses I propose is that the $-(i)p$ suffix overtly realizes an Event head outside the verbal domain or an Inner Aspect head within the verbal domain whenever a structural configuration blocks one verb's access to Tense inflection. An Event Phrase contains a verb, all of its arguments, and manner adverbs while an InnerAspect Phrase contains only a lexical verb root, its internal arguments, and a verbalizing layer. Insertion of $-(i)p$ in the Event or InnerAspect head allows multiple verbs to appear in one clause in Uyghur by satisfying the morphological inflection requirement of verbs that are otherwise unable to inflect.

When two lexical verbs are linked by $-(i)p$, the construction is formed by either adjunction or coordination. In one type of construction, $-(i)p$ heads either an Event or InnerAspect Phrase that adjoins to the projection of the final, tense-inflected verb. The verb suffixed by $-(i)p$ provides information about the manner in which the action denoted by the tense-inflected verb is performed. In another type of construction, $-(i)p$ heads the first conjunct of a coordination structure consisting of two Event Phrases or even Tense Phrases, which yields a sequential or simultaneous reading of multiple events.

A limited number of Uyghur verbs can be semantically bleached when preceded by $-(i)p$, contributing information about the aspectual characteristics of the event described by the $-(i)p$ -suffixed verb and/or the manner in which the event is performed. Bleached verbs come in two varieties: 1) overt Voice heads selecting an InnerAspect Phrase headed by $-(i)p$ as their complement; or 2) Auxiliary heads selecting an Event Phrase headed by $-(i)p$ as their complement. The former type of bleached verb contributes to readings expressing completion and adds information about how an agent performed the action. The latter type either express iteration of an action or a change of state. In $-(i)p$ constructions in

which the final verb is bleached, it is possible to negate the lexical verb, the bleached verb, or both verbs. I demonstrate that despite the negation possibilities, $-(i)p$ constructions in which one verb is bleached are always monoclausal, and negation can be merged at any point in the clause where it can select a verbal complement.

The findings in this dissertation provide novel evidence for two event-related syntactic projections, and show that they can play a crucial role in allowing multiple verbs to appear within a clause. The study also demonstrates that there is no uniform syntactic structure for serial verb constructions. Instead, the way serial verb or other multi-verb constructions are formed is constrained by event structure. In light of the analyses proposed here, the key difference between multi-verb constructions in Uyghur and verb serialization in other languages is that Uyghur verbs require inflection, and Uyghur has a strategy available using event-related functional heads to provide inflection to tense-less verbs.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations, based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules whenever possible, are used in the glosses of this dissertation.

1,2,3	person
ABIL	abilitative
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
AFF	affirmation
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONV	converb
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative case
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative case
EXP	experiential
EXT	extended aspect
EVID	evidential
FAM	familiar register
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FORM	formal register
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
IMP	imperative
(I)P	verb juncture morpheme
IPFV	imperfective aspect
IND	indicative
INF	infinitival
ITER	iterative
LK	linker
LOC	locative case
MASC/M	masculine

NARR	narrative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case
NPST	non-past tense
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect aspect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present tense
PROG	progressive aspect
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
Q	interrogative
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplicate
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
TR	transitive

Chapter 1

Introducing Uyghur -(i)p Constructions and Syntactic Events

1.1 Empirical Starting Point and Research Questions

This dissertation explores variation in what might appear on the surface to be the same multi-verb construction in the Turkic language Uyghur. The sentences in (1)-(4) all combine a non-finite verb with a finite verb. The non-finite verb takes the *-(i)p* suffix in lieu of tense and person inflection, and the finite verb is always final in linear order. However, each of these four sentences is visibly distinct from the others in some way. In (1)-(3), the final verb (which I call ‘V2’) contributes a lexical predicate that is directly translatable into English, but in (4) the final verb is bleached of its lexical meaning, in this case contributing a habitual reading to the sentence. In (1) and (4), both verbs appear to share a single subject and a single object, the verbs in (2) share a single subject but each select different objects, while the verbs in (3) each have a different subject.

- (1) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

- (2) Ular meydanda putbol oynap yataqqa qaytti.
Ular meydan-da putbol oyna-(i)p yataq-ga qayt-di-0
3PL field-LOC soccer play-(I)P dorm-DAT return-PST-3
“They played soccer on the field, and came back to the dorm.”

- (3) Qar yighip shamal chiqip jahan muzlidi.
 Qar yagh-ip shamal chiq-ip jahan muzla-di-0
 Snow precipitate-(I)P wind rise-(I)P world freeze-PST-3

“The snow fell, the wind picked up, and the world froze.” (Tuohuti 2004: 119)

- (4) Tursun öyige pat-pat xet yézip turidu.
 Tursun öy-i-ga pat-pat xet yaz-(I)P tur-y-du
 Tursun home-3SG.POSS-DAT often letter write-(i)p stand-NPST-3

“Tursun often writes letters home.” (Tuohuti 2012: 360)

The goal of this dissertation is to answer a number of questions about the constructions in (1)-(4). The first broad question concerning the above constructions is whether the differences between them that I highlighted on the previous page in terms of argument sharing and semantic bleaching of V2 correspond to different syntactic structures. A closely related question is whether the verbs in each of (1)-(4) are part of a single clause, or whether each verb is merged in a separate clause.

In this dissertation, I will show that each of (1)-(4) is built by a different syntactic derivation. Constructions like (1), in which one lexical verb describes the manner in which the action denoted by the other verb is performed, are formed by adjunction of a projection containing a non-final verb (which I call ‘V1’) to a projection of V2. Constructions describing two sequential (2) or possibly simultaneous (3) events are formed by coordination, though the constituent that is coordinated depends on whether the same subject is shared (as in (2)) or not (as in (3)). Constructions like (4), in which V2 is semantically bleached, are formed by complementation: V2 heads a functional projection while V1 heads a lexical VP. Constructions (1) and (4), in which all arguments appear to be shared, are monoclausal, while constructions in which each verb selects different arguments, like (2) and (3), can be considered multiclausal.

A second set of questions concerns the obligatory presence of the *-(i)p* suffix between V1 and V2: why must this marker appear in the absence of tense inflection? Does it correspond to any functional head(s) in the syntax? I argue that *-(i)p* must follow V1 because Uyghur verbs require some form of morphological inflection, and in all the multi-verb constructions analyzed in this dissertation, V1 is structurally blocked from its usual source of inflection from tense. The *-(i)p* morpheme can satisfy V1’s need for inflection, but its appearance is not random: *-(i)p* optionally realizes two different syntactic heads related to event structure. One place where *-(i)p* appears is the Event head, marking the point at which a complement syntactic event is assembled (including a verb, its arguments, voice manipulations and manner adverbs) just above the voice domain. The other position is the InnerAspect head, a position between the verbal projection introducing internal arguments and the Voice projection introducing external arguments which optionally encodes telicity. I state the correspondence between verb-linking and event structure in Uyghur as the Event Projections Generalization.

- (5) **Event Projections Generalization:** Uyghur allows multiple verbs to appear in a clause by overtly realizing event-related functional heads outside and within the verbal domain.

A final question concerning (1)-(4), which I elaborate on in the next section and return to in the conclusion (chapter 5) of this dissertation, is how these constructions compare to multi-verb constructions, particularly serial verb constructions, cross-linguistically. Here the Event Projections Generalization offers two important insights: 1) verb serialization (i.e. the ability for multiple verbs to appear in a clause) in an agglutinative language is allowed if an alternative inflectional strategy exists for verbs unable to show tense inflection; and 2) verb serialization corresponds to specific event structure configurations. I ultimately find that multi-verb constructions do not even have a unified syntactic form in one language (Uyghur), let alone cross-linguistically. The different forms this type of construction takes in Uyghur are used to express different relations between events. Superficial differences between multi-verb constructions in Uyghur and other languages can be reduced to independent factors, like inflectional requirements and strategies, rather than a single parameter whose setting allows or disallows verb serialization.

Answering the questions posed above will require a thorough empirical investigation of multi-verb constructions involving $-(i)p$ in Uyghur. Chapters 2-4 are primarily concerned with developing detailed analyses of each type of construction. I develop a set of diagnostics for mono- versus multiclausality, the presence of a syntactic Event head (whose existence is motivated at length in section 1.5 of this chapter), and structural relationships between V1 and V2 that allow me to distinguish five unique types of Uyghur $-(i)p$ constructions. A summary of the constructions to be discussed is provided in table 1.1.

Status of V2	Construction name	$-(i)p$ Projection	Relation between V1/V2
Lexical	inner aspect SVC	InnerAsp	adjunction
	event SVC	Event	adjunction
	multiple event	Event/TP	coordination
Bleached	low V2	InnerAsp	complementation
	high V2	Event	complementation

Table 1.1: Types of $-(i)p$ construction

Chapter 2 focuses on $-(i)p$ constructions linking two lexical verb phrases, while chapter 3 focuses on $-(i)p$ constructions in which V2 is semantically bleached. In the course of analyzing lexical $-(i)p$ constructions in chapter 2, I address restrictions on the ordering between two lexical VPs. I find that ordering is fixed in constructions formed by adjunction due to a requirement that the adjoining verb provide modification about the process specified by the other verb, while ordering in constructions formed by coordination is subject only to pragmatic constraints on temporal sequencing. Chapter 3 demonstrates that only V2 but not V1 may be semantically bleached because V2 comes from a limited class of functional heads whose complement includes a lexical verb phrase. Chapter 4 delves further into the structure of the bleached V2 constructions I began analyzing in chapter 3,

examining why it is possible for either V1 or V2 to be negated. I find that just as Uyghur allows other functional material to intervene between verbs within the same clause, negation can be merged at any point in the clause where it can select a verbal complement.

The rest of this chapter will proceed as follows: I start by presenting some issues related to analyses of serial verb constructions in other languages in section 1.2. I discuss the methods for fieldwork data collection used in this dissertation in section 1.3, then provide a basic description of Uyghur grammar to orient a reader unfamiliar with Turkic morphosyntax in section 1.4. Because an important point of this dissertation is that *-(i)p* heads event-related projections, I spend a large portion of this chapter reviewing literature on syntactic event structure, introducing the semantic notion of event before motivating syntactic event-related projections in section 1.5. Finally, I provide an overview of each of the following chapters in section 1.6, including the constructions evaluated, the analyses proposed, and the clausal position at which *-(i)p* appears.

1.2 Issues with Multi-verb Constructions Cross-linguistically

Setting aside differences in argument sharing and the lexical versus bleached status of V2, there are a few common properties of the constructions showcased in the previous section in addition to the presence of the *-(i)p* morpheme. The verbs or verb phrases in (1)-(4) all share a tense value, in some cases they share arguments, they are not separated by any overt coordination marker,¹ and only one of the verbs shows tense inflection. These properties are shared by a loosely defined construction family known as serial verb constructions (SVCs).

Among the commonly recognized properties of SVCs are that the verbs encode either one event or a series of conceptually connected events, are part of the same clause, share a subject and tense value, and are not separated by any marker of conjunction or subordination (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Payne and Payne 1997, Collins 1997a *inter alia*). SVCs are reported in Niger-Congo languages (like Ewe in (6)-(7)) and Mandarin Chinese (see (8)-(9)) among many other languages around the world, and arguably even occur to a limited extent in English ((10)-(11)).²

- (6) Me nya q̣evi-ε dzo.
I chase child-DEF leave

“I chased the child away.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 461)

1. In chapter 2, I will show definitively that *-(i)p* is not a coordination marker.

2. Zwicky (1969) does not call constructions like (10) SVCs, while Pullum (1990: 218) calls constructions like (11) ‘quasi-serial verb constructions’.

- (7) Wo qǎ fufu qū.
 they cook fufu eat
 “They cooked fufu and ate it.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 461)
- (8) 我们 开会 讨论 那个 问题.
 Wǒ-mén kāi-huì tāolùn nà-ge wèntí
 1PL hold-meeting discuss DEM-CL problem
 “We’ll hold a meeting to discuss that problem/discuss that problem holding a meeting.” (cmn) (Paul 2008: 2)
- (9) 他 种 菜 卖.
 Tā zhǒng cài mài
 3SGM plant vegetable sell
 “He plants vegetables to sell them.” (cmn) (Müller and Lipenkova 2009: 239)
- (10) Come see the snow fall! (eng) (Zwicky 1969: 430)
- (11) Every day I go get the paper. (eng) (Pullum 1990: 219)

An obvious respect in which the Uyghur examples do not fit the above descriptions of SVCs is the presence of the $-(i)p$ morpheme between verbs. However, the significance of the requirement that there be no marker between verbs depends on the underlying structure assumed for the construction, and a diverging array of analyses have been proposed for SVCs in the literature. In the HPSG framework, Müller and Lipenkova (2009) have proposed that Mandarin SVCs are headless concatenations of two verbs with a shared argument structure. Some early minimalist analyses proposed that SVCs are essentially a verb phrase headed by two different verbs (Baker 1989, Stewart 2013). Other minimalist analyses tend to analyze each verb as heading a separate projection, but the question then becomes whether one of the projections is a complement of the other (Schachter 1974, Muysken et al. 1978, Sebba 1987, Sybesma 1997, Collins 1997a, Nishiyama 1998 *inter alia*), one projection adjoins to the other (Bickerton and Iatridou 1987, Seuren 1991, Hale 1991, Larson 1991, Law and Veenstra 1992, Veenstra 1993, 2000, Muysken and Veenstra 2006 *inter alia*), or there is some combination of complementation or adjunction depending on the construction (Law 1996, Paul 2008).

Disagreements over the underlying nature of SVCs go hand-in-hand with competing proposals about why some languages allow these constructions while others do not. Some authors consider verb serialization to be a lexical phenomenon (Lefebvre 1988, Li 1991), or a matter of conceptual organization (Givón 1991). In line with his double-headed analysis, Baker (1989) proposes there is parametric variation as to whether a projection can have two heads. Many authors working in the minimalist tradition focus on the licensing or feature checking relationship between multiple verbs and a tense head, proposing that in some languages either Tense or a lower functional projection can license multiple verbs (Collins 1997a, Collins 2002), or that the Tense or Inflection head does not have a verb feature that needs checking (Stewart 2013). Other studies suggest that there may not be a single parameter that allows verb serialization. Instead, verb serialization depends on the agreement morphology available in a language in combination with independent assumptions about verb movement (Veenstra 1993, Law 1996), although the correlation between morphological agreement and verb serialization has been argued to be not entirely consistent (Paul 2008).

This dissertation provides evidence that allowing multiple verbs to share a tense value is possible as long as another way to satisfy the non-finite verb’s morphological inflection requirement is available. Through a careful examination of multi-verb constructions in Uyghur, I show that different constructions place verbs in relationships of complementation, adjunction or coordination. The common element of the otherwise diverging analyses I will propose is the *-(i)p* suffix, which is inserted at specific points in a syntactic derivation whenever a syntactic configuration prevents a verb from otherwise satisfying its morphological requirement by moving to or otherwise agreeing with a Tense head. Specifically, I argue that the *-(i)p* suffix overtly realizes an Event or InnerAspect head, whose nature will be explained in section 1.5.2.

Before diving further into discussion of the Event and InnerAspect heads, I will lay down some groundwork for the rest of this dissertation in the next two sections by explaining the fieldwork methods used and introducing some key properties of Uyghur morphosyntax.

1.3 Methods

Unless another source is cited, all Uyghur examples used in this dissertation come from personal fieldwork conducted between 2016-2019, both in China and the United States. I used a variety of techniques to formulate sentences that I used in judgment tasks. One way was to take sentences from native printed literature (usually not linguistic in content) that I was familiar with, and modify them to exhibit the morphosyntactic form I was interested in. At other times, I searched Google for a particular combination of verbs, making similar modifications to the print examples. It was important to modify sentences from many online sources because they were often found in publications not politically fit for discussion or consumption in the current climate of China. At other times, I narrated a situation to speakers, and asked them either how to describe the situation or what a given participant in that situation might say about what they were doing or observing. Only occasionally did

I ask for direct translations of Chinese or English sentences into Uyghur, especially since much of the fieldwork was conducted using Uyghur itself as the metalanguage.

Whenever presenting sentences to speakers, I used the targeted context-based elicitation method (Matthewson 2004, Bochnak and Matthewson 2015), in which I described a context in which the sentence might be uttered, asking speakers how ‘natural’ the sentence sounded as a way to express a given meaning. I noted whether speakers found the sentence perfectly natural, pragmatically odd but grammatically correct, marginally acceptable in the right context, or downright unacceptable.

Due to the current plight of Uyghurs, access to native speakers was at times difficult during this project. All examples used in this dissertation were vetted by three native speakers of the standard Central dialect. One speaker, age 57, was available throughout the project and vetted all examples, while the remaining examples were vetted by two out of four other speakers between the ages of 24-36, though not necessarily the same two speakers for each example.

1.4 Uyghur Grammar Basics

Uyghur is a Turkic language with over ten million speakers primarily located in northwestern China. It bears a great typological resemblance to neighboring Central Asian Turkic varieties like Uzbek, Kazakh and Tatar, as well as to other members of the hypothesized Altaic family like Japanese, Korean and Mongolian (Pope 1965, Miller 1971 and references therein). Like other Altaic languages, word order is S(ubject)-O(bject)-V(erb), the overt subject being optional.

- (12) (Men) kitab oquymen.
 (Men) kitab oqu-i-men/oqu-i-men
 1SG book read-NPST-1SG
 “I read books.”

Objects may also be omitted in Uyghur when their identity is already contextually salient. For example, (13b), in which a specific book has already been established in the conversation, is a natural answer to the question posed in (13a).

- (13) a. Q:
 Kitabni oqudingizmu?
 Kitab-ni oqu-di-ngiz-mu
 Book-ACC read-PST-2SG.FORM-Q
 “Did you read the book?”

- b. A:
 Oqudum
 Oqu-di-m
 Read-PST-1SG
 “I read (it).”

Non-specific or generic objects like *kitab* ‘book’ in (13) are morphologically unmarked, but specific objects take the overt accusative case suffix *-ni*.

- (14) (Men) u kitabni oquymen.
 (Men) u kitab-ni oqu-i-men
 1SG DEM book-ACC read-NPST-1SG
 “I will read that book.”

Being an agglutinative language, Uyghur verbs host a variety of inflection to express tense, aspect and negation among other information.

- (15) U kitabni oqumaywatimen.
 U kitab-ni oqu-ma-iwat-i-men
 DEM book-ACC read-NEG-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am not reading that book.”

Finite verbs show tense marking and person agreement with the subject. There is a different set of person agreement markers following the *-i* non-past tense suffix versus the *-di* past tense suffix. The former set of agreement markers are shown in (16).

- (16) a. (Biz) kitab oquymiz
 (Biz) kitab oqu-i-miz
 1PL book read-NPST-1PL
 “We read books.”
- b. (Sen) kitab oquysen.
 (Sen) kitab oqu-i-sen
 2SG.FAM book read-NPST-2SG.FAM
 “You read books.”
- c. (Siz) kitab oquysiz.
 (Siz) kitab oqu-i-siz
 2SG.FORM book read-NPST-2SG.FORM
 “You read books.”

- d. (Siler) kitab oquysiler.
 (Siler) kitab oqu-i-siler
 2PL book read-NPST-2PL
 “You all read books.”
- e. (U/ular) kitab oquydu.
 (U/ular) kitab oqu-i-du
 3SG/3PL book read-NPST-3
 “(S)he/they read books.”

The only context in which a Uyghur verb may lack morphological inflection altogether is in the second person singular imperative. However, even in this context the bare form alternates with an inflected form.

- (17) a. Qaytip kel!
 Qayt-(i)p kel
 Return-(I)P come
 “Come back!”
- b. Qaytip keling!
 Qayt-(i)p kel-ing
 Return-(I)P come-2SG.IMP
 “Come back!”

The imperative-hortative system of Uyghur requires an overt suffix for any person/number combination other than second person singular. (18) illustrates the hortative forms for first person singular, first person plural, second person plural, and third person.

- (18) a. Qaytip keley!
 Qayt-(i)p kel-ay
 Return-(I)P come-1SG.IMP
 “Let me come back!”
- b. Qaytip keleyli!
 Qayt-(i)p kel-ayli
 Return-(I)P come-1PL.IMP
 “Let’s come back!”

- c. Qaytip kelinglar!
 Qayt-(i)p kel-inlar
 Return-(I)P come-2PL.IMP
 “Come back!”
- d. Qaytip kelsun!
 Qayt-(i)p kel-sun
 Return-(I)P come-3.IMP
 “May (s)he/they come back!”

The fact that the bare 2nd person imperative form is in complementary distribution with overt suffixes suggests it is a null morpheme, and should not be treated as the lack of inflection.

Verbs inflected with the perfect marker *-gan* do not usually show person agreement.

- (19) a. Biz burun bu yerge kelgen.
 Biz burun bu yer-ga kel-gan
 1PL before DEM place-DAT come-PERF
 “We’ve come to this place before.”
- b. Siz burun bu yerge kelgen.
 siz burun bu yer-ga kel-gan
 2SG.FORM before DEM place-DAT come-PERF
 “You’ve come to this place before.”

Non-finite verbs in Uyghur are also always inflected. The relative clause marker *-gan* is homophonous with the perfect suffix.

- (20) Kelgen adem
 Kel-gan adem
 Come-REL person
 “The person who has come” (Muzaipai’er 2017: 55)

Clauses suffixed with *-gan* may either be covertly nominalized or suffixed with *-lik*, which is arguably a nominalizer. Evidence that the embedded clause is nominalized in (21) is the fact that both the possessive marker *-i* and the accusative case marker *-ni* follow *-lik*.³

3. One reason for considering *-lik* a nominalizing suffix is that it derives nouns in other contexts. Uyghur grammarian Xemit Tömür (2003) describes the *-lik* suffix as “one of the most productive derivative [sic]

- (21) Ötkür [Aygülning ketken(lik)ini] didi.
 Ötkür [Aygül-ning ket-gan(-lik)-i-ni] de-di-0
 Ötkür [Aygül-GEN leave-REL(-NMLZ)-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Ötkür said that Aygül left.” (Asarina 2011: 93)

Outside of relative clauses, all other non-finite clauses either involve a verb-linking morpheme (including *-(i)p* phrases, which I analyze as Event or InnerAspect phrases in section 1.5.2) or are nominalizations. There are three different non-finite nominalization strategies (Muzaipai’er 2017):

1. The *-(i)sh* suffix derives gerund-type noun phrases that can be used in a variety of capacities. When the verb *oqu* ‘to read’ takes the *-(i)sh* suffix in (22), it can be marked with accusative case and serve as the object of the verb ‘to like’.

- (22) Men seherde kitab oqushni yaxshi körimen.
 Men seher-da kitab oqu-(i)sh-ni yaxshi kör-i-men
 1SG morning-LOC book read-NMLZ-ACC good see-NPST-1SG
 “I like reading books in the morning.” (Muzaipai’er 2017: 57)

Control constructions in Uyghur take the *-ish* form as well.

- (23) New Yorkka bérishni ümüt qilimen.
 New York-ga bar-ish-ni ümüt qil-i-men
 New York-DAT go-NMLZ-ACC hope do-NPST-1SG
 “I hope to go to New York.”

2. The *-maq* suffix is used less frequently than *-(i)sh*, but when it is used, it often takes locative case and is used to express progressive aspect as the argument of a copular verb, as seen in (24).

- (24) Mu’ellim ders ötmekte idi.
 Mu’ellim ders öt-maq-da i-di-0
 Teacher class teach-NMLZ-LOC COP-PST-3
 “The teacher was teaching class.” (Muzaipai’er 2017: 58)

suffixes in the Uyghur language” (88). Among other functions, it can attach to a noun describing a profession and derive a noun referring to the field with which the profession is engaged (e.g. *tilshunas* ‘linguist’ → *tilshunas-lik* ‘linguistics’), or it can attach to a proper noun referring to a location and derive a noun meaning a person from said location (e.g. *Amérika* ‘America’ → *Amérika-lik* ‘American’). However, the input to *-lik* in this capacity is always a noun. See Asarina (2011) for arguments that *-lik* is actually a complementizer for the embedded non-finite clause followed by a null nominalization morpheme in examples like (21).

3. When the *-ghu* suffix nominalizes a verb, it is usually followed by a possessive suffix and expresses a desire to perform the action denoted by the verb on the part of the genitive possessor. (25), in which the verb *angla* ‘to hear’ takes *-ghu* and a first person possessive marker, expresses the speaker’s desire to hear a lecture by combining with the verb ‘to come’.

- (25) U léksiyeni anglighum kéliwatidu.
 U léksiye-ni angla-ghu-m kel-iwat-i-du
 3SG lecture-ACC hear-NMLZ-1SG.POSS come-PROG-NPST-3

“I want to hear that lecture (lit. my desire to hear the lecture is coming).”
 (Muzaipai’er 2017: 59)

There are two other morphemes in Uyghur which play a similar verb-linking role to *-(i)p*, although in more limited contexts. The morpheme *-ghach*, like *-(i)p*, appears between two verbs in the absence of tense and person inflection, and expresses the meaning that the event described by V2 was performed while the subject was ‘in the process of’ or ‘on the way to’ performing the event described by V1 (the non-final verb in linear order). For example, (26) expresses the speaker’s wish that the addressee pays the phone bill while on their way (in the process of going) to school.⁴

- (26) Mektepke barghach téléphone pulini töliwetsingiz
 Mektep-ga bar-ghach téléphone pul-i-ni töl-iwet-sa-(i)ngiz
 School-DAT go-GHACH phone money-3.POSS-ACC pay-COMPL-COND-2SG.FORM
 boptiken.
 bol-ptu-iken
 be-PST.NARR-EVID

“While you are going to school can you stop and pay the telephone bill? (lit. It’d be good if you could pay the phone bill on your way to school.)” (5000 common words, ANKI file)

In a similar fashion to *-ghach*, the suffix *-ghili* means that the event of V2 was performed for the purpose of the event denoted by V1. (27) means that the speaker went to the market for the purpose of buying clothes.

- (27) Bazargha kiyim alghili bardim.
 Bazar-ga kiyim al-ghili bar-di-m
 Market-DAT clothes buy-GHILI go-PST-1SG

“I went to the market to buy clothes.” (5000 common words, ANKI file)

4. The interrogative interpretation in the English translation is an attempt to capture the pragmatic effect of stating a hope of what another person will do, which is arguably pragmatically equivalent to making a request using an interrogative.

The *-(i)p* suffix is more flexible in its context of usage than either *-ghach* or *-ghili*, and can be substituted into either (26) or (27). *-(i)p* can either express the same meaning as *-ghach* or *-ghili*, or give rise to a distinct, bi-eventive reading captured in the second translations.

- (28) Mektepke béríp téléfon pulini töliwetsingiz
 Mektep-ga bar-(i)p téléfon pul-i-ni töl-iwet-sa-(i)ngiz
 School-DAT go-(I)P phone money-3.POSS-ACC pay-COMPL-COND-2SG.FORM
 boptiken.
 bol-ptu-iken
 be-PST.NARR-EVID

“While you are going to school can you stop and pay the telephone bill?”

“Can you go to school and pay the phone bill?”

- (29) Bazargha kiyim élip bardim.
 Bazar-ga kiyim al-(i)p bar-di-m
 Market-DAT clothes buy-(I)P go-PST-1SG

“I went to the market to buy clothes.”

“I went to the market, buying clothes (while there).”

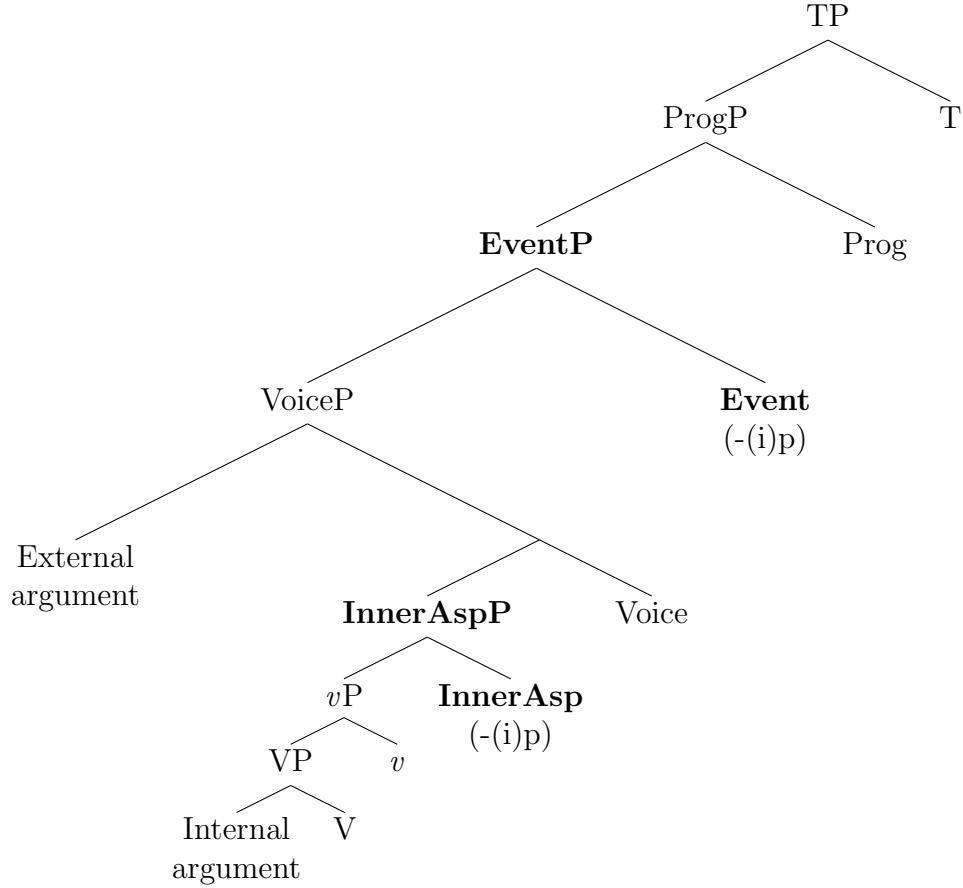
This focus of this dissertation is on the detailed differences between multi-verb constructions involving the *-(i)p* suffix, and I set aside the status of *-ghach* and *-ghili* for the time being. However, I will return to these suffixes briefly in the conclusion, chapter 5, providing initial evidence that both suffixes are alternate realizations of the Event head motivated throughout this dissertation.

The requirement that verbs, whether finite or non-finite, be inflected in Uyghur helps explain the obligatory presence of *-(i)p* in multi-verb constructions. I claim that *-(i)p* is inserted into an event-related functional head as a last resort when the verb is otherwise unable to receive inflection. The chapters that follow will explore the exact positions in which *-(i)p* is merged. Having established some basic facts about Uyghur grammar, I proceed to a discussion of events and how they may be encoded in Uyghur syntax.

1.5 Definitions of Events

This dissertation argues that the *-(i)p* morpheme may be inserted at certain event-related points in a syntactic derivation. The two event-related positions I argue can be occupied by *-(i)p*, one above and one below the Voice projection, are bolded in tree (30). While both event-related projections have been proposed previously, I provide novel evidence in this dissertation that both can be overtly headed.

(30)



One reason I propose that $-(i)p$ can be base merged in two different positions is that it is actually possible for up to two verbs to be semantically bleached in the presence of $-(i)p$ in Uyghur. However, as I will discuss in detail in chapter 3, the ordering and number of bleached verbs allowed in one construction is strictly constrained by the type of bleached verbs used. The fact that the $-(i)p$ morpheme may appear up to twice in one clause suggests there must be two clausal positions in which it can be merged.

- (31) Men bu romanni oqup qoyup turuwatimen.
 Men bu roman-ni oqu-(i)p qoy-(i)p tur-iwat-y-men
 1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(i)p put-(i)p stand-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am continuing to read up this novel.” (Tuohuti 2012: 355)

Before motivating the two positions, it is crucial that I establish what is meant by the term ‘event’. I first review some semantic definitions of event in section 1.5.1 before giving a more thorough review of how event structure is encoded in syntactic structure in section 1.5.2.

1.5.1 Semantic Definitions of Event

Davidson (1967) is one of the first authors to advocate including events in linguistic representations. One simple reason Davidson argues that an event argument is needed in the logical form of action sentences is that, in English, *it* can be used to refer to some event, as in “Jones did it slowly [...] What he did was butter a piece of toast” (Davidson 1967: 37). *It* refers neither to *Jones* nor to the *piece of toast*; it refers to the act of buttering. The semantic representation of a sentence like (32) should therefore look like (33). The variable x stands for an event, in this case a kicking event.

(32) Shem kicked Shaun. (eng) (Davidson 1967: 47)

(33) $(\exists x)$ (Kicked(Shem, Shaun, x))

Davidson also claims that the existence of an event argument can solve the problem of variable polyadicity. That is, how do we know that two sentences containing the same core predicate but different modifiers must be describing the same eventuality? Intuitively, if (34) is true, then (35) must also be true.

(34) Sebastian strolled through the streets of Bologna at 2 am. (eng) (Davidson 1969: 166)

(35) Sebastian strolled through the streets of Bologna. (eng) (Davidson 1969: 166)

However, logically representing (34) and (35) as ‘ x strolled through y at t ’ and ‘ x strolled through y ’, respectively, does not assert that there is any commonality between the two sentences. The former representation is as a three-place predicate while the latter is as a two-place predicate. One solution to this problem could be to claim that a given predicate contains a number of optionally filled roles. For example, every entry of ‘stroll’ could additionally contain a time argument that is not always realized. However, the seemingly infinite ability to add arguments in the form of adjuncts would require that entries be infinitely long (for example, the entry of *stroll* would also have to contain arguments for ‘towards’, ‘because of’ etc.).

Instead, Davidson (1967, 1969) proposes that logical form contains an event argument, and modifiers are actually predicates of the event argument. The respective logical forms of (34) and (35) will then look like (36) and (37).⁵

5. Davidson (1967, 1969) describes but does not provide the actual logical forms of (34) and (35). (36) and (37) come from Verkuyl (1996), which I consider to faithfully described the logical forms proposed by Davidson. Verkuyl, however, uses ‘ e ’ to represent the event argument where Davidson used ‘ x ’.

(36) $\exists e(\text{Strolled}(\text{Sebastian}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}) \wedge \text{At}(e, 2 \text{ am}))$

(37) $\exists e(\text{Strolled}(\text{Sebastian}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}))$ (Verkuyl 1996: 245)

In both sentences, ‘e’ is identified as strolling, allowing (36) and (37) to refer to the same event. Under this analysis, a predicate with n surface arguments will have $n+1$ arguments in its logical form due to the addition of the ‘e’ argument. This logical form was modified slightly by Parsons (1990), one of the more prominent champions of the Neo-Davidsonian approach. Instead of treating the event as an additional argument of a given predicate, he treats the verb and all its arguments as predicates of ‘e’. His logical forms of (36) and (37) would thus look like (38) and (39), respectively.

(38) $\exists e(\text{Strolling}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(\text{Sebastian}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}) \wedge \text{At}(e, 2\text{am}))$.

(39) $\exists e(\text{Strolling}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(\text{Sebastian}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}))$. (Parsons 1990 in Verkuyl 1996: 246)

Higginbotham (1985) argues that the Event argument proposed by Davidson is fully assembled at the point in a syntactic derivation where the Infl (aka Tense) head selects VP through a process called “theta binding” (561). As I will discuss in section 1.5.2, Travis (2010) revises this proposal to say that a mid-clausal Event head, rather than Infl or Tense, is responsible for the binding of the event role.

Verkuyl (1996) casts doubt on the existence of an ‘event’ argument as a semantic primitive. He returns to one of the primary motivations behind Davidson’s proposal of an event argument: that a sentence like (40a) should entail a sentence like (40b), consisting of the same predicate and arguments minus the adverb.

(40) a. Sebastian strolled through the streets of Bologna at 2am.

b. Sebastian strolled through the streets of Bologna. (eng) (Davidson 1969: 166)

Verkuyl points out that Davidson’s and Parson’s examples use individuals, generalized monotone-increasing quantifiers, as subjects. The entailment of a bare sentence from a sentence with modifying adverbs is lost when the subject is instead a monotone-decreasing quantifier. In other words, because the subject in (41) is *at most three girls* rather than *Sebastian*, (a) does not entail (b).

- (41) a. At most three girls strolled through the streets of Bologna at 2am.
 b. At most three girls strolled through the streets of Bologna. (eng) (Verkuyl 1996: 246)

That entailment is expected to hold based on Parsons' neo-Davidsonian approach, as demonstrated by the logical forms repeated in (42) and (43).

$$(42) \quad \exists e(\text{Strolled}(\text{at most 3 girls}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}) \wedge \text{At}(e, 2 \text{ am}))$$

$$(43) \quad \exists e(\text{Strolled}(\text{at most 3 girls}, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna})) \text{ (based on Verkuyl 1996: 247)}$$

However, the entailment issues of (42) and (43) only arise if the existentially quantified event argument takes widest scope in (41). If instead the quantifier over individuals is allowed to take widest scope, then the above entailment issue does not hold. That is, (44) does not entail (45).

$$(44) \quad \exists x(\text{at most 3 girls}(x) \wedge \exists e(\text{Strolled}(x, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna}) \wedge \text{At}(e, 2 \text{ am})))$$

$$(45) \quad \exists x(\text{at most 3 girls}(x) \wedge \exists e(\text{Strolled}(x, e) \wedge \text{Through}(e, \text{the streets of Bologna})))$$

A second problem that Verkuyl (1996) points out with the neo-Davidsonian approach is that temporal adverbs behave differently from other adverbs. A sentence like (46) can be represented straightforwardly as in (47) because it is assumed to describe one underlying event that happened both quickly and unexpectedly.

$$(46) \quad \text{Doris capsized her canoe quickly and unexpectedly. (eng)}$$

$$(47) \quad \exists e(\text{Capsizing}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(\text{Doris}, e) \wedge \text{Object}(\text{her_canoe}, e) \wedge \text{Quick}(e) \wedge \text{Unexpected}(e)) \text{ (Verkuyl 1996: 250)}$$

However, (48) is understood as referring to two separate events, one which happened yesterday and the other which happened the day before, and as such needs to be represented as in (49).

(48) Doris capsized her canoe yesterday and the day before. (eng)

(49) $\exists e \exists e' (\text{Capsizing}(e) \wedge \text{Agent}(\text{Doris}, e) \wedge \text{Object}(\text{her canoe}, e) \wedge \text{Yesterday}(e) \wedge \text{Capsizing}(e') \wedge \text{Agent}(\text{Doris}, e') \wedge \text{Object}(\text{her canoe}, e') \wedge \text{The_day_before}(e'))$ (Verkuyl 1996: 250)

Under the neo-Davidsonian approach, (48) should mean that there was one event of capsizing which happened both yesterday and the day before. However, given the nature of capsizing in the real world, such a reading is highly unlikely. The neo-Davidsonian approach thus fails to offer insight into why temporal adverbs behave differently from manner adverbs, because it treats all adverbials as predicates of events. However, (48) can also be analyzed as a sort of ellipsis where each temporal adverbial modifies a separate underlying event.

As suggested by Cole (2016), using the term ‘event’ in a linguistic sense must refer to a representation of an event; it cannot possibly refer to an event as an incident occupying a specific time and space in the world. As Williams (2015) shows with the pair of examples in (50), it is possible linguistically to treat the same actions occupying the same time and space as two different events. Supposing that Mo sold a book to Lee, (50a) and (50b) describe the same happening in the real world, but depending on the verb used, either Mo or Lee is the agent of a separate event.

- (50) a. Lee bought the book.
b. Mo sold the book. (eng) (Williams 2015: 42)

Despite objections of the kind raised by Verkuyl, the neo-Davidsonian approach to events has gained significant currency in both semantic and syntactic literature. SVCs, loosely defined as multiple verbs describing a single event, have been a particularly appealing testing ground for ways of incorporating events into syntax. In this thesis, my ultimate concern is the mechanism that allows multiple verbs to appear in the same clause. To the extent that positing an Event head in syntax can explain the combinatory possibilities of verbs within a construction, it is useful for me to talk about the existence of event representations. I aim to show in this dissertation that the syntactic Event and InnerAspect heads are the key to unlocking the otherwise mysterious ability of multiple verbs to combine under one Tense head in Uyghur, as stated in the Event Projections Generalization.

- (51) **Event Projections Generalization:** Uyghur allows multiple verbs to appear in a clause by overtly realizing event-related functional heads outside and within the verbal domain.

I begin my discussion of syntactic representations of events in the next section.

1.5.2 Event and Inner Aspect in Syntax

Event Structure in Syntax

A great number of authors have proposed that event structure can be encoded syntactically. Here I provide an overview of a few famous proposals for this general mapping which is by no means exhaustive. Since the ultimate purpose of this section is to motivate two syntactic positions that can be realized by the *-(i)p* morpheme in multi-verb constructions, I will follow this section by discussing specific proposals for syntactic heads claimed to demarcate syntactic events and portions of events.

Borer (1994) argues that the semantics of any predicate is read compositionally off of syntactic structure, including event semantics. Borer notes that in many languages, auxiliary selection is sensitive not just to the meaning of the verb it selects, but to its arguments. For example, the bare verb *geland* ‘to land’ conditions the ‘be’ auxiliary in Dutch, but the transitive predicate *landing gemaakt* ‘to make a landing’ (which effectively expresses the same meaning) conditions the ‘have’ auxiliary. The pair of examples in (52) shows that the presence of an object, even when it is semantically vacuous, can affect predicate type.

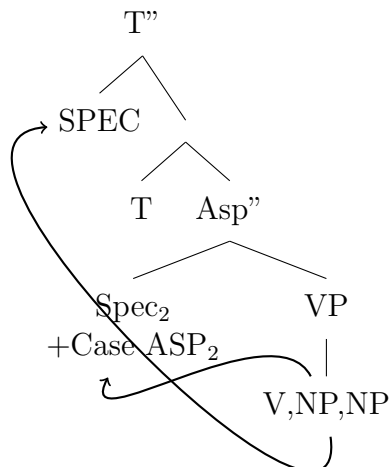
(52) (nld) (Everaert 1992 in Borer 1994: 25)

- a. Het vliegtuig is geland
the plane is landed
- b. Het vliegtuig heeft een landing gemaakt
the plane has a landing made

Borer posits that one argument of a verb may move to the specifier of an aspectual projection, capable of assigning accusative case, above the VP where it can serve as a measure (essentially, an undergoer) for an event. In (52b), the internal argument *landing* is able to move to this position and serve as a measure, while the subject moves to its surface position in Spec, T. This derivation, which triggers the ‘have’ auxiliary according to Borer, is sketched in (53).⁶

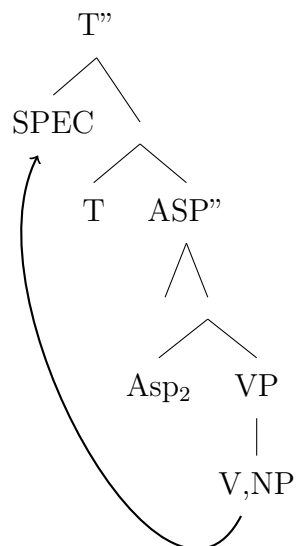
6. Movement in Borer’s (1994) system serves two purposes. The first is to associate arguments of the verb with certain event roles (such as ‘measure’) which in Borer’s analysis are only available in the specifier positions of specific functional heads. The second purpose, shared with cases of object movement discussed in section 1.5.2, is to derive surface word order. Both purposes of movement are based on the assumption that all arguments are generated within the verbal domain (Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Burton and Grimshaw 1992 *inter alia*).

(53) (Borer 1994: 31)



In (52a), on the other hand, the subject *vliegtuig* ‘plane’ moves to Spec, T, but there is no measure argument present to fill Spec, Asp, and the ‘be’ auxiliary is triggered.

(54) (Borer 1994: 30)



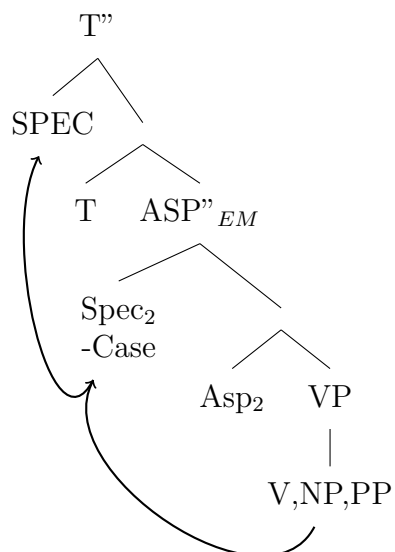
Another type of argument that may affect predicate type and condition auxiliary selection is a goal PP. The respective contrast between (55a) and (55b) in Italian shows that while the bare verb *corso* ‘to run’ is selected by ‘have’, the addition of a goal PP *a casa* ‘to home’ to this same verb derives an unaccusative predicate selected by ‘be’.

(55) (ita) (Hoekstra and Mulder 1990 in Borer 1994: 20)

- a. Gianni ha corso
Gianni has run
- b. Gianni e corso a casa
Gianni is run to home

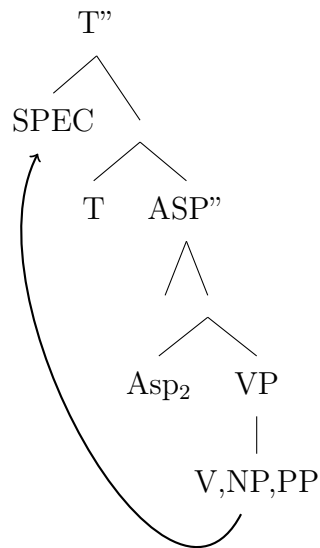
Borer notes that the goal PP acts as a delimiter of the event in (55b), and argues that a delimiter argument is only licensed under c-command by a measure argument. *Gianni* must first move through Spec, ASP to serve as a measure before continuing to its surface position in Spec, T in order to license the goal PP as a delimiter.

(56) (Borer 1994: 33)



When *Gianni* moves directly to Spec, T, on the other hand, there is no measure and thus no delimiter, and the ‘have’ auxiliary is consequently triggered.

(57) (Borer 1994: 32)

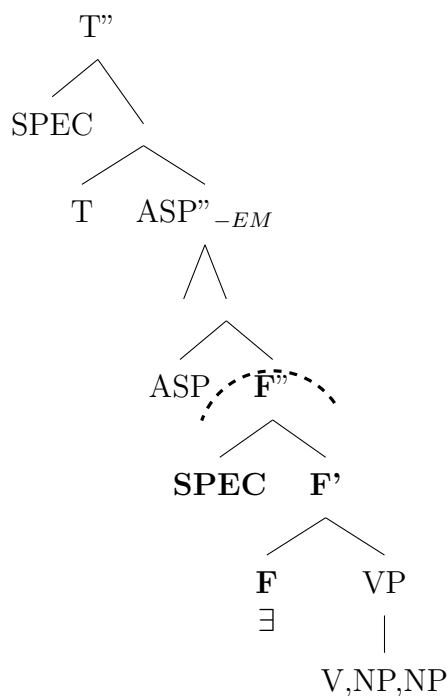


The derived position for specific objects posited by Borer follows work by Kratzer (1989), Diesing (1991, 1992), Runner (1993) and Deprez (1994) arguing that specific objects must move to the specifier of a projection outside of the verb phrase to escape nuclear scope. Borer argues that in addition to a position being available for derived specific objects, a lower functional projection must also be available to host a non-specific, non-measure argument in its specifier. This head is claimed to be lower than the AspP that can host an event measure in its specifier, but higher than the VP that introduces an argument. Evidence for a lower such projection comes from the fact that while specific arguments are assigned accusative case, non-specific arguments receive partitive case in languages like German and Finish (Dehoop 2014). Indeed, the contrast in (58) shows that Uyghur objects with overt accusative case marking, which are usually interpreted as specific, must precede manner adverbs, while non-specific bare objects follow manner adverbs.

- (58) a. Xemit chay*(ni) asta ichti.
 Xemit chay-*(ni) asta ich-di-0
 Xemit tea-ACC slowly drink-PST-3
 “Xemit slowly drank the tea.”
- b. Xemit asta chay(*ni) ichti.
 Xemit asta chay(*-ni) ich-di-0
 Xemit slowly tea(*-ACC) drink-PST-3
 “Xemit slowly drank tea.” (Major and Yakup 2015: 5)

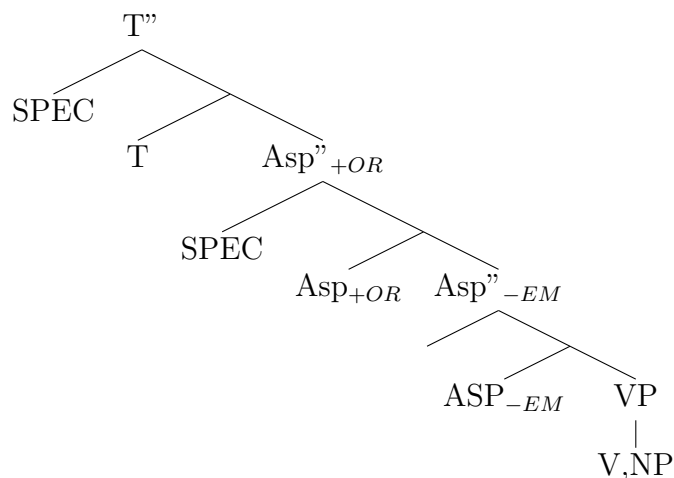
Borer's lower functional projection which can host objects is bolded in (59), where the dashed line represents nuclear scope.

(59) (based on Borer 1994: 38)



Finally, Borer (1994) also posits a higher aspect position where an originator (essentially, an agent) argument is merged above the derived measure position.

(60) (Borer 1994: 35)



For Borer (1994), then, an event consists of functional projections introducing originator, measure and optionally delimiter arguments related to the verb.

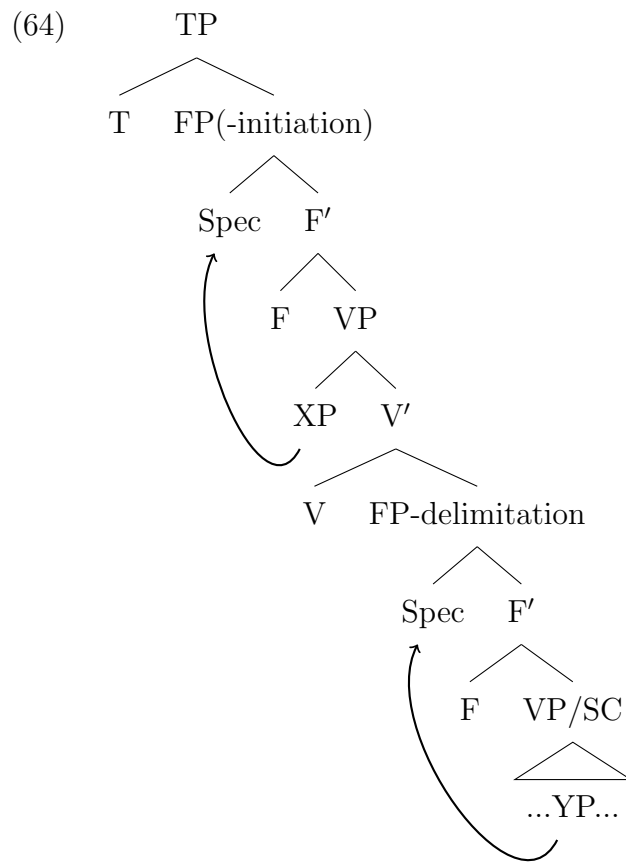
Ritter and Rosen (1998) follow Borer (1994) in proposing that events are formed compositionally through a combination of verbs and arguments mediated by functional heads in the syntax. They define syntactic events as delimited events, where delimited events encode a natural endpoint (i.e. they are telic accomplishments). They argue that only events, not atelic activities, can be causativized. Crucially, the addition of an argument to an activity predicate allows the predicate to be causativized. For example, the bare English verb *walk* is considered an activity predicate, and it is not possible to causativize/transitivize it (as in (62)) without the addition of a goal argument as in (63).

(61) John walked.

(62) *John walked Bill/the letter.

(63) John walked Bill/the letter to the Dean's office. (eng) (Ritter and Rosen 1998: 135)

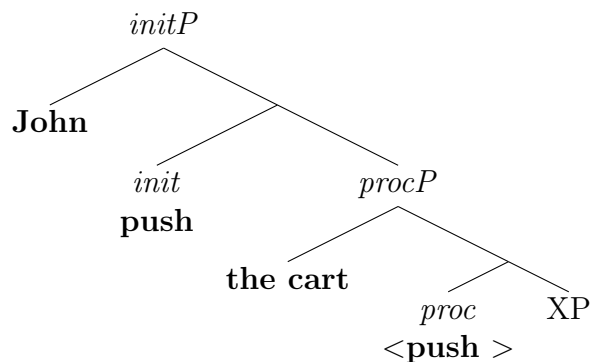
The goal PP *to the Dean's office* in (63) serves the same delimiting role as the goal in (56b), and Ritter and Rosen essentially adopt Borer's (1994) analysis in which measure/delimiter and initiator/originator arguments receive their event roles in the specifiers of functional projections. When this delimiter position is filled, the event may be causativized.



Ramchand (2008) conducts a finer-grained examination of the verbal domain, dividing it into three main projections that compose the meaning of an event. The Init projection introduces the initiator of an event, the Process head introduces an undergoer argument, and the Result head introduces a resultee. A so-called ‘verb phrase’ is formed by a combination of one or more of these components, and which components are present determines the type of event described. The activity (65), for example, contains an Init and Process head but no Result, as shown in (66).

(65) John pushed the cart. (eng) (Ramchand 2008: 73)

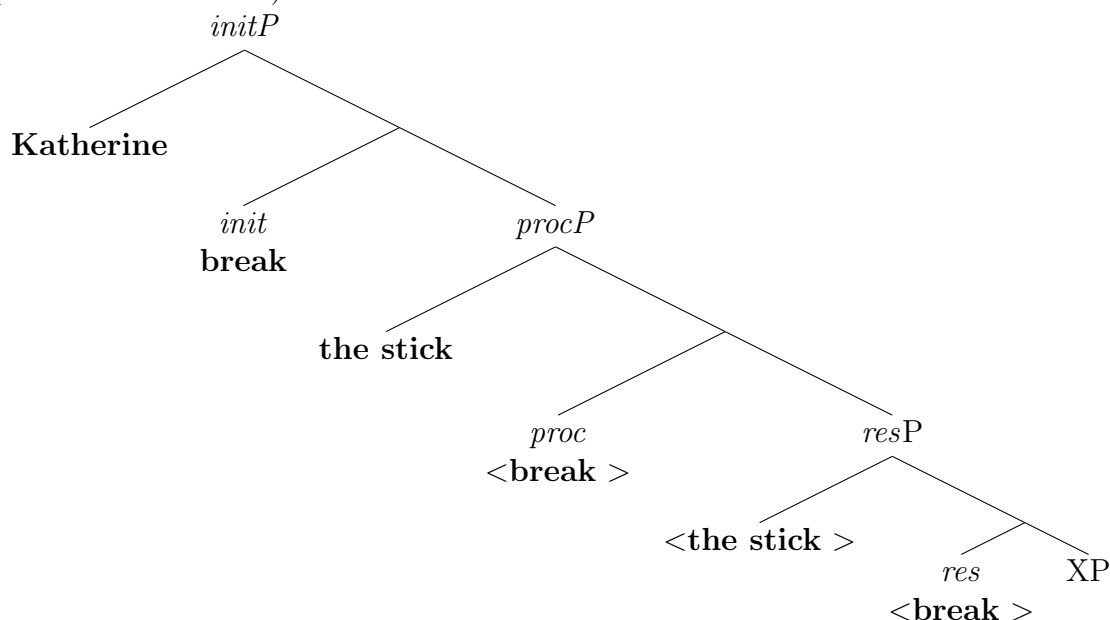
(66) (Ramchand 2008: 73)



(67) described both a process and a result, and the theme argument *the stick* consequently acts as both undergoer and resultee.

(67) Katherine broke the stick. (eng) (Ramchand 2008: 83)

(68) (Ramchand 2008: 83)



Ramchand (2017) builds on her work in Ramchand (2008), arguing that the verbal event domain constitutes the lowest syntactic phase of syntactic derivation. Since Chomsky (2000, 2001), it has traditionally been assumed that *vP* is the boundary of a phase, a discrete unit assembled in the syntax that is sent to other interfaces for pronunciation and interpretation. However, later work like Pylkkänen (2008) and Harley (2013) has decomposed the external argument-introducing and verbalizing functions of *v* into two separate heads: Voice and *v*, respectively. Phase literature has generally ignored this

distinction and used *v* to refer to a projection with both capacities. Moreover, it is not clear how to reconcile the split functions of Voice and *v* with Ramchand's (2008) own external argument-introducing Init head. Ramchand (2008) considers the Init head optional, merged only when an initiator argument is present. The presence of *v*, on the other hand, has been considered obligatory both to categorize a root (Harley 1995, Marantz 1997) and to encode event-type features (Harley 2009, Cuervo 2003). Second, the Init head is not involved in tracking active versus passive voice as the Voice head does in Kratzer (1996) and much subsequent work; it is only responsible for introducing an argument that plays a specific role in an event. It is thus unclear to which if either of these heads Ramchand's Init corresponds, and whether this head should introduce a phase boundary.

Ramchand (2017) ultimately argues that the event domain (i.e. the lowest phase believed to be completed at *v* in Chomsky (2000, 2001) and subsequent work) is not spelled out until a transitional aspect head is reached. Among other evidence, Ramchand draws on work by Harwood (2012, 2015) arguing for the phasal status of progressive aspect. The examples in (69) show that there is a position where an argument may be stranded between perfect *-en* and progressive *-ing*.

- (69) a. *There could have been being a truck loaded.
 b. There could have been a truck being loaded.
 c. *There could have a truck been being loaded.
 d. *There could a truck have been being loaded.
 e. *There a truck could have been being loaded.
 f. A truck could have been being loaded. (eng) (Harwood 2012 in Ramchand 2017: 16)

The fact that this position is still available between auxiliary *be* and *-ing* in the absence of perfect aspect (as in (70)), but that no such stranding position is available between auxiliary *have* and perfect *-en* in the absence of progressive aspect (as in (71)), suggests that progressive aspect makes a phase edge available as a derived argument position.

- (70) a. *There could be being a truck loaded.
 b. There could be a truck being loaded.
 c. *There could a truck be being loaded.
 d. A truck could be being loaded.

- (71) a. There could have been a truck loaded.
 b. *There could have a truck been loaded.
 c. *There could a truck have been loaded.
 d. A truck could have been loaded. (eng) (Harwood 2012 in Ramchand 2017: 16)

The work of Ramchand (2008, 2017) thus argues that events are assembled portion-by-portion in the syntax, and makes a case for there being a meaningful point in the syntax above the position where all arguments have been base-merged at which an event can be considered completed.

Having summarized some influential proposals for mapping an event domain into syntax, I turn in the next section to proposals explicitly arguing for a functional projection outside the verbal domain that I identify as the Event head.

Motivating an Event Head in Syntax

In this section I motivate a position, identified by Travis (2010) as the Event head, where the $-(i)p$ suffix can be base-merged outside the verbal domain. In chapter 2, I will show that an Event Phrase headed by $-(i)p$ may either adjoin to a verb phrase, describing an action performed to bring about a result of an event denoted in the main clause, or be coordinated with another Event Phrase for a simultaneous or sequential re-reading of two events. In chapter 3, I will show that an Event Phrase headed by $-(i)p$ is the complement selected by an Auxiliary verb that expresses iteration or inception.

Proposals for an Event projection above the verbal domain coincide with proposals that verbs may undergo head-movement to a position between T and VP. One of the latter proposals comes from Pollock (1989), who suggests that a functional head below T is occupied by French infinitival verbs, which unlike finite verbs in French must appear lower than sentential negation but higher than adverbs. (72) and (73) show that finite French verbs appear higher than both sentential negation (marked by *pas*) and adverbs, respectively.

- (72) Jean (n') aime pas Marie.
 Jean (ne) likes NEG Marie
 "Jean doesn't like Marie." (fra) (Pollock 1989: 367)

- (73) Jean embrasse souvent Marie.
 Jean kisses often Marie
 "Jean often kisses Marie." (fra) (Pollock 1989: 367)

(74) shows that infinitival verbs, however, follow negation. In Pollock’s analysis, optionally present *ne* is the head of a Negative Phrase (though semantic negation is expressed by *pas*, which is merged in the specifier of this phrase). *Ne* appears in a sentence-initial position in (74), according to Pollock, because negation counts as a head eligible for movement to clause-initial C instead of the lexical verb in non-finite contexts.

- (74) a. Ne pas sembler heureux...
 Ne NEG seem-INF happy
 “To not seem happy” (fra) (Pollock 1989: 374)
- b. *Ne sembler pas heureux... (fra) (Pollock 1989: 374)

Furthermore, (75) shows that infinitivals appear before, not after, adverbs.

- (75) Parler à peine l’italien...
 speak-INF a hardly DET-Italian
 “To hardly speak Italian” (fra) (Pollock 1989: 378)

Travis (2010) takes these examples as evidence that there is a position that French infinitivals occupy between negation and adverbials, which in turn appears between T and *v*. Travis calls this projection Event, and proposes it marks the point in the syntax at which a neo-Davidsonian event argument is introduced (event variable binding in the sense of Higginbotham (1985)). She argues that this same position, which she calls the Event projection, may be occupied by the infinitival *to* in English.

- (76) V_{FIN} NEG to_{INF} ADVERB [*v*]
- a. Not *to* seem happy
- b. *To* hardly speak Italian (eng) (Pollock 1989 in Travis 2010: 76)

Collins (2002) invokes the presence of an aspect head associated with pluractionality dominating *v*P as a site for *v* adjunction. He proposes that verbs raise from their base positions within *v*P and adjoin to this aspect head to derive consecutive verbal compounds in the Northern Khoesan language ǀHoan. A consecutive verbal compound takes the form shown in (77), in which two verbs (*tsaxo* ‘cook’ and *’am* ‘eat’) must appear immediately adjacent to one another.

- (77) Ma qo kí- tsaxo 'am ||a"e.
1SG FUT kí[PL] cook eat meat

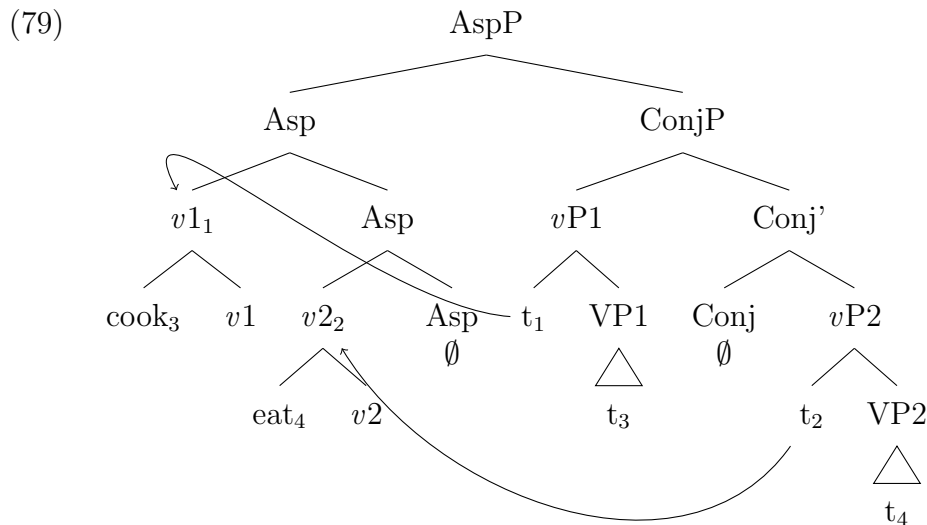
“I will cook and eat meat (repeatedly).” (≠Hoan) (Collins 2002: 17)

Collins argues that examples like (77) are derived from SVCs like (78). So-called ‘consequential serial verb constructions’ like (78) have been analyzed as two covertly conjoined *v*Ps.

- (78) Wo qa fufu qu.
They cook fufu eat

“They cooked fufu and ate it.” (Ewe) (Collins 1997a: 461)

Because the two *v*Ps are in separate conjuncts, there must be a functional head to which both *v*’s can adjoin, presumably leaving the object within one of the conjuncts, to derive the correct word order in which both verbs precede the object. Collins posits a null Aspect head to fulfill this function. My interpretation of this structure is shown in tree (79).⁷



This analysis is suggestive once again of an Event head c-commanding *v*P (or VoiceP) appearing in a multi-verb construction, allowing two *v*Ps to be interpreted as a single event. Furthermore, Collins suggests that this aspectual head has a pluractional meaning, and agrees with the pluractional morpheme *kí* (merged in an Agr head c-commanding Asp)

7. Collins (2002) acknowledges that a derivation like (i) seemingly violates the coordinate structure constraint of Ross (1967), and suggests that the acceptability of such extraction may have to do with the asymmetric semantic relation between the conjoined VPs.

in (77). Uyghur *-(i)p* in the Event position can also be associated with a pluractional meaning when followed by the bleached verb *tur*, as I will discuss in chapter 3.

- (80) Gösh étip turidu.
 Gösh et-(i)p tur-i-du
 Meat cook-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “(S)he/they keep(s) cooking meat.”

Aldridge (2004) uses an aspectual head selecting *vP* as a landing site for verb movement to derive VSO ordering in Tagalog. As evidence against the verb moving to T, Aldridge points out that negation markers always precede inflected verbs in Tagalog, as shown in (81).

- (81) a. Hindí k-in-ain ni Maria ang isdá.
 NEG -TR.PERF-eat ERG Maria ABS fish
 “Maria didn’t eat the fish.” (tgl)
 b. *K-in-ain hindí ni Maria ang isdá.
 TR.PERF-eat NEG ERG Maria ABS fish
 “Maria didn’t eat the fish.” (tgl) (Aldridge 2004: 179)

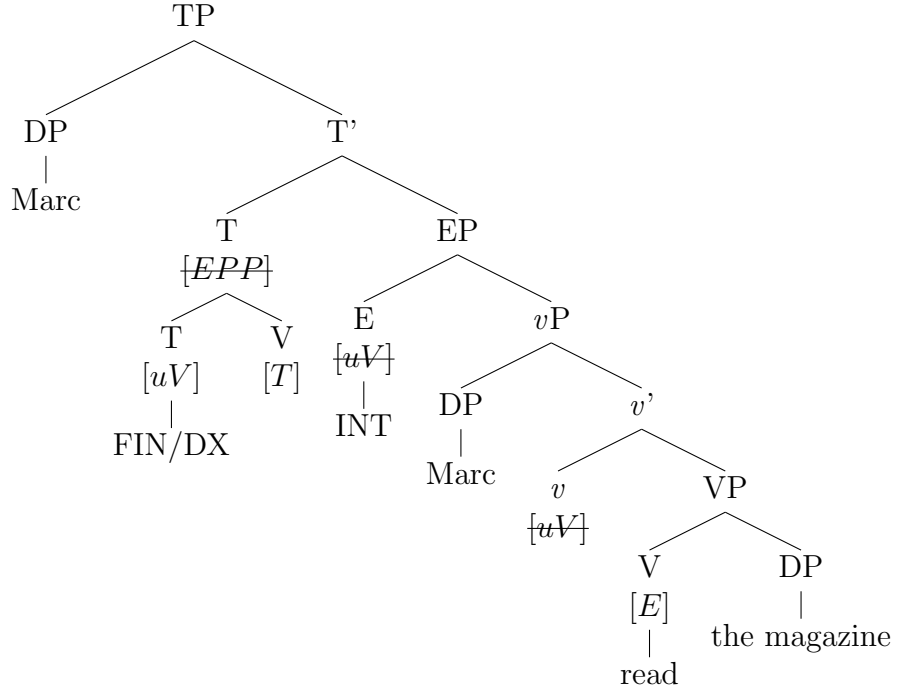
On the assumption that negation is located below tense, this means the verb’s landing site must be between NegP and the base position of the external argument (*spec, vP* in this case). Aldridge suggests this position may be an aspect projection, where a feature is merged to check absolutive case on a DP that raises covertly to *spec, vP* in intransitive clauses.

Once again, the details of the proposal for Tagalog are not of concern. What I hope to demonstrate is that various authors have argued for the presence of a functional projection above the verbal domain as a target for either object or verb movement in a wide variety of languages.

Cowper (2010) conflates the Event head with Travis’s Outer Aspect head, which corresponds to viewpoint aspect. She proposes that the Event head above *v* values the verb with the *-ing* suffix, and triggers auxiliary support to host tense in the English progressive. In her system, V checks uninterpretable V features on higher heads *v* and E, but the latter head itself bears an INT(erval) feature, which values V’s inflectional feature as *-ing* in another take on affix hopping (Chomsky 1957). After V’s inflectional feature is valued, V is no longer able to participate in further feature checking. As a result, a rule called ‘Be-support’ is triggered, inserting the auxiliary *be* to check the V feature of T and be valued by T itself. The inflection-related role played by Event in Cowper (2010) is very similar to the purpose I argue that *-(i)p* serves in multi-verb constructions. The derivation of an English progressive sentence like (82) is shown in (83).

(82) Marc is reading the magazine. (Cowper 2010: 6)

(83) (Cowper 2010: 8)



Zhang (2017) makes a case for a head in the same position and more closely related in function to the Event head in Mandarin Chinese as the merged position of event classifiers. Zhang posits a UnitP between viewpoint aspect and little *v* that hosts classifiers measuring whole events. This position allows classifiers to bind entire events, while a lower position exists for the classification of subevents (e.g. a beating vs. individual hits in (84)).

Evidence comes from the distribution of classifiers in Mandarin. Zhang observes that some classifiers (e.g. *cì* 'time') are used to count whole events, while others (e.g. *quán* 'fist') may be used to count actions or subevents within a larger event. She calls the former event-external and the latter event-internal classifiers. That the two types of classifiers measure different portions of an event can explain the fact that they are not used interchangeably, as shown in (84).

- (84) a. 大林 打了 玉茹 三 次. 每 次 都 打了 三 拳.
Dàlín dǎ-le Yùrú sān cì. Měi cì dōu dǎ-le sān quán.
Dalin beat-PERF Yuru three CL each time all beat-PERF three CL^{fist}

"Dalin beat Yuru three times (occasions). Each time he punched him three times (delivered three blows)." (cmn) (Zhang 2017: 4)

- b. ??
 大林 打了 玉茹 三 拳. 每 拳 都 打了 三 次.
 Dàlín dǎ-le Yùrú sān quán. Měi quán dōu dǎ-le sān cì.
 Dalin beat-PERF Yuru three CL^{first} each CL^{first} all beat-PERF three CL
 Intended: “Dalin hit Yuru three times (delivered three blows). Each time he punched him three times (occassions).”

First, Zhang argues that both event-external and event-internal classifiers must occur lower than the viewpoint aspect position, since they may not combine with verbs suffixed by imperfective aspect morphemes. This is shown by the incompatibility of both *cì* and *quán* with durative aspect marker *-zhe* in (85).

- (85) a. *大林 打着 玉茹 三 次.
 Dàlín dǎ-zhe Yùrú sān cì.
 Dalin beat-DUR Yuru three CL
 Intended: “Dalin is hitting Yuru three times.”
 b. *大林 打着 玉茹 三 拳.
 Dàlín dǎ-zhe Yùrú sān quán.
 Dalin beat-DUR Yuru three CL^{first}
 Intended: “Dalin is hitting Yuru three times (delivering three blows).” (cmn)
 (Zhang 2017: 9)

Next, Zhang determines the distinct positions of both classifiers based on their appearance relative to the verb and object. The most crucial difference is that external (see (86a)), but not internal (see (86b)), classifiers may occur between the subject (and an aspect morpheme) and the verb. Zhang takes (86a) to be a case where *vP* does not move, and *cì* appears in its base position just above the external argument-introducing *vP*.

- (86) a. 大林 曾经 三 次 看过 那 部 电影.
 Dàlín céngjīng sān cì kān-guò nà bù diànyǐng.
 Dalin before three CL see-PERF that CL movie
 “Dalin saw that movie three times before.”
 b. *大林 曾经 三 拳 打过 玉茹.
 Dàlín céngjīng sān quán dǎ-guò Yùrú.
 Dalin before three CL^{first} beat-PERF Yuru
 Intended: “Dalin punched Yuru three times before.” (cmn) (Zhang 2017: 11)

The base structure Zhang proposes is shown in (87), where the external Unit head selects *v*P as a complement, and the internal Unit appears within the verbal domain.

(87) (Zhang 2017: 12)

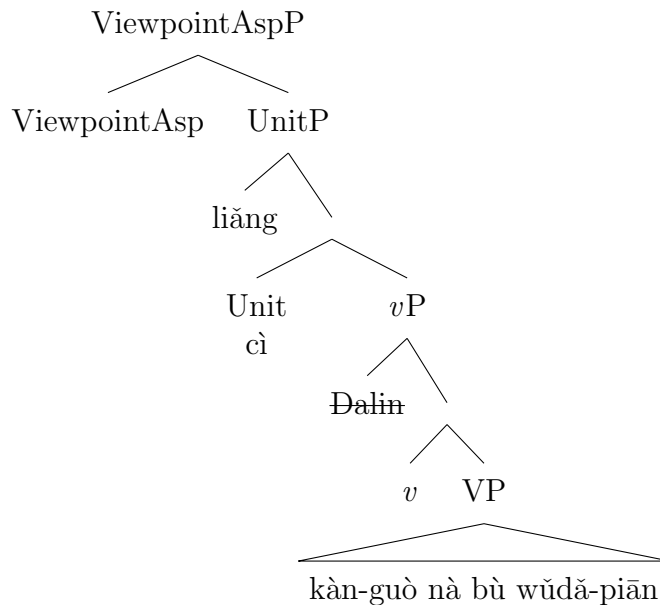
- a. [*viewpointAspP* ... [*UnitP*^{external} ... [*vP* [*VP*...]]]]
 b. [*viewpointAspP* ... [*vP* ... [*UnitP*^{internal} ... [*VP*...]]]]

Variable word order between the classifiers in these positions, verbs and objects is derived by combinations of movement of *v*P, VP or the object to higher projections. In the simplest of cases, no movement of *v*P, VP or the object results in the external classifier appearing to the left of the verb phrase.

- (88) 大林 曾经 两 次 看过 那 部 武打片.
 Dàlín céngjīng liǎng cì kàn-guò nà bù wǔdǎ-piān.
 Dalin before two CL see-EXP that CL kungfu-movie

“Dalin saw that kungfu-movie two times before.” (Zhang 2017: 13)

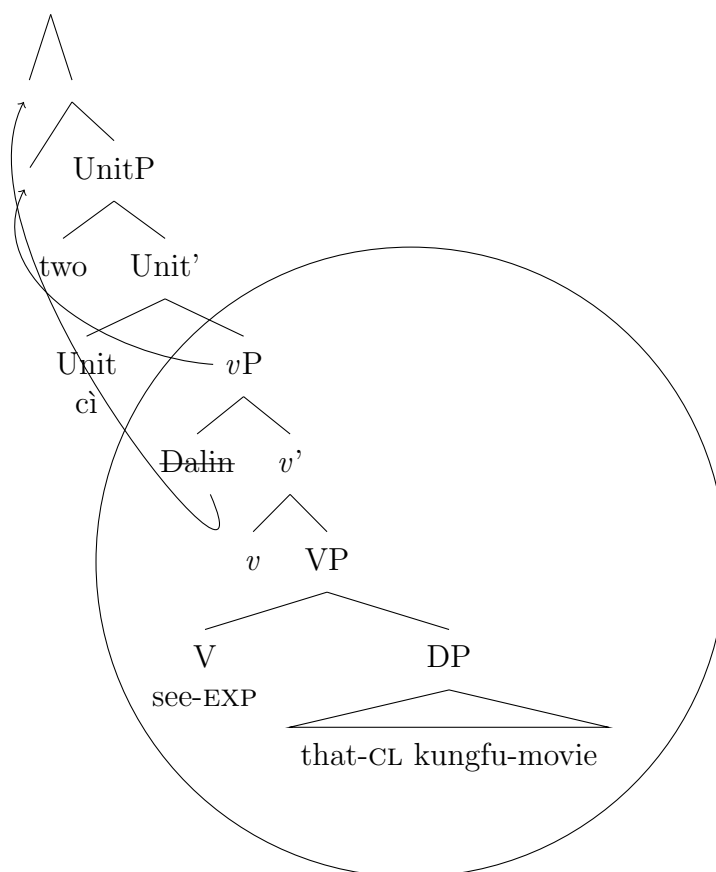
(89) (based on Zhang 2017: 13)



An external classifier appears in the rightmost position when the entire *v*P moves leftward.

- (90) 大林 曾经 看过 那 部 武打片 两 次.
 Dàlín céngjīng kàn-guò nà bù wǔdǎ-piān liǎng cì.
 Dalin before see-PRF that CL kungfu-movie two CL
 “Dalin saw that kungfu-movie two times before.” (cmn) (Zhang 2017: 12)

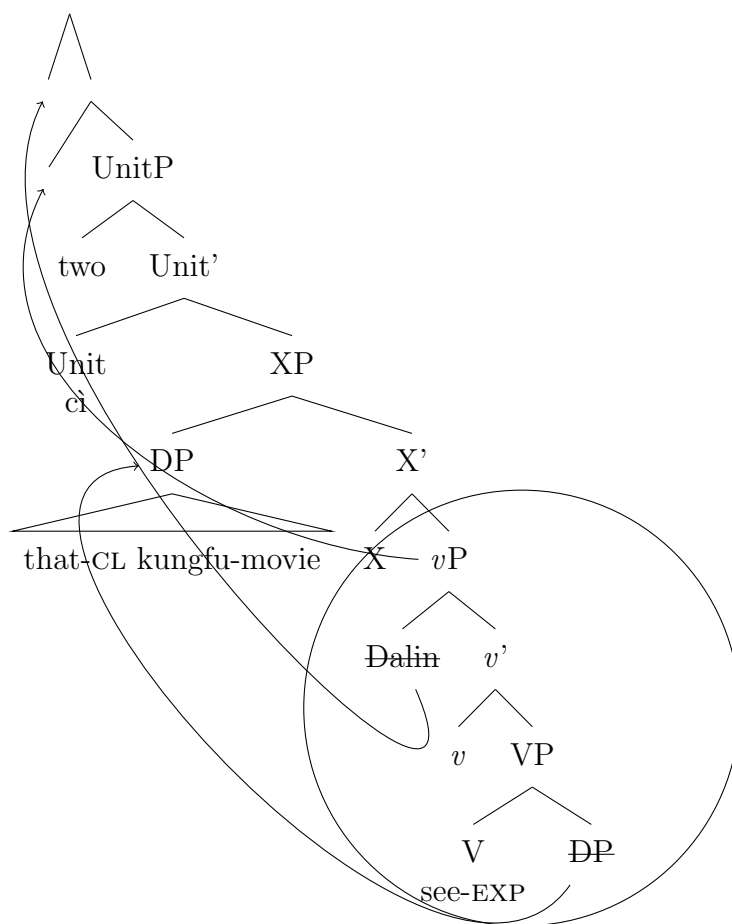
(91) (Zhang 2017: 12)



Finally, the external classifier appears in a medial position, between the verb and the object, when the object moves to a Topic/Focus XP between UnitP and *v*P, followed by *v*P fronting.

- (92) 大林 曾经 看过 两 次 那 部 武打片.
 Dàlín céngjīng kàn-guò liǎng cì nà bù wǔdǎ-piān.
 Dalin before see-PERF two CL that CL kungfu-movie
 “Dalin saw that kungfu-movie two times before.” (cmn) (Zhang 2017: 14)

(93) (Zhang 2017: 14)



Although Zhang considers her UnitPs to be variants of Cinque's (1999) frequentive aspect phrase, it is easy to see the parallel between the external and internal unit positions and the Event and Inner Aspect positions I motivate in this chapter.

Finally, two authors besides Travis who explicitly argue for an Event head that binds an event variable in its complement are Stewart (2013) and Cole (2016). In his discussion of Serial Verb Constructions in the Volta-Niger language Èdó, Stewart (2013) notes that the ability of a single manner adverb or iterative morpheme to take scope over two serial verbs is tied to whether the two verbs express a single event or multiple events. For example, (94) necessarily means that both the pushing of the bottle and the bottle's falling happened quickly and repeatedly because pushing the bottle down can be conceived of as one action. In (95), on the other hand, the manner adverb and iterative morpheme do not scope over the second verb phrase 'peel corn', because peeling corn is a separate action from planting coconut.

- (94) Òzó gié!gié ghá suá ògó dé
Ozo quickly ITER push bottle fall

“Ozo quickly pushed the bottle down repeatedly.” (edo) (Stewart 2013: 31)

- (95) òzó gié!gié ghá gbó!ó ívìn, bòló ókà.
Ozo quickly ITER plant coconut peel corn

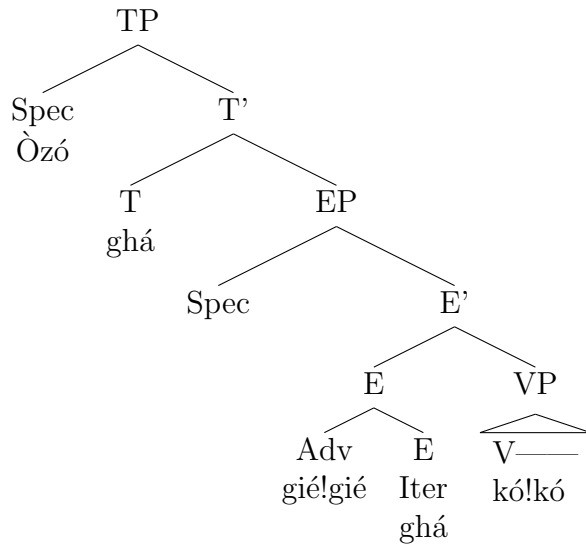
“Ozo quickly planted the coconut repeatedly and [he] peeled the corn.” (edo)
(Stewart 2013: 33)

Stewart suggests that the iterative morpheme heads the Event projection and is the target of adverbial adjunction. (97) shows the structure of a sentence with one verb like (96), where the first instance of *ghá* is a Tense morpheme.

- (96) Òzó ghá gié!gié ghá kó!kó ògó
Ozo FUT quickly Iter gather bottle

“Ozo will quickly gather the bottles repeatedly.” (edo) (Stewart 2013: 26)

- (97) (Stewart 2013: 27)



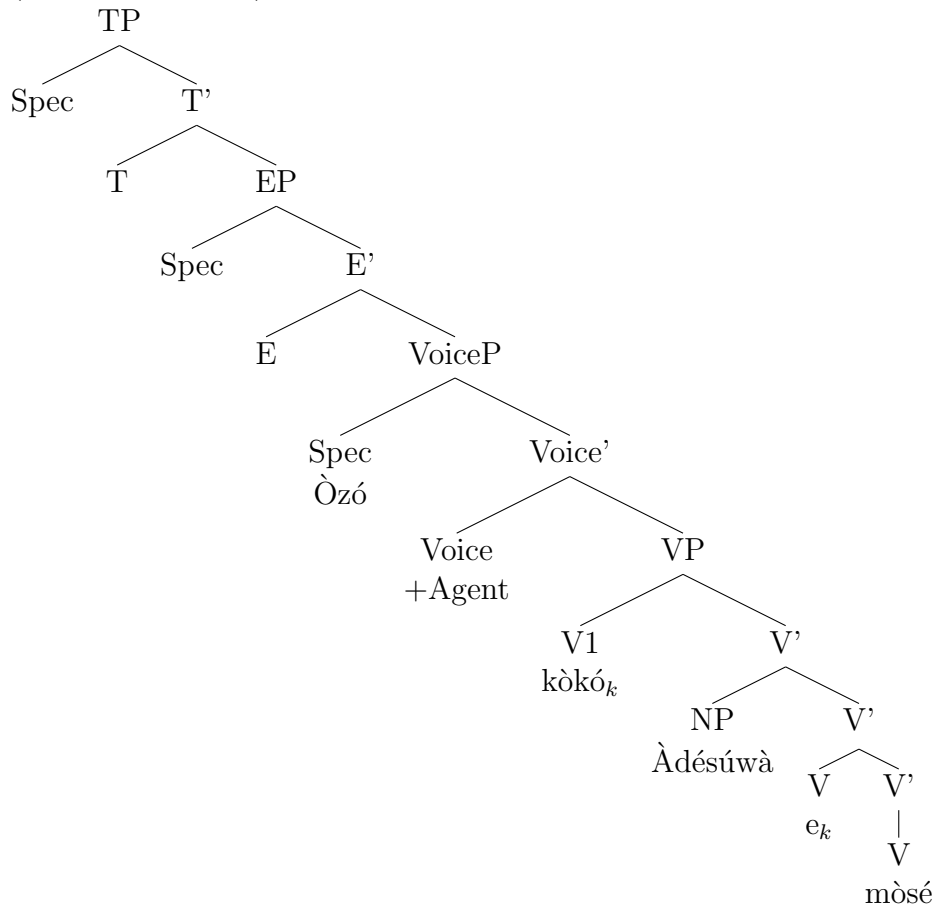
The connection between iteration and Event will be of direct relevance to my analysis of bleached V2 constructions in chapter 3.

Stewart proposes a three-way contrast between multi-verb constructions in the Volta-Niger language Èdó based on the number of Events within a clause and their relationship. I show the three constructions and Stewart’s analyses of them here for exposition, but I will not

discuss the details of the analyses until chapter 2. Resultative SVCs, in which the second verb describes a result brought about by the first verb, consist of two verbs licensed under a single Event head.

- (98) Òzó kòkó Àdésúwà mòsé
 Ozo raise Adesuwa be.beautiful
 “Ozo raised Adesuwa to be beautiful.” (Stewart 2013: 74)

- (99) (Stewart 2013: 75)

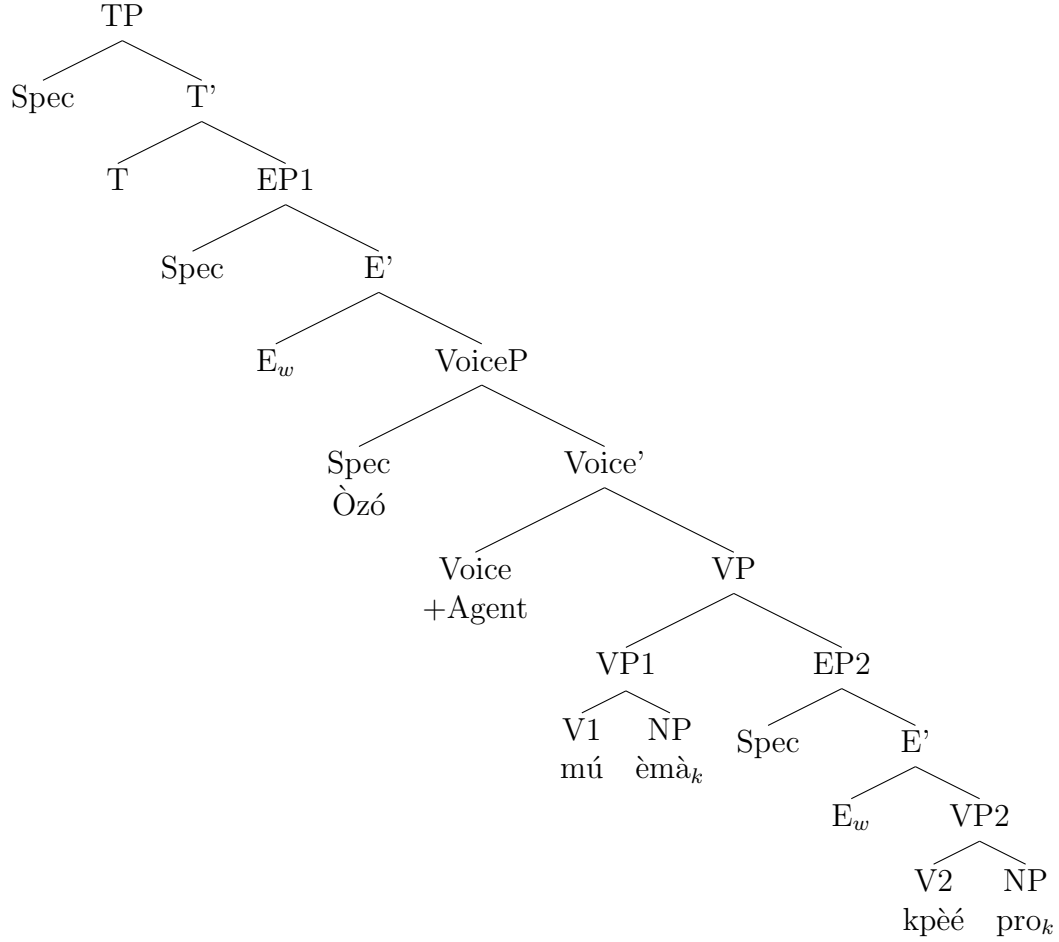


Èdó consequential SVCs express a natural (chronologically ordered) sequence of related events sharing an object. Each verb is merged under a separate Event head, but the second Event is dominated by the first.⁸

8. An obvious issue with Stewart’s (2013) analysis in (101) is that VP1 appears to be an adjunct, and it is unclear how the first verb is able to c-command the second verb and Event Phrase.

- (100) Òzọ mú èmà kpèé
 Ozo carry drum play
 “Ozo took the drum and played it.” (Stewart 2013: 77)

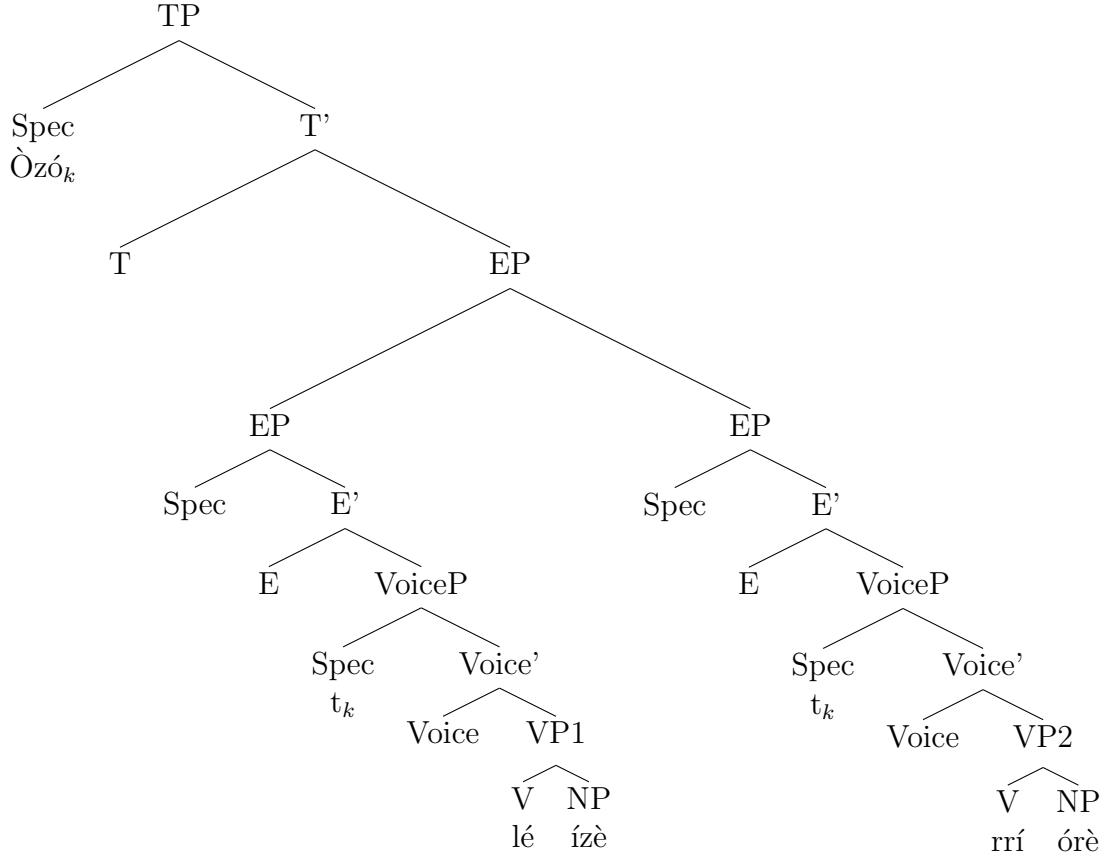
- (101) (Stewart 2013: 78)



Finally, Èdó Coordinate Constructions (CCs) describe a sequence of events which do not share an object and do not require a logical relationship between them. In CCs, each verb is selected by a separate Event head, and the two Event heads are coordinated such that neither is contained in the other’s complement.

- (102) Òzọ lé ízè rrí órè
 Ozo cook rice eat it
 “Ozo cooked rice and ate it.” (Stewart 2013: 79)

(103) (Stewart 2013: 80)



Stewart's typology of Èdó construction types is shown in table 1.2.

Construction type	# of Events	Relationship between Events
Resultative SVC	one	NA
Consequential SVC	two	complementation
Covert coordination	two	coordination

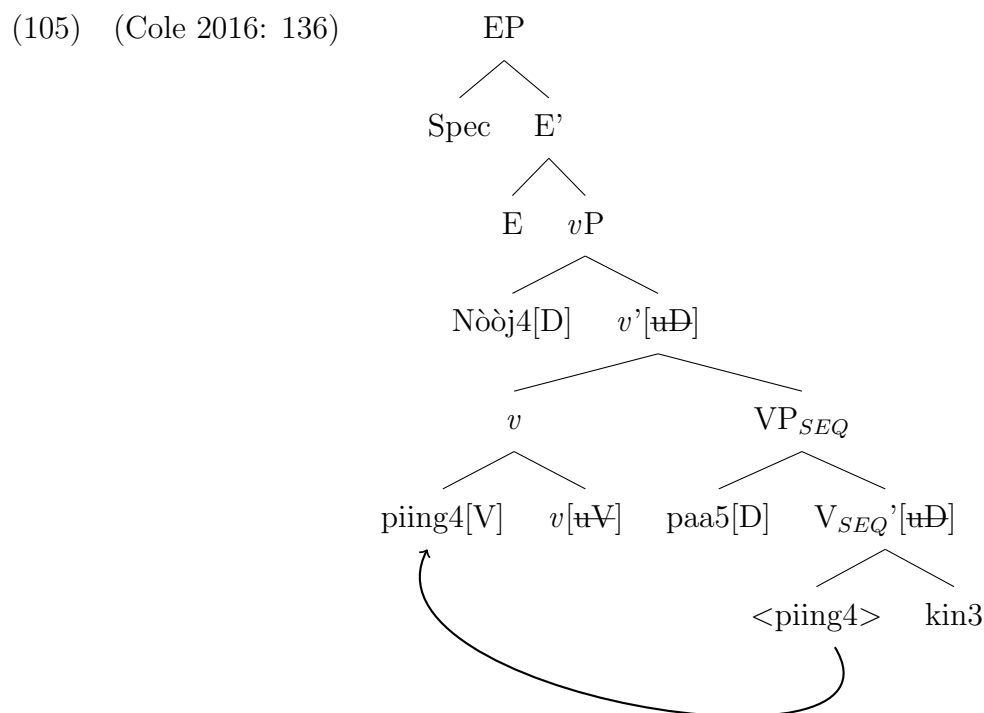
Table 1.2: SVCs in Èdó according to Stewart (2013)

Finally, Cole (2016) draws on experimental evidence to demonstrate the conceptual salience of events, although his proposal as well is ultimately syntactic in nature. Like Stewart, Cole argues that SVCs are realizations of multiple verbs conceptualized as single events. He speculates that there is likely one syntactic Event head per clause cross-linguistically, although his study focuses on SVCs in Lao. He finds confirmation for the existence of events from an event-identification experiment. Lao-speaking participants were shown videos of tasks which could be segmentable either into larger or smaller events, and asked to press a button for each separate event they observed. The experiment varied by whether the primer given to participants contained an SVC (hypothesized to describe a single event) versus a coordinated construction (hypothesized to conjoin multiple events). Cole found that participants generally marked more event boundaries when primed with a

coordinated construction than when primed with an SVC. However, he notes that there was individual variation, reflecting different segmentation strategies possibly corresponding to different levels of event identification.

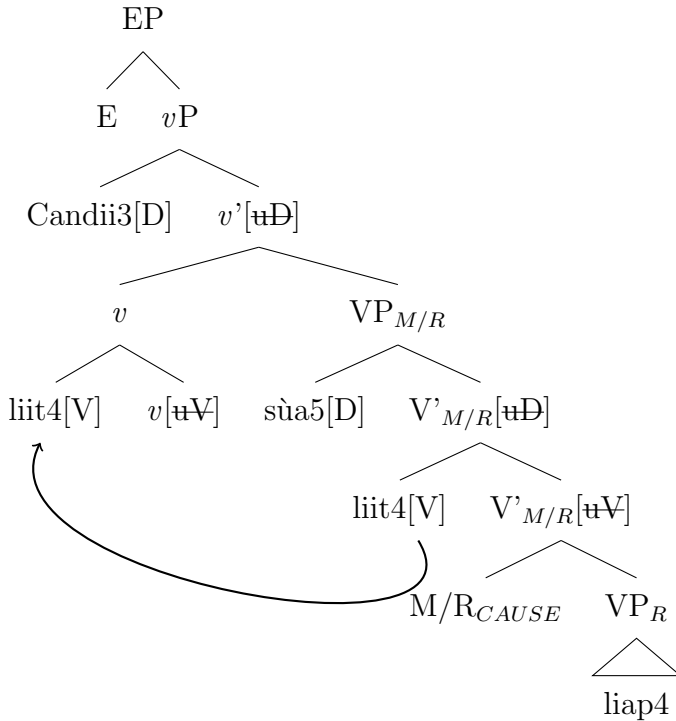
Syntactically, Cole (2016) closely follows Stewart’s (2013) analysis of Èdó resultative SVCs in analyzing all Lao SVCs as consisting of two verbs merged under a single Event head. Tree (105) shows Cole’s analysis of what he calls ‘consequential SVCs’ like (104), and tree (107) shows his analysis of what he considers ‘object resultative SVCs’ like (106). In the spirit of Baker (1989), the VP is doubly headed, but the leftmost verb moves to *v* to derive linear order, as shown in (105).

- (104) Nòòj4 piing4 paa5 kin3
 Noy grill fish eat
 “Noy grilled the fish and ate it.” (lao) (Cole 2016: 135)



- (106) Candii3 liit4 sùà5 liap4
 Jandee iron shirt be.smooth
 “Jandee ironed the shirt smooth.” (lao) (Cole 2016: 137)

(107) (Cole 2016: 139)



Once again, I discuss the details of Cole’s syntactic analysis along with Stewart’s in the following chapter. My purpose here is to show examples of how other authors used an Event head embedding one or more verb (phrase)s to provide a syntactic basis for the construal (or lack thereof) of multiple verbs as referring to a single event.

In addition to proposals for an Event or Aspect projection, an agreement position for derived objects (Agr-O) to receive case between the verbal domain and T has been posited for a variety of languages since Pollock (1989), Belletti (1990), Mahajan (1990), Chomsky (1991), Johnson (1991), Runner (1993) and Kahnemuyipour (2009), and for Turkish by Kornfilt (1984, 2003) and Aygen (2007) among others. Mahajan (1990), for example, argues that objects move to a position above the base position of the external argument to receive case when it is not assigned by the perfect participle in Hindi. An example of the object appearing a position preceding the subject is shown in (108).

- (108) RoTii raam ne hkayii
 Bread(F) Ram(M) ERG eat.PERF.F
 “Ram ate bread.” (hin) (Mahajan 1990: 79)

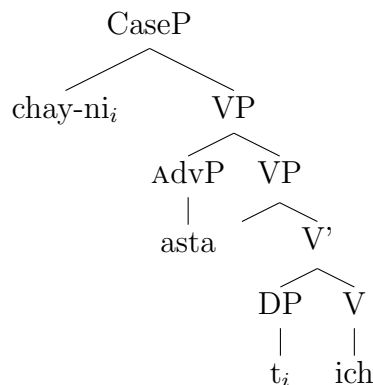
There is evidence that Uyghur grammar also provides a landing site for derived objects outside the verb phrase, and this is the projection I will label EventP following Travis (2010). Major and Yakup (2015) note that for Uyghur objects to precede celerative

adverbials, they must be specific and take the overt accusative marker *-ni*. Assuming that celerative adverbials like ‘slowly’ either adjoin to the verb phrase or are specifiers of a functional head within the verbal domain a la Cinque (1999), (109a) is evidence that a projection above the verb phrase is available as an object landing site. The contrast with (109b) shows that only *-ni*-marked objects are able to reach this pre-adverbial position.

- (109) a. Xemit chay*(ni) asta ichti.
 Xemit chay-*(ni) asta ich-di-0
 Xemit tea-ACC slowly drink-PST-3
 “Xemit slowly drank the tea.”
- b. Xemit asta chay(*ni) ichti.
 Xemit asta chay(*-ni) ich-di-0
 Xemit slowly tea(*-ACC) drink-PST-3
 “Xemit slowly drank tea.” (Major and Yakup 2015: 5)

Major and Yakup posit a CaseP selecting VP to serve as a position for derived objects to receive overt case marking, though they do not motivate the projection at length.

- (110) (Major and Yakup 2015: 5)



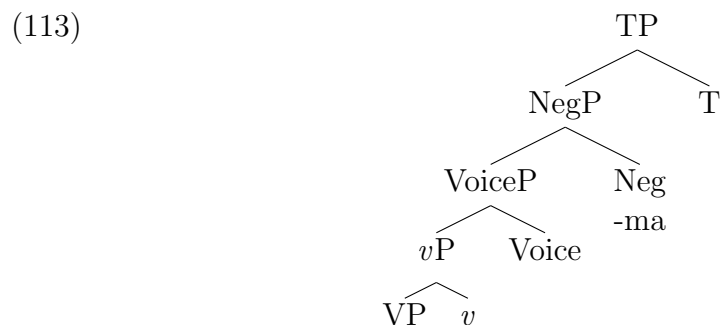
Additional evidence for a derived object position above the subject’s base position comes from scope of negation. In Uyghur, a nominal may be focused by adding the *-la* suffix. In optional combination with the adverbial *peqet*, *-la* usually expresses the meaning of ‘only’.⁹

- (111) (Peqet) menla chay ichimen.
 (Peqet) men-la chay ich-i-men
 (Only) 1SG-FOC tea drink-NPST-1SG
 “Only I drink tea.”

9. As I will discuss in chapter 3, Erlewine (2017) uses this same type of data to motivate a mid-clausal position for ‘only’ in Mandarin.

- (112) Men (peqet) chaynila ichimen.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-i-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NPST-1SG
 “I will only drink tea.”

Let us assume that, at least when only a single verb is present, negation heads a fixed projection in the clause just above the verb phrase and locus of Voice.¹⁰



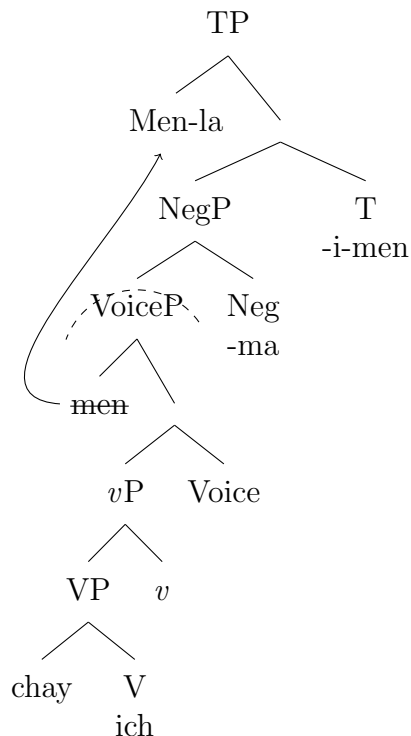
When the verb is negated, scope ambiguity can arise between negation and a focused element. A focused subject may take scope either above or below negation.

- (114) (Peqet) menla chay ichmaymen.
 (Peqet) men-la chay ich-ma-i-men
 Only 1SG-FOC tea drink-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “Only I don’t drink tea.” (FOC > NEG)
 “I’m not the only one who drinks tea.” (NEG > FOC)

Assuming negation takes scope no lower than the fixed position where it is merged in (113), the ambiguity of (114) can be attributed to whether the subject takes scope in its base position of spec,VoiceP or its derived position of spec,TP. (115) shows movement only of the subject between two scope positions. The dashed line represents the boundary between scope under versus over negation.

10. I will show in chapter 4 that negation can head a projection selecting any verbal category in a clause. However, the assumption that Neg’s complement is VoiceP in a single-verb construction will remain unchanged.

(115)



A focused object with overt accusative marking shows the same scope ambiguity as a focused subject. That is, *chaynila* in (116) can scope either above or below negation.

- (116) Men peqet chaynila ichmaymen.
 Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-ma-y-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-NPST-1SG

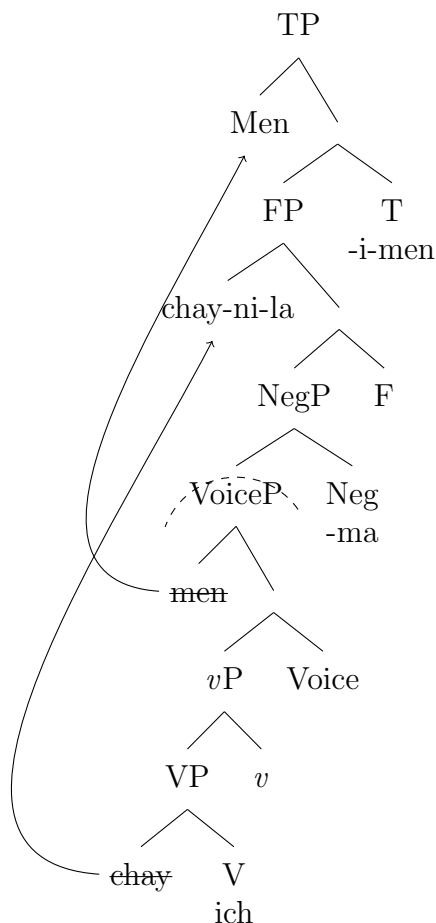
“I only don’t drink tea (I drink everything but tea).” (FOC > NEG)

“I don’t only drink tea (I also drink other things).” (NEG > FOC)

Assuming scope is determined by c-command, it follows that there must be a derived object position c-commanding the same negation head which is able to c-command the subject’s base position. A structure showing movement of both subject and object will then look like (117).¹¹

11. Assuming the Phase Impenetrability (PIC) as stated in Chomsky (2000), movement of the object out of the phase headed by Voice in (117) should be impossible. However, Asarina (2011) has argued based on possessor agreement patterns that Uyghur is subject to the more relaxed version of the PIC stated in Chomsky (2001), under which the complement of a given phase head is not spelled out until after the next higher phase head is merged (i.e. the complement of Voice is spelled out after C is introduced). I discuss these arguments at greater length in chapter 4.

(117)



Based on the preceding evidence, I conclude that there is a derived object position in Uyghur that c-commands the subject's base position, and the object can take scope from this derived position. I claim that this position is the Event projection merged above VoiceP.

This section has provided a survey of cross-linguistic evidence for a head c-commanding the Voice or *v* head that introduces external arguments. I call this the Event head in Uyghur. In the chapters that follow, I will argue that *-(i)p* surfaces in exactly this position in a variety of configurations that block one verb from finite inflection. Event Phrases headed by *-(i)p* can adjoin to a *vP*, be coordinated with other Event Phrases, or be the complement of a lexically bleached auxiliary verb. In the next subsection, I discuss proposals for another functional projection found within the verbal domain where *-(i)p* can also be base-merged.

The Inner Aspect Head

This section motivates a syntactic projection found between the layers of the verbal domain where internal and external arguments are introduced. In chapter 2, I argue that in addition to an Event Phrase, an InnerAspect Phrase headed by *-(i)p* can also adjoin to

another verb phrase to modify the manner in which an action was performed. In chapter 3, I show that an InnerAspect Phrase, headed by $-(i)p$ and encoding telicity, is selected as the complement of overt Voice (external argument-introducing) heads.

A number of proposals have described a functional projection within the verbal domain, sandwiched between the projections introducing internal and external arguments. Some authors have argued that this projection is aspectual in nature, while others have focused on its ability to host derived objects in its specifier. I take this head to be what Travis (1991, 2010) calls an ‘Inner Aspect’ head, overtly realized by $-(i)p$ in Uyghur when a lexical verb is unable to head-move to a higher position for inflection.

Travis’ (2010) book, which builds on previous work beginning in Travis (1991), is primarily devoted to establishing the existence of an aspectual head between what she labels V1 and V2.¹² Travis follows Maclachlan (1989) in analyzing the *pag* morpheme in Tagalog as a lexical causative occupying V1. Its addition to the verb *tumba* in (118) creates a causative reading.

- (118) *t-um-umba* = X fall down; *mag-tumba* = Y knock X down (tgl) (Travis 2010: 53)
 (*mag-* is a combination of *m-* and *pag-*)

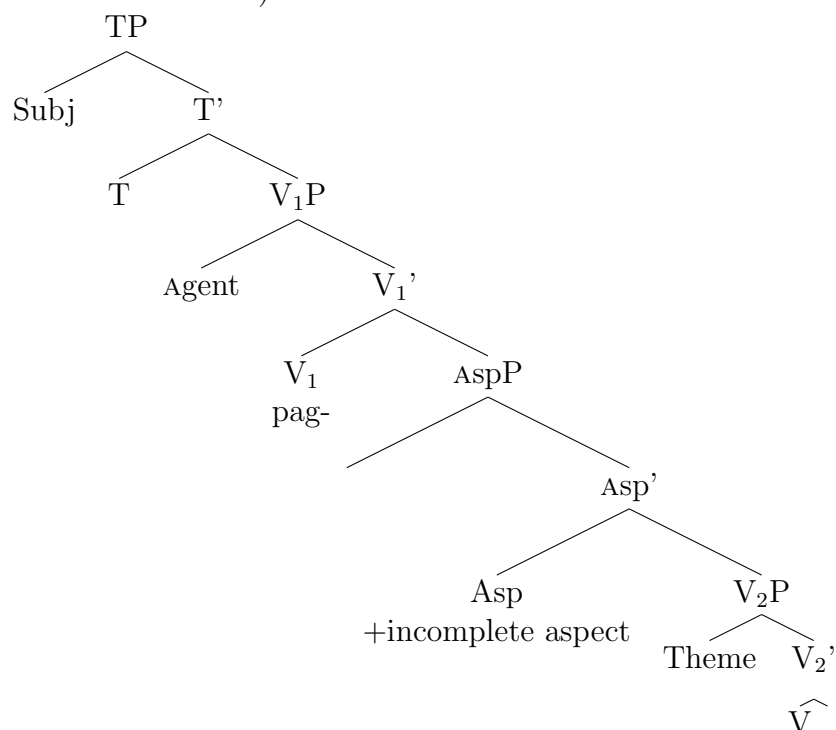
Travis then analyzes imperfective reduplication,¹³ which appears between *pag* and *tumba* as shown in (119), as realizing an aspect head between V1 and V2.

- (119) *nagtutumba*
 n-m-pag-RED-tumba
 ASP-TM-V1-ASP2-V2
 “Y was knocking X down?” (tgl) (Travis 2010: 57)

12. I follow Harley (2013) and subsequent work in considering Voice to be the projection introducing external arguments and *v* to be a lower verbalizing head. The functional head that Travis (2010) motivates between V1 and V2 then corresponds to a functional head between Voice and *v* in my terms. Many of the other authors discussed in this section refer to the head introducing the external argument as *v* rather than Voice.

13. Travis (2010) considers the fact that an imperfective aspect, a type of viewpoint or outer aspect, morpheme can appear in an inner aspect position to be an exceptional characteristic of Tagalog. The important takeaway that I want to stress is that aspectual material may appear between two verbal projections.

(120) (based on Travis 2010: 73)



Travis provides examples of Inner Aspect targeting endpoints in Malagasy. In (121a), the implication that the event of gathering was successful is shown to be defeasible by the felicity of the clause in parentheses. This implication is no longer defeasible in (121b) due to the addition of the *-ha* morpheme next to the verb. This infix, which ensures that the event's endpoint is reached, is believed to be a realization of the InnerAspect head appearing between V2 and the V1 head *a-*, as shown in tree (122).¹⁴

- (121) a. Namory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra, (nefa tsy nanana fotoana
 PST.AN.meet DET children DET teacher but NEG PST.have time
 izy)
 3P

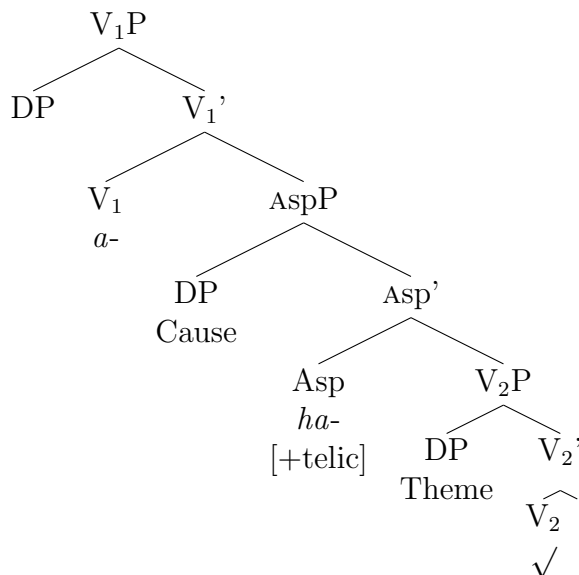
“The teacher gathered the children together (but (s)he/they didn’t have time.”
 (mlg) (Travis 2010: 250)

- b. Nahavory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra (*nefa tsy nanana fotoana
 PST.A.HA.meet the children the teachers but they didn’t have
 izy)
 time

“The teachers gathered the children (*but they didn’t have time).” (mlg)
 (Travis 2010: 251)

14. It is not clear to what conditions the difference in subject number between (121a) and (121b).

(122) (Travis 2010: 251)



Since Travis' (1991) first proposal, a number of authors have argued for the existence of some functional projection sandwiched between two verbal layers (Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Koizumi 1995, Bowers 2002, Collins 2003, Baker and Collins 2006 *inter alia*).

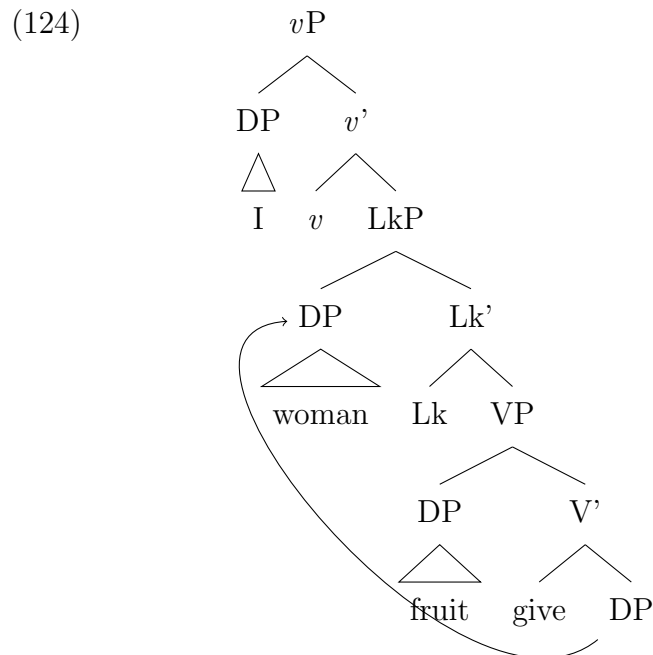
The only mention, to my knowledge, of an overtly realized head (though not aspectual in nature) that appears exclusively in an inter-verbal projection is in Collins' (2003) analysis of the linker morpheme in Ju|'Hoansi and ꞤHoan, later extended to also cover Kinande in Baker and Collins (2006). The essential observation for the analysis is that a so-called 'linker' must appear when two internal arguments are present, like *y'* in the double object construction shown in (123).

(123) Mo-n-a-h-ere omukali y'- eritunda.
AFF-1SS-T-give-EXT woman.1 LK.1- fruit.5

"I gave a fruit to a woman." (nnb) (Baker and Collins 2006: 308)

Collins proposes that the linker morpheme sits in an inter-verbal projection, serving both to value case for the lower internal argument (since the higher argument will have accusative case assigned by *v*) and to allow lower arguments to escape the verbal domain by first attracting a DP to its specifier. Thus it only appears when there are two internal arguments to serve as a last resort for case checking, and it obligatorily appears between the two arguments because its EPP feature forces movement of one, but only one, DP to its specifier. The *v*P structure under this analysis will look like (124), with either DP object capable of moving to spec, LkP.¹⁵

15. The authors state as a parameter that some languages are subject to Chomsky's (1995) Minimal Link Condition, while others are not. The Minimal Link Condition, similar to Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality, states that a probe may only attract the closest matching goal. This condition would rule out movement



MacDonald (2008) builds on Borer’s (1994) assertion that the calculation of telicity necessarily involves an interaction between internal arguments and an inner aspect head. He uses adverbial diagnostics to show that the aspect phrase, which he calls the “domain of aspectual interpretation” associated with situation aspect, must be between *v*P and VP, rather than the traditionally posited locus of (viewpoint) aspect outside of *v*P (Thompson 2006). This position can explain the difference in internal and external arguments’ ability to affect aspectual interpretation. As (125) and (126) show, telicity is affected by whether or not an internal argument is of a specified quantity. The presence of an internal argument of specified quantity in (125) yields a telic reading which is incompatible with a *for* duration adverbial, while the presence of a mass noun or bare plural object in (126) yields an atelic reading compatible with the *for* adverbial.

(125) ?John ate a pizza for an hour.

(126) John ate pizza/pizzas for an hour. (eng) (MacDonald 2008: 132)

The next pair of examples show that neither the presence of a mass noun nor a bare plural external argument create an atelic reading; instead, the presence of an object with specified quantity in both cases ensures telicity.

of the indirect object to LkP in (124), since the direct object is closer to Spec, LkP, but Baker and Collins (2006) claim that Kinande is a language not subject to this condition.

(127) Livestock destroyed the bar in ten minutes/?for ten minutes.

(128) Animals destroyed the bar in ten minutes/?for ten minutes. (eng) (MacDonald 2008: 135)

MacDonald thus proposes that an Asp head between *v* and V determines telicity by attracting or entering into agreement with internal arguments.

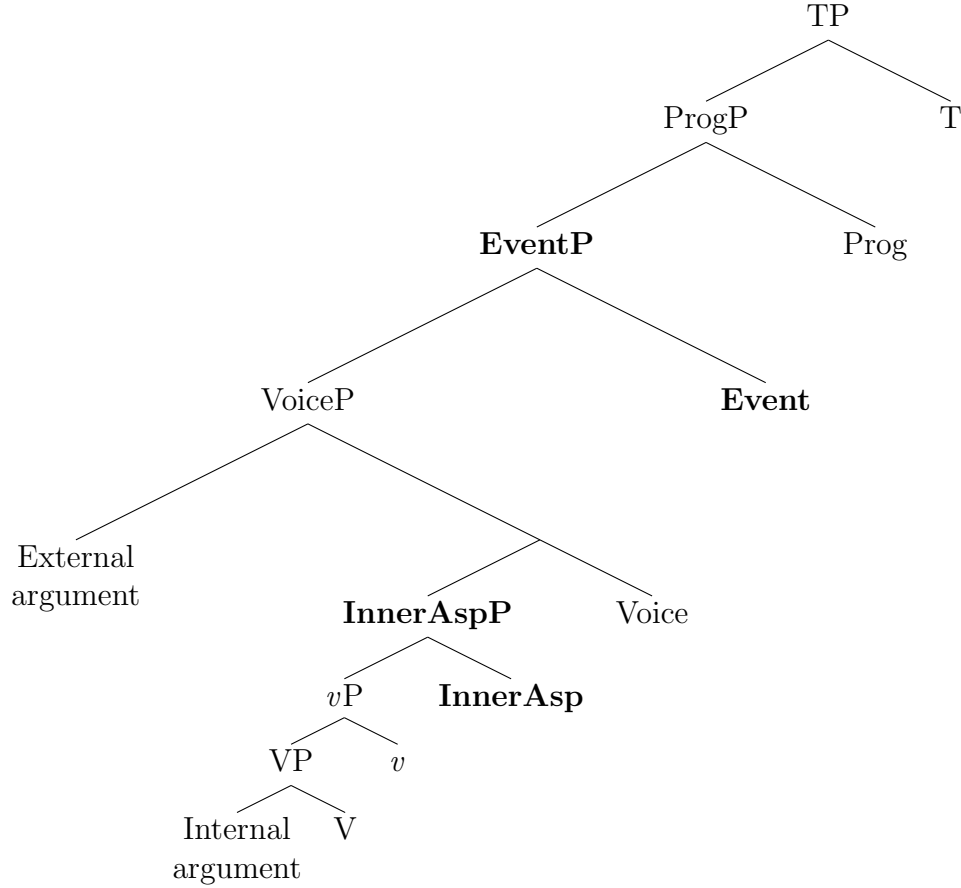
I propose that this position is overtly filled by *-(i)p* in Uyghur when either a Voice head is overtly realized and blocks head-movement of the lexical verb to a source of finite inflection (as discussed in chapter 3), or a constituent too small to introduce an external argument adjoins below the Voice projection in the main clause (as discussed in chapter 2). In chapter 3, I will also show examples of how this head can optionally bear a [+ telic] aspectual feature in certain bleached V2 constructions.

1.5.3 Section Summary

This section has reviewed proposals for syntactic positions both above and within the verbal domain that may encode event or aspect information. In Uyghur, I label these positions Event and InnerAspect, respectively, because they include either all or some of the elements that I consider to comprise a syntactic event. An Event Phrase includes internal and external arguments in addition to a verb, while an InnerAspect Phrase includes only the verb and internal arguments.

The fully articulated clausal spine I will be assuming in the chapters that follow is repeated in tree (129). The chapters that follow will focus on the empirical facts of Uyghur, making use of these two positions and the event structure they encode to analyze a variety of multi-verb constructions.

(129)



1.6 Blueprint of the Dissertation

The goal of this dissertation is to properly analyze Uyghur multi-verb constructions involving the *-(i)p* morpheme, and show how the availability of the *-(i)p* morpheme to head certain event-related projections makes these constructions possible in Uyghur grammar. The dissertation is essentially divided into two topics: *-(i)p* constructions involving all lexical verbs (lexical *-(i)p* constructions), and *-(i)p* constructions in which the final verb is semantically bleached (bleached V2 constructions). Lexical *-(i)p* constructions are the topic of chapter 2. I distinguish four different structures relating two lexical verbs: *-(i)p* heads either an InnerAsp Phrase or an Event Phrase that adjoins to *vP* in the main clause, or *-(i)p* heads either a non-finite Event Phrase or Tense Phrase that is the non-final conjunct(s) in a coordination structure. Chapter 3 analyzes bleached V2 constructions. I argue that the bleached verb is either an Auxiliary or overt Voice head, and *-(i)p* heads Event or InnerAspect accordingly. Chapter 4 continues exploring bleached V2 constructions by focusing on how negation works in these constructions. I argue that negation is not just restricted to one clausal position in Uyghur and is therefore not a diagnostic of monoclausality. Chapter 5 concludes by discussing common threads of the dissertation and the cross-linguistic significance of the analyses proposed for Uyghur.

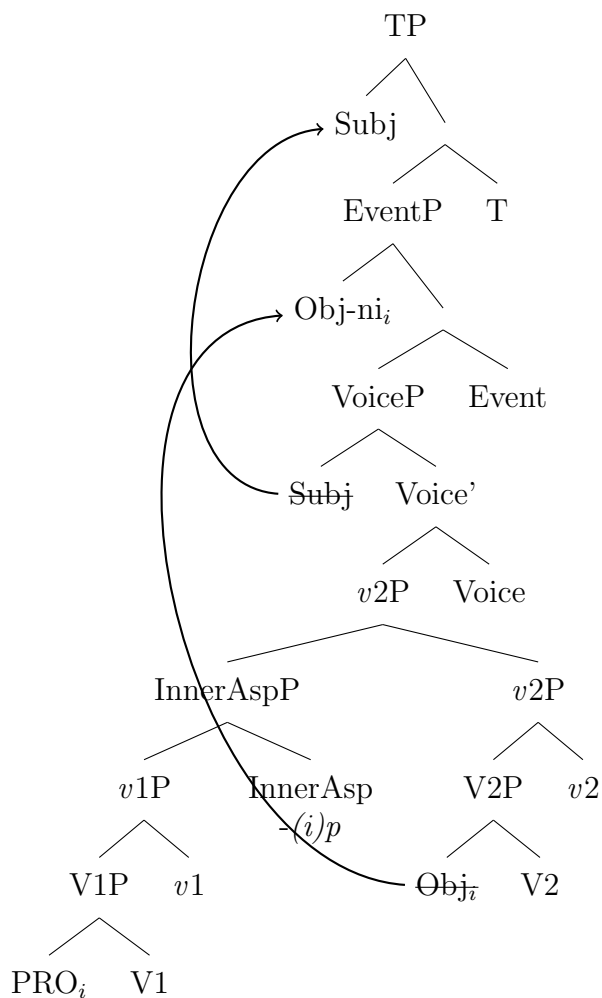
1.6.1 Chapter 2: Adjunction and Coordination in Lexical $-(i)p$ Constructions

This chapter addresses a variety of ways that $-(i)p$ links two lexical verbs together. I analyze inner aspect SVCs, in which two verbs share all their arguments as in (130), as adjunction of an InnerAspect Phrase to vP .

- (130) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

As depicted in (131), $-(i)p$ heads an InnerAspect Phrase containing the non-final verb because the verb is otherwise unable to move out of the adjunct to finite T to satisfy its morphological inflection requirement. V1 selects PRO as its internal argument, which is controlled by the internal argument of V2.

(131) inner aspect SVC

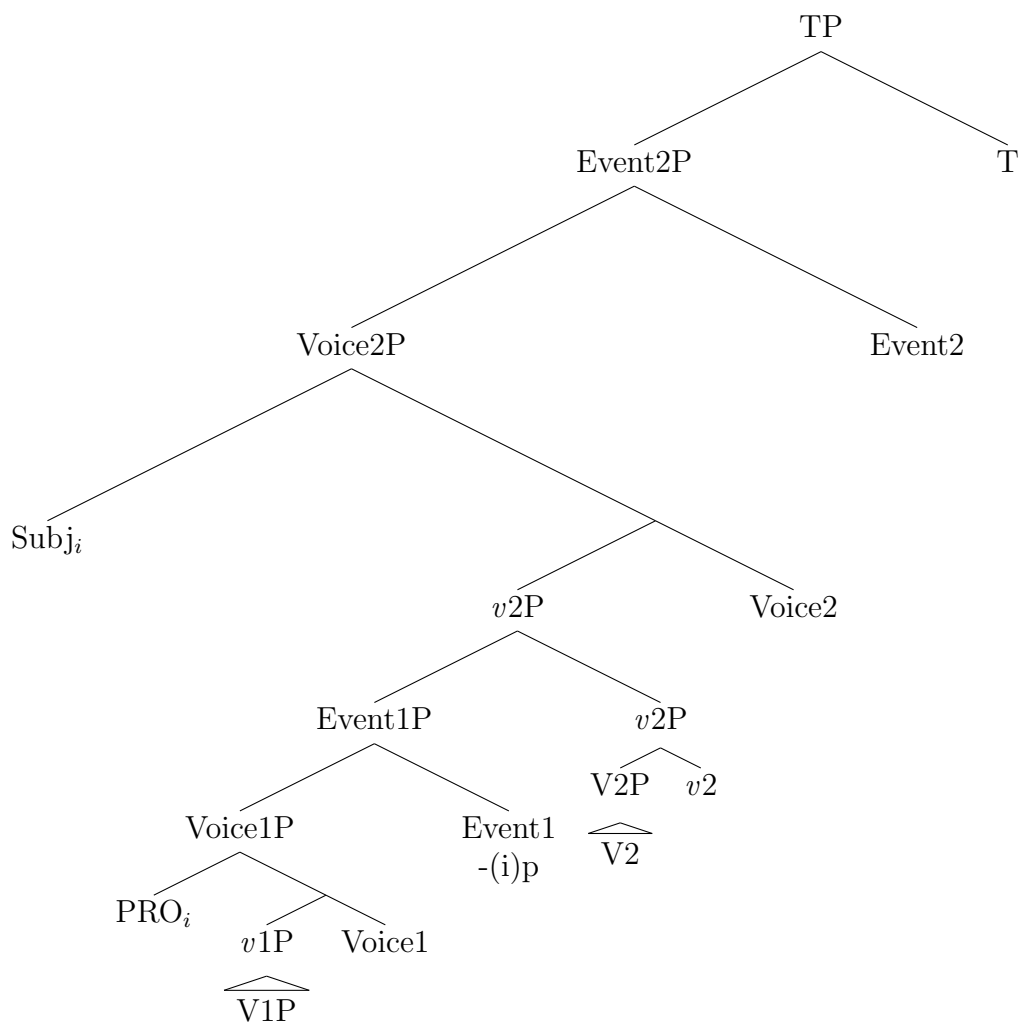


event SVCs like (132) are structurally a variation on inner aspect SVCs in which V1 can select its own internal argument. The internal argument of V2 precedes V1 and its argument in linear order.

- (132) Shox bala derizini tash étip chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 “The naughty child broke the window by throwing a stone. (modified from ANKI file)”

I analyze event SVCs as an Event Phrase headed by $-(i)p$ adjoining to the main vP . In this case, the adjoined material contains a PRO external argument that is controlled by the external argument of the final verb.

(133) event SVC



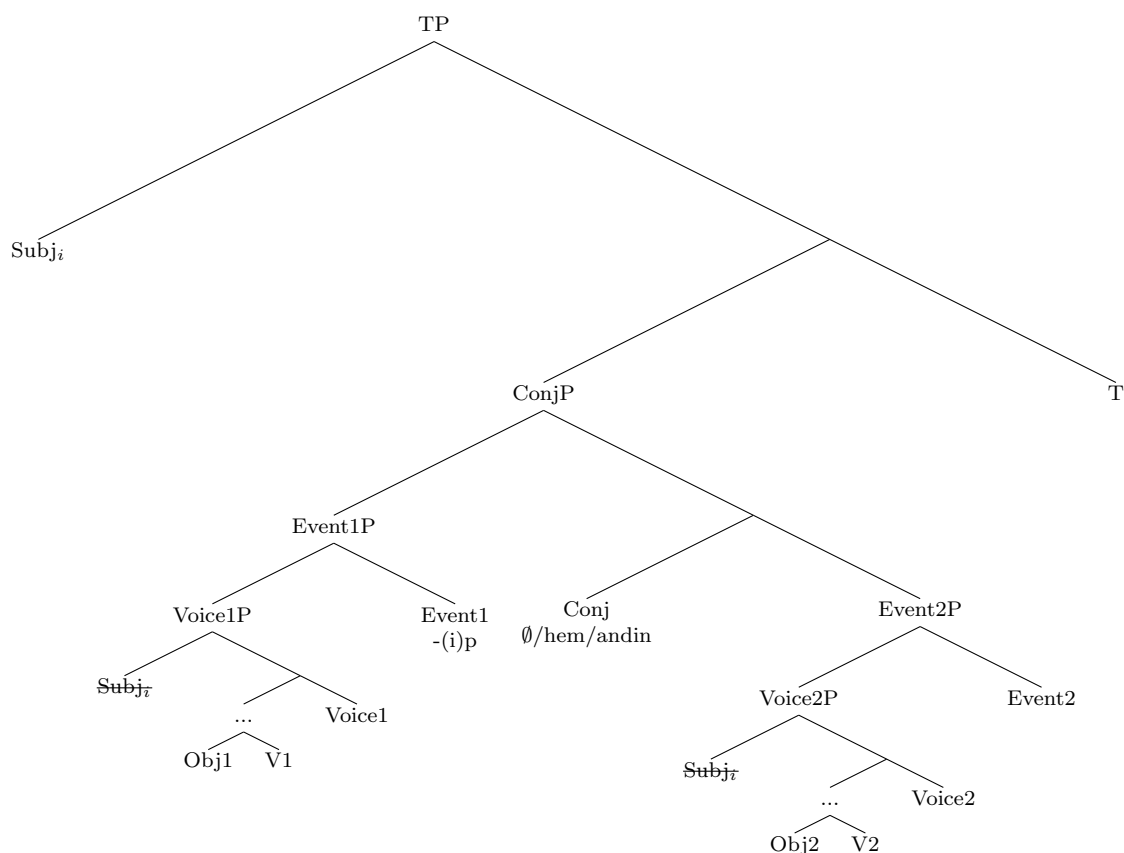
Multiple event constructions juxtapose two verbs and their internal arguments. V2 and its object must follow V1 and its object. The two verbs may either share a subject as in (134) or select different subjects as in (135).

- (134) Iskender maqale yézip kitab élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p kitab élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P book publish do-PST-3
 “Iskender wrote an article and published a book.”

- (135) Oghlum mektepke béríp, qizim ishqa bardí.
 Oghl-im mektep-ga bar-(i)p qiz-im ish-ga bar-di-0
 Son-1SG.POSS school-DAT go-(I)P daughter-1SG.POSS school-DAT go-PST-3
 “My son went to school, and my daughter went to work.”

I analyze these constructions as either Event Phrases or Tense Phrases coordinated by an optionally overt coordinator. Two Event Phrases are coordinated when the subject is shared, while two Tense Phrases are coordinated when the subjects are not shared. Tree (136) shows my analysis of an example with a shared like (134). $-(i)p$ heads the first of two conjoined Event Phrases.

(136) Coordinated EventPs



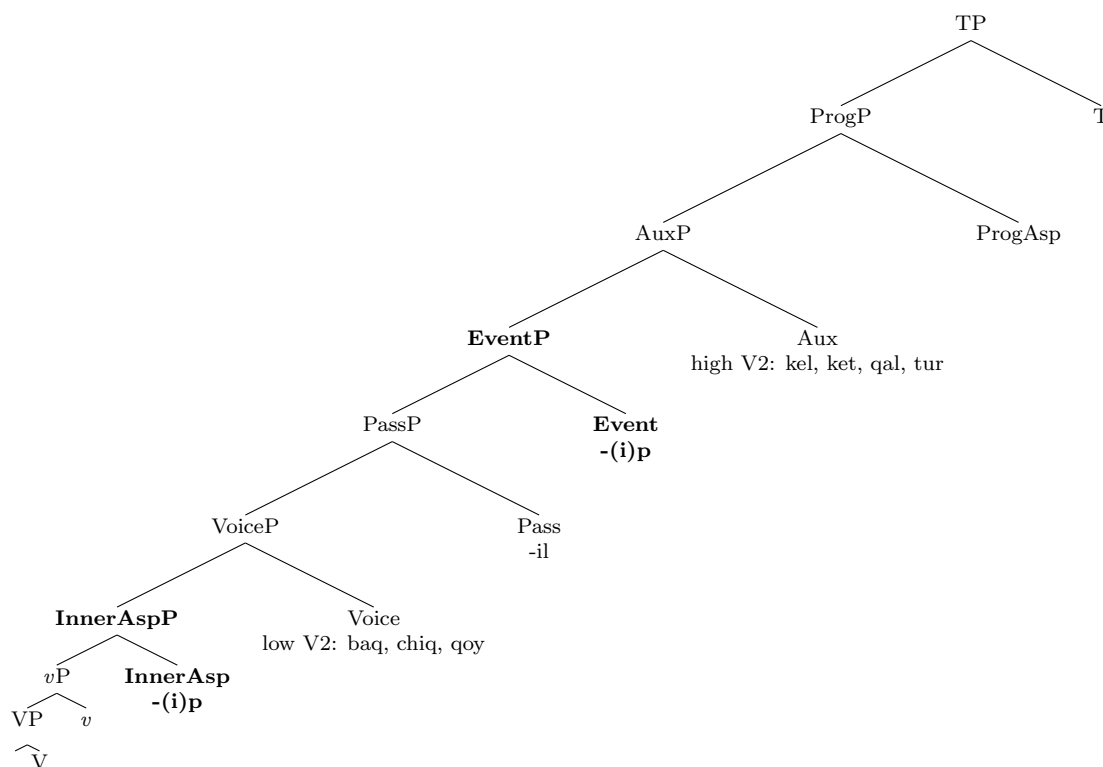
1.6.2 Chapter 3: Bleached V2 Constructions as Monoclausal Complementation

This chapter focuses on $-(i)p$ constructions in which the final, (usually) finite verb (V2) is semantically bleached of its lexical meaning, and instead supplies grammatical information about how the event denoted by the non-final verb was performed. After demonstrating that these constructions are always monoclausal, I divide bleached V2s into two groups through passivization tests. Bleached V2s like *qoy* in (137) and (138) can be passivized, indicating that they must be merged below the locus of voice morphology. I thus label them ‘low V2s’. Bleached V2s like *tur* in (139) and (139) can select a passivized complement, indicating that they are merged above the locus of voice morphology. I thus label them ‘high V2s’.

- (137) Tursun roman yézip qoydi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote up a novel.”
- (138) Roman yézip qoyuldi.
 Roman yaz-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 Novel write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was written up.”
- (139) U manga xet yézip turdi.
 U men-ga xet yaz-(i)p tur-di-0
 3SG 1SG-DAT letter write-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “(S)he/they often wrote/write me letters.”
- (140) Manga xet yézilip turdi.
 Men-ga xet yaz-il-(i)p tur-di-0
 1SG-DAT letter write-PASS-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “Letters kept being written to me.”

I analyze low V2s as overt Voice heads, selecting external arguments. $-(i)p$ is merged in the InnerAsp head because the lexical verb is unable to head-move past Voice. High V2s are Auxiliary heads not involved in argument selection. When an auxiliary is present, $-(i)p$ is merged in the Event head because the lower verb cannot head-move past the auxiliary. The clausal spine in tree (141) illustrates both positions.

(141) Bleached V2 Constructions



1.6.3 Chapter 4: Multiple Negation in Uyghur

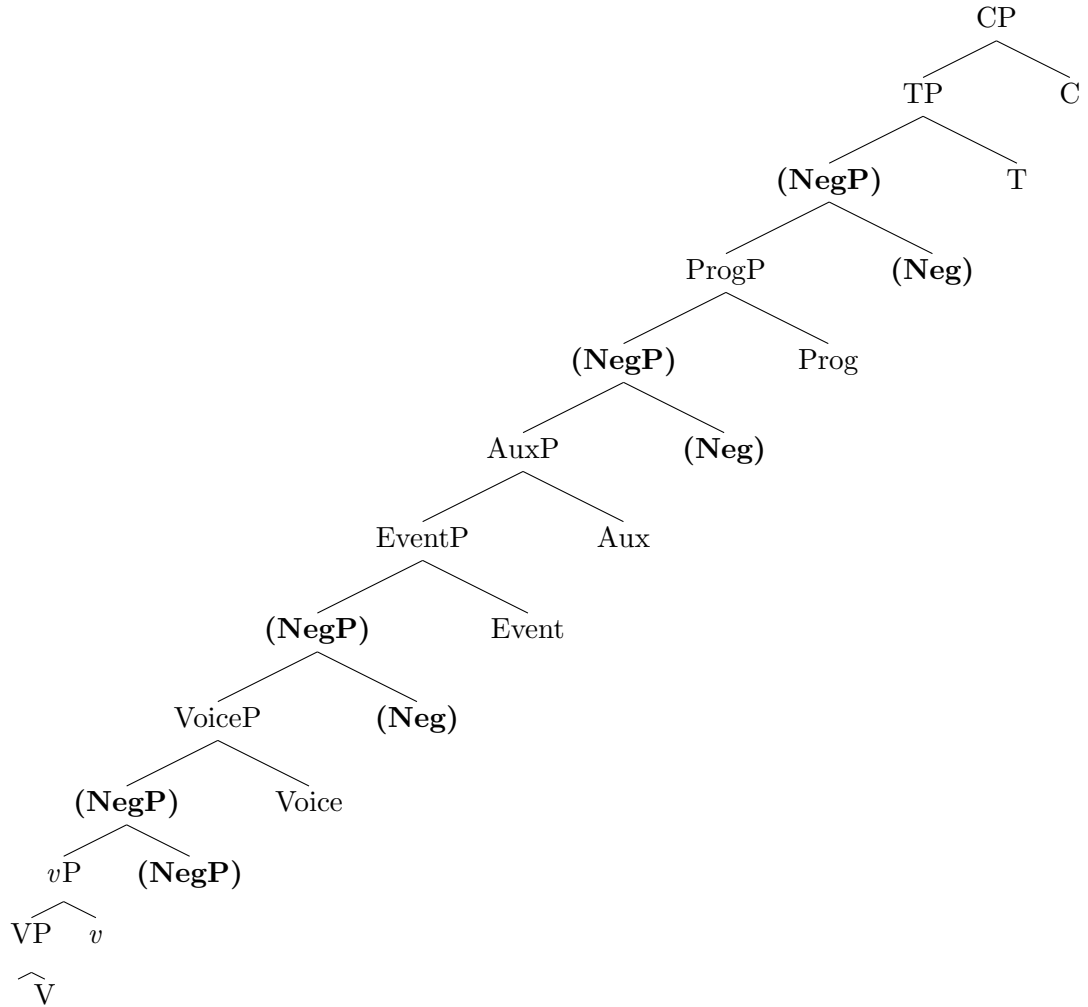
This chapter addresses a lingering issue raised in the previous chapter: if bleached V2 constructions are monoclausal, then why is it possible to negate either or both verbs in these constructions? (142a-c) show that it is possible to negate the final verb, non-final verb, or both verbs respectively.

- (142) a. Tursun bizning öyge kélip turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun doesn’t come to our house often.”
- b. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turidu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun isn’t coming to our house for now.”

- c. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun will not stop coming to our house.”

Through diagnostics related to negative concord and scope of adverbs and focused objects, I show that a negation projection headed by the post-verbal negation marker *-ma* can be merged in Uyghur anywhere it can select a verbal category as its complement. The full range of possibilities is sketched in tree (143).

(143) Positions for negation



The fact that negation can be merged in multiple positions in the Uyghur clause is related to the way that Uyghur allows multi-verb constructions: it is possible for functional projections to intervene between verbs in Uyghur.

1.7 Conclusion

The goal of this dissertation is to defend the Event Projections Generalization, restated here.

- (144) **Event Projections Generalization:** Uyghur allows multiple verbs to appear in a clause by overtly realizing event-related functional heads outside and within the verbal domain.

I will argue in the following chapters that Event and InnerAspect heads headed by $-(i)p$ are the building blocks used to form multi-verb constructions. $-(i)p$ is inserted at Event or InnerAspect when a syntactic configuration prevents a verb from moving past one of these heads to receive inflection. Phrasal projections headed by $-(i)p$ serve as either the complements, adjuncts or conjuncts to other verbal projections to derive multi-verb constructions.

The analyses in this dissertation provide evidence that functional heads outside and within the verbal domain, which have been proposed in a wide variety of contexts as discussed in section 1.5.1, may be overtly realized in some grammars. The variety of contexts in which these heads are realized allows Uyghur multi-verb constructions to typologically resemble not only serial verb constructions (as discussed in section 1.2 and to be discussed further in chapter 2), but also restructuring constructions (to be discussed in chapter 3) as well as coordinate structures. Rather than being a monolithic entity, multi-verb constructions vary according to whether each verb is a lexical or functional head, whether one verb forms part of an adjunct to, complement to or conjunct with another verb, and whether the phrasal material headed by $-(i)p$ is an Event or InnerAspect Phrase.

Chapter 2

Adjunction and Coordination in Lexical *-(i)p* Constructions

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter established that there are fundamentally two types of multi-verb construction involving the *-(i)p* suffix in Uyghur: those in which the final, inflected verb (aka V2) is bleached of its lexical meaning and functions like an auxiliary, and those in which V2 is an ordinary lexical verb. The two types of construction share the same general pattern in which V1, so called for its being non-final in linear order, takes the *-(i)p* suffix in lieu of finite inflection for tense and person. This pattern is illustrated in (145) and (146). The translations make clear that V2 *baq* ‘to raise’ in (145) is semantically bleached and expresses a conative meaning, while V2 *tüzle* ‘to flatten’ in (146) contributes its lexical meaning to the sentence.

- (145) Ahmat mitalni urup baqti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p baq-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P raise-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded at/trying to pound the metal.”

- (146) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

This chapter focuses on *-(i)p* constructions like (146), in which both V1 and V2 are lexical verbs. I address two questions: what is the size of the phrasal material headed by *-(i)p*, and

how is this material related to the final verb in the construction? I divide lexical *-(i)p* constructions into three main classes based on the answers to these two questions. Inner aspect SVCs, which I analyze in section 2.2, consist of an InnerAspect Phrase (which contains V1 and a verbalizing *vP* layer) adjoining to the main clausal spine under one Event head to add information about how the event is carried out. V1 selects a PRO internal argument which is obligatorily controlled by the object of V2. Event SVCs, which I analyze in section 2.3, consist of an Event Phrase (which contains a Voice projection embedding V1) rather than InnerAspect Phrase adjoining to the main clausal spine under the main Event head, also providing event modification information. The Voice Phrase merged above V1 introduces a PRO external argument that is obligatorily controlled by the subject of V2. Multiple event constructions, which I analyze in section 2.4, consist of two coordinated Event (or sometimes Tense) Phrases which each contain a different verb and arguments.

After analyzing each of the above three constructions, I show how positing adjunction rather than complementation as the mechanism deriving SVCs solves a puzzle relating to the relative order of serial verbs in section 2.5.

I begin with discussion of what I call inner aspect SVCs.

2.2 Inner Aspect SVCs

As mentioned in section 2.1, inner aspect SVCs (IASVCs) take the form [(Obj) V1-(i)p V2], where both V1 and V2 are lexical in nature and no nominal intervenes between V1 and V2. They thus share their surface appearance with bleached V2 constructions (the topic of chapter 3), the most immediate difference being that neither verb in the inner aspect SVC is semantically bleached. I will show in this section that the underlying structure of inner aspect SVCs is also non-trivially different from that of bleached V2 constructions: while the latter involves complementation, the former involves adjunction of one verbal projection to another. In inner aspect SVCs, V1 is generally interpreted as modifying V2, providing information about the manner in which the action denoted by V2 is carried out. (147) states that Ahmat flattened the metal by pounding, while (148) states that Abliz came by walking.

- (147) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 ‘‘Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).’’

- (148) Abliz méngip keldi.
 Abliz mang-(i)p kel-di-0
 Abliz walk-(I)P come-PST-3
 “Abliz walked here (came by walking).”

(147) describes an action that leads to a result state (the metal being flat), and is the way Uyghur speakers express resultative constructions like the English translation provided (Tash and Sugar 2018). (148), on the other hand, describes movement in some direction (towards the speaker). Because inner aspect SVCs tend to either express resultative or directional meanings, I will sometimes descriptively refer to these two varieties of inner aspect SVC as resultative and directional constructions, respectively. However, I analyze both varieties as being the same construction with different choices of lexical verbs. Both share the same syntactic structure, which is not exclusively limited to resultative or directional constructions, as evidenced by (149).

- (149) U duduqlap sözlidi.
 U duduqla-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stammer-(I)P speak-PST-3
 “(S)he spoke while stammering.”

The unifying characteristics of this construction are that both verbs obligatorily share an object (through control, as I will argue in section 2.2.2) and that V1 is interpreted as providing additional information about the process of the event denoted by V2. One piece of evidence that V1 provides manner modification is that IASVCs serve as natural answers to questions asking ‘how’ an actor performed the event described by V2. Thus the resultative IASVC (150b) is a natural answer to the question posed in (150a). (151) illustrates the same idea using a directional IASVC, and (152) illustrates it with a pair of unergative verbs.

- (150) a. Q:
 Ahmat mitalni qandaq tüzliwetti
 Ahmat mital-ni qandaq tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC qandaq flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “How did Ahmat flatten the metal?”
 b. A:
 Uni urup tüzliwetti
 U-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 3SG-AC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “He pounded it flat/flattened it by pounding.”

- (151) a. Q:
 Abliz qandaq keldi?
 Abliz qandaq kel-di-0
 Abliz how come-PST-3
 “How did Abliz come (here)?”
- b. A:
 U méngip keldi.
 U mang-(i)p kel-di-0
 3SG walk-(I)P come-PST-3
 “He walked here (came by walking).”

- (152) a. Q:
 U qandaq sözlidi?
 U qandaq sözle-di-0
 3SG how speak-PST3
 “How did (s)he/they speak?”
- b. A:
 U duduqlap sözlidi.
 U duduqla-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stutter-(I)P speak-PST-3
 “(S)he spoke in a stuttering way.”

The inverse of the above generalization is not true. That is, IASVCs are pragmatically odd answers to questions about the manner in which V1 is performed. The examples in (153)-(155) respectively show that the same IASVCs used in (150)-(152) sound unnatural as answers to questions posed about V1.

- (153) a. Q:
 Ahmat mitalni qandaq urdi?
 Ahmat mital-ni qandaq ur-di-0
 Ahmat metal-AC qandaq pound-PST-3
 “How did Ahmat pound the metal?”
- b. A: ??
 Uni urup tüzliwetti
 U-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 3SG-AC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “He pounded it flat/pounded it by flattening.”

- (154) a. Q:
 Abliz qandaq mangdi?
 Abliz qandaq mang-di-0
 Abliz how walk-PST-3
 “How did Abliz walk?”
- b. A: ??
 U méngip keldi.
 U mang-(i)p kel-di-0
 3SG walk-(I)P come-PST-3
 Intended: “He walked here (came by walking).”
- (155) a. Q:
 U qandaq duduqlidi?
 U qandaq duduqla-di-0
 3SG how stutter-PST3
 “How did (s)he/they stutter?”
- b. A: ??
 U (toluq) sözlep duduqlidi.
 U (toluq) sözle-(i)p duduqla-di-0
 3SG (fully) speak-(I)P stutter-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he stuttered by speaking.”

In this section, I will demonstrate that this construction is formed when an InnerAspect phrase headed by *-(i)p* and containing V1 adjoins to the projection containing V2. To motivate this analysis in a step-by-step fashion, I begin by demonstrating that the construction is monoclausal in section 2.2.1. I then turn to the issue of object sharing, arguing in section 2.2.2 that only V2 selects an overt internal argument, which binds an empty category selected as the argument of V1. Finally, I argue that the projection containing V1 adjoins to V2 rather than serving as its complement in section 2.2.3. Section 2.2.4 presents the analysis of inner aspect SVCs in its final form, where the adjoining projection is an InnerAspect Phrase.

2.2.1 Monoclausality of inner aspect SVCs

This section builds upon the monoclausality diagnostics for Uyghur multi-verb constructions introduced in Sugar (2017b), some of which were applied to the resultative variety of inner aspect SVCs in Tash and Sugar (2018). I consider a clause to contain the loci of voice and aspect morphology, and to be the domain in which items sensitive to

negation can be licensed by a negative marker (Choe 1988, Progovac 1988, 1993, Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2000, Giannakidou 1998, 2000, 2006 *inter alia*). I will thus test for the presence of passive morphology and aspect morphology, and the possibility of n-word licensing in this section. The results of all three diagnostics indicate that only one clause is present in inner aspect SVCs.

Standard assumptions about clausal architecture include a single locus for voice morphology between the verbal and inflection domains (Kratzer 1996, Cinque 1999, Alexiadou et al. 2006 *inter alia*). In Uyghur, a passive morpheme attached to a verb in a given clause cannot passivize verbs outside that clause. For example, passivizing the verb in an embedded clause does not passivize the matrix verb in (156a), nor does passivizing the matrix verb passivize the embedded verb in (156b). Each verb must be passivized separately to yield a passivized reading, as shown in (156c).¹

- (156) a. Tursun [roman-ning yézilghanliqini] dédi.
 Tursun [roman-ning yaz-il-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Tursun [Novel-GEN write-PASS-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 ‘‘Tursun said a novel was written.’’
- b. [Tursunning roman yazghanliqi] déyildi.
 [Tursun-ning roman yaz-gan-lik-i] de-il-di-0
 [Tursun-GEN novel write-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS] say-PASS-PST-3
 ‘‘It was said that Tursun wrote a novel.’’ (*‘‘a novel was written by Tursun’’)
- c. [Romanning yézilghanliqi] diyildi.
 [Roman-ning yaz-il-gan-lik-i] de-il-di-0
 [Novel-GEN write-PASS-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS] say-PASS-PST-3
 ‘‘It was said that a novel was written.’’

Turning to inner aspect SVCs, not every IASVC can be passivized. Namely, directional constructions do not passivize. The reason is probably that passivizing these constructions would require promoting a dative argument to subject position, which is not possible in Uyghur (Sugar and Abulimiti 2019).

- (157) Uning balisi öyge kirip ketti.
 U-ning bala-i öy-ga kir-(i)p ket-di-0
 3SG-GEN child-3.POSS house-DAT enter-(I)P leave-PST-3
 ‘‘The child went away into the house.’’ (Tömür 2003: 421)

1. Embedded non-finite clauses must be nominalized in Uyghur, and function as a nominal argument of the embedding verb. In (i), the suffix *-lik* nominalizes a non-finite relative clause headed by *-gan* (but see Asarina 2011 for arguments that the nominalizer in sentences like (i) is a null element rather than *-lik*).

- (158) *Öy(ge) kir(il)ip ket(il)di.
 Öy(-ga) kir-(il)-(i)p ket(-il)-di-0
 House-DAT enter-PASS-(I)P leave-PASS-PST-3

Intended: “The house was entered.”

- (159) *Öy(ge) kirildi.
 Öy(-ga) kir-il-di-0
 House-DAT enter-PASS-PST-3

Intended: “The house was entered.”

However, when IASVCs can be passivized, they only allow passivization of V2. As discussed in Tash and Sugar (2018), morphologically passivizing V2 causes V1 to be interpreted as if it were passivized (160a), indicating that there is no (active) Voice head c-commanding only V1 but not V2. While it is possible to passivize both transitive verbs as in (160b), doing so results in a reading where the action denoted by each verb constitutes a separate event; in other words, the sentence is no longer an inner aspect SVC, but is instead a multiple event construction, the topic of section 2.4.

- (160) a. Mital urup tüzliwetildi.
 Mital uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-il-di-0
 Mital pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PASS-PST-3

“The metal was pounded flat.”

- b. Mital urulup tüzliwetildi.
 Mital uru-il-(i)p tüzle-iwet-il-di-0
 Mital pound-PASS-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PASS-PST-3

“The metal was pounded and flattened (by some other means).”

By a similar token, aspectual values like progressive are usually encoded at a specific point in the clause. The examples in (161) show that a matrix verb and embedded verb can be inflected for progressive aspect with the *-iwat* suffix independently; the presence of *-iwat* on one verb does not affect the aspectual value of a verb in a different clause.

- (161) a. Tursun [roman yazghaliqini] déwatidu.
 Tursun [roman yaz-gan-lik-i-ni] de-iwat-i-du
 Tursun [novel write-REL-NMLZ-NPST-3.POSS-ACC] say-PROG-NPST-3

“Tursun is saying (s)he/they wrote a novel.”

- b. Tursun [roman yéziwatqanliqini] dédi.
 Tursun [roman yaz-iwat-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Tursun [novel write-PROG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Tursun said (s)he/they are writing a novel.”
- c. Tursun [roman yéziwatqanliqini] déwatidu.
 Tursun [roman yaz-iwat-gan-lik-i-ni] de-iwat-i-du
 Tursun [novel write-PROG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PROG-NPST-3
 “Tursun is saying (s)he/they are writing a novel.”

In inner aspect SVCs, however, adding *-iwat* to V2 results in a progressive reading of the entire construction. It is not grammatical to add a progressive marker after V1, providing further evidence that both verbs form part of the same clause and are interpreted as one event. This is shown for resultative constructions in (162) and directional constructions in (163).

- (162) a. Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwatidu.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwat-i-du
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-PROG-NPST-3
 “Ahmat is pounding the metal flat.”
- b. *Ahmat mitalni uruwitip tüzliwatidu.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-iwat-(i)p tüzle-iwat-i-du
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-PROG-(I)P flatten-PROG-NPST-3
 Intended: “Ahmat is pounding the metal flat.”
- (163) a. Abliz méngip kéliwatidu.
 Abliz mang-(i)p kel-iwat-i-du
 Abliz walk-(I)P come-PROG-NPST-3
 “Abliz is walking here.”
- b. *Abliz méngiwitip kéliwatidu.
 Abliz mang-iwat-(i)p kel-iwat-i-du
 Abliz walk-PROG-(I)P come-PROG-NPST-3
 Intended: “Abliz is walking here.”

A final piece of evidence for the monoclausality of inner aspect SVCs comes from negative concord between a negation marker and an n-word. An n-word, sometimes called a strong

negative polarity item (NPI) or negative concord item (NCI), is a word which appears to carry a negative meaning but can only occur in the presence of sentential negation or a negative marker (see Giannakidou 2006 and Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017 for an overview). (164) shows that the n-word *héchkim* ‘nobody’ is only licit when the verb *ye* ‘to eat’ is negated using the *-ma* suffix.

- (164) a. Héchkim tamaq yémidi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-ma-di-0
 Nobody food eat-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody ate food.”
- b. *Héchkim tamaq yédi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-di-0
 Nobody food eat-PST-3
 Intended: “Nobody ate food.”

Critically, licensing of n-words by negation markers is clause-bound (Choe 1988, Progovac 1988, 1993, Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2000, Giannakidou 1998, 2000, 2006 inter alia). Thus negating the matrix verb does not license the object of the embedded verb in (165a), but negating the embedded verb in (165b) does.

- (165) a. *Abliz [héchneme yégenlikini] démidi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz didn’t say he ate anything.”
- b. Abliz [héchneme yémigenlikini] dédi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-ma-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said he didn’t eat anything.”

(166) and (167) show that negating V2 licenses the NCI object which appears before V1, suggesting that both verbs are part of the same clausal domain.

- (166) Abliz héchyerge méngip ketmidi.
 Abliz héchyer-ga mang-(i)p ket-ma-di-0
 Abliz nowhere-DAT walk-(I)P leave-NEG-PST-3
 “Abliz didn’t go walking anywhere.”

- (167) Ahmat héchnerse urup tüzliwetmidi.
 Ahmat héchnerse uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-ma-di-0
 Ahmat héchnerse pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-NEG-PST-3

“Ahmat didn’t pound anything flat.”

This section has given arguments from passivization, progressive aspect marking and negative concord to advocate a monoclausal analysis of inner aspect SVCs. Having established that the constructions are monoclausal, I turn next to the question of how object sharing between the two verbs is achieved in this construction.

2.2.2 Object Sharing as Control

The fact that two or more verbs appear to share the same object in IASVCs (and in SVCs cross-linguistically) presents a challenge to syntacticians working in the minimalist framework. (168) repeats an example from section 2.1 in which *mital* ‘metal’ appears to be the theme of both verbs *uru* ‘to pound’ and *tüzle* ‘to flatten’.

- (168) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3

“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

The surface pattern in which two verbs appear to share an object violates the idea that an argument can only be assigned a thematic role by one verb (e.g. the Theta Criterion of Chomsky 1981, 1986). That is, object sharing constructions violate whatever constraint ensures that each argument is selected by one and only one verb, which assigns it exactly one thematic role. Minimalist analyses of serial verb constructions (SVCs) generally tackle this issue in one of two ways: 1) by positing that both verbs select the same object or somehow act as a single predicate to select the same object; or 2) by positing that the object of one verb is a null element controlled by the overt object. I will first review selected analyses of the former type, pointing out how they fail to explain the facts of Uyghur inner aspect SVCs, before reviewing selected analyses of the latter type and showing how the facts of Uyghur are better captured by positing a phonologically empty category as V1’s internal argument.

True Object Sharing

The most intuitive and least abstract way to account for argument sharing in SVCs might be to say that an SVC is simply a VP headed by two verbs. This approach is taken perhaps most famously by Baker (1989), primarily on intuitive and theoretical grounds. The object

of Baker’s inquiry are SVCs in languages with SVO word order in which the internal argument appears between two verbs. The two verbs can either both be transitive as in (169), or V1 can be transitive and V2 unaccusative as in (170). The internal argument is shared in either case.

- (169) Kofi naki Amba kiri.
 Kofi hit Amba kill
 “Kofi struck Amba dead.” (srn) (Baker 1989: 516)

- (170) Olú ti ọmọ náà şubú
 Olu push child the fall
 “Olu pushed the child down.” (yor) (Baker 1989: 529 from Bamgbose 1974)

Baker assumes that the following Principles of Word Order (based on Travis 1984) must be followed:

- (171) Principles of Word Order (my abridged paraphrase of Baker 1989: 519)
- a. A head theta-marks phrases to its right {left}.
 - b. If a head X is in direct relationship R with Y, and Z is between X and Y, then X or Y must also be in R with Z (where R = theta-marking in this case)
 - c. A non-head level projection is predicated of an NP to its left

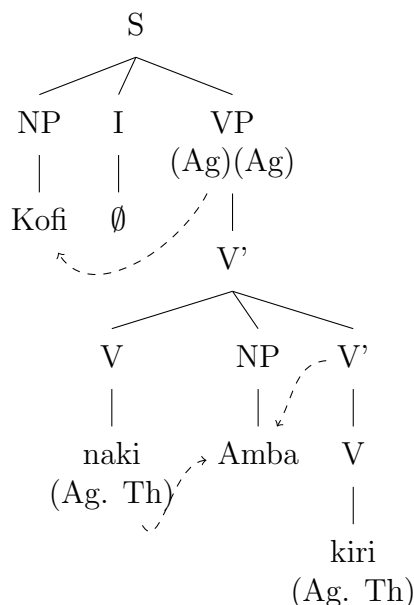
The direction to which a verbal head theta-marks its argument is parameterized to right in SVO languages. Adhering to these principles rules out a structure in which two verbal heads are merged at the same level of projection. The following two examples illustrate their utility.

- (172) a. [_{v'} hit [_{NP} Amba] kill]
 b. [_{v'} hit kill [_{NP} Amba]]

According to Baker, (172a) violates principle (171a) because the head *kill* has to theta-mark the NP to its left in an SVO language. (172b) violates principle (171b) because *hit* theta-marks an NP that is not adjacent to it. To circumvent violating these principles, Baker proposes the following structure in which V2 projects immediately from the head to an intermediate, bar-level projection that is sister to the NP. The Agent role of both verbs

percolates to the VP level where it is assigned to the subject *Kofi*. V1 *naki* directly assigns its theme role to *Amba*, while V2 indirectly assigns its theme role at the V' level that is sister to *Amba*.

(173) (adapted from Baker 1989: 521)



The analysis in (173) does not violate principle (171a) because V2's theta role assignment happens above the head level, where leftward assignment is expected. Examples like (170), in which V2 is unaccusative, are analyzed in the same fashion. The only difference from (173) is that V2 assigns a theme but not an agent role.

Later authors have criticized Baker's approach on both empirical and theoretical grounds. The analysis attributes the possibility of verb serialization in some languages to a parameter setting that allows VPs to have multiple heads. It is unexplained why we do not find similar parametric variation in other categories cross-linguistically, allowing for such phenomena as serial nouns, as Larson (1991) notes. Additionally, as a cross-linguistic model for the SVC, Baker (1989) also predicts that it should not be possible for an unaccusative V2 to be predicated of V1's agent rather than V1's theme. That is, (173) predicts that V2 should always assign a theme role to the object of V2, but in (174) V2 assigns a theme role to the subject of V1 instead. The double-headed verb approach cannot account for this construction.

(174) Wɔn mu ɔtí yó
They drink wine be.full

"They drank until they were full." (yor) (Durie 1997: 310)

In short, the double-headed analysis of Baker (1989) is both too rigid and too permissive to capture cross-linguistic SVC patterns, and it relies on an otherwise unmotivated exception to the principle that a phrasal projection has a single head.

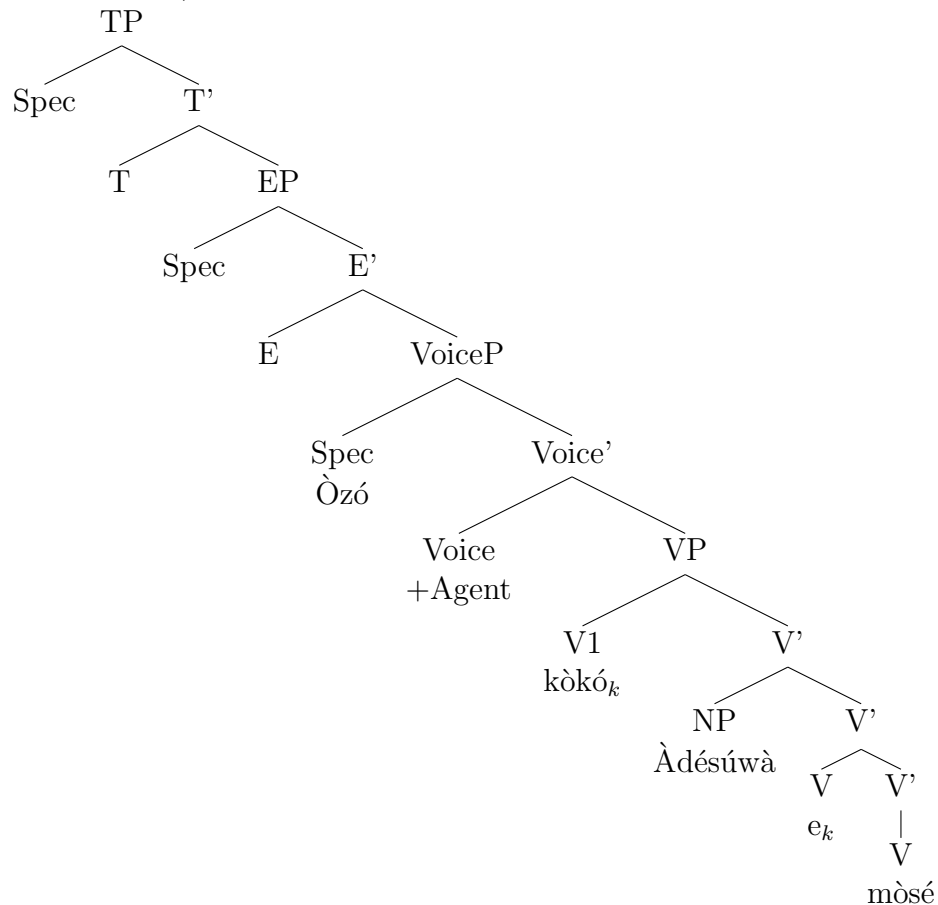
Stewart (2013) also provides a double-headed analysis of SVCs, but the key differences from Baker’s analysis are that the object is a specifier rather than a complement of both verbs, and one verb head-raises to a higher verbal head. Stewart considers the only type of SVCs in which two verbs comprise a single event in the Volta-Niger language Èdó to be the resultative variety, consisting of a transitive V1 and an intransitive V2 predicted of the object of V1. (175) is an example of a resultative SVC.

- (175) Òzò kòkó Àdésúwà mòsé
 Ozo raise Adesuwa be.beautiful

“Ozo raised Adesuwa to be beautiful.” (Edo) (Stewart 2013: 74)

The structure of (175) is shown in (176), where the object *Àdésúwà* is predicated of both verbs. Both verbs head the same VP, but one of them raises to the higher V layer to precede the object linearly.

- (176) (Stewart 2013: 75)



Cole (2016) makes a sharper distinction between the syntactic position and role of the two verbs in a resultative SVC, arguing that the construction formed by the two verbs jointly selects the shared argument. As in Èdó, resultatives in Lao consist of a transitive V1 and an intransitive V2, with a shared object appearing between the two verbs. (177) shows a Lao resultative SVC, in which *luuk4* ‘child’, the object of transitive V1 *pòòn4* ‘feed’, is the subject of unaccusative V2 *qiim1* ‘be full’.

- (177) Mèê1 pòòn4 luuk4 qiim1 lèèw4
 Mother feed child be.full already

“The mother fed her child until the child was full.” (lao) Cole 2016: 50 based on Muansuwan 2002: 230)

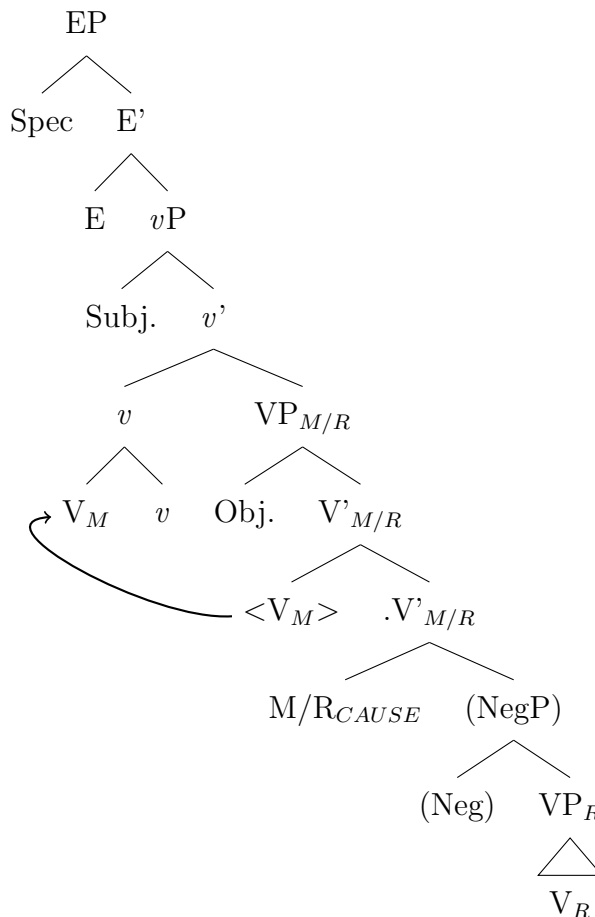
Cole (2016) analyzes V1 and V2 as together forming a Manner/Result VP complex linked together by a causative head. Within this complex, each verb encodes a different portion of an event: V1 is a manner verb while V2 is a result verb. V2 heads its own result VP projection, but this projection in turn forms part of one single Manner/Result VP which selects one object. One reason for having V2 head its own projection is that it is possible to negate V2 without negating V1 in Lao, suggesting there must be sufficient structure to host negation between the two verbs.

- (178) Nòòj4 nying2 nok1 bò0 taaj3.
 Noy shoot bird NEG die

“Noy shot the bird but it didn’t die.” (lao) (Cole 2016: 61)

V1, which heads the highest projection of the manner/result VP, moves to *v* while the result V2 remains in situ. The object is selected not by an individual verb but by the whole complex of two verb phrases, an ‘outside-role analysis’ in the sense of Williams (2008). Thus although the object is merged in the Specifier of a projection headed by V1 in (179), this projection is also in a sense headed by V2 according to Cole.

(179) (based on Cole (2016): 74)



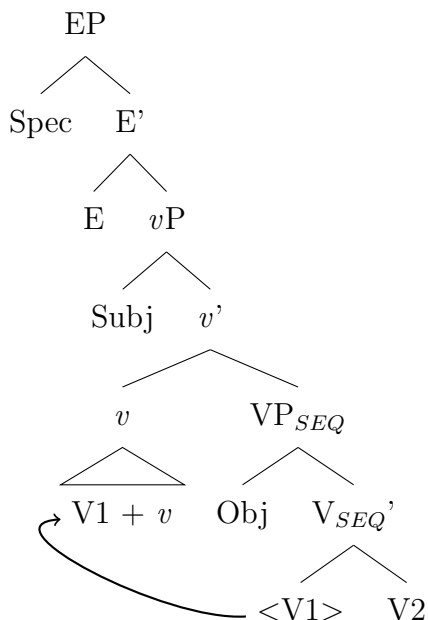
While Baker and Stewart consider the object to be selected by a VP that is headed by two verbs, in Cole’s analysis the object is selected by a construction that consists of two VPs. In either analysis, it is a composite of verbs or their projections rather than individual verbs that select the object.

Cole analyzes another type of Lao SVC, the consequential SVC, in a more similar fashion to Baker and Stewart. What differentiates Lao consequential SVCs from resultative SVCs is that while V2 of a resultative SVC is an unaccusative or adjectival predicate, both verbs of a consequential SVC are transitive. This means that Lao consequential SVCs bear a greater resemblance than resultative SVCs to most Uyghur inner aspect SVCs. (180) is a consequential SVC in which two transitive verbs, *sak1* ‘wash’ and *taak5* ‘hang up’, select the same object *khuaang1* ‘thing’.

(180) Nòj4 sak1 khuaang1 taak5
Noy wash thing hang.up

“Noy washed the clothes and hung them up.” (lao) (Cole 2016: 42)

(181) (Cole 2016: 74)



(182) Ahmat qolyaghliqni yighlap höl qilwetti.
 Ahmat qolyaghliq-ni yighla-(i)p höl qil-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat handkerchief-ACC cry-(i)P soggy make-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat cried his handkerchief soggy.”

- (183) Ahmat (*qolyaghliqni) yighlidi.
 Ahmat (*qolyaghliq-ni) yighla-di-0
 Ahmat handkerchief-ACC cry-PST-3
 “Ahmat cried (*the handkerchief).”

Second, the outside role analysis of Cole (2016) predicts that there should be cases both where the object of a resultative SVC cannot be selected by V1 alone, and where the object of the consequential construction cannot be selected by V2 alone. In Uyghur, however, when an object is present, it can always be selected by V2 alone, but not always by V1 alone. (182) is an example of this generalization. (183) demonstrated that the verb *yighla* ‘to cry’, V1 of (182), cannot select *qolyaghliq* ‘handkerchief’ as an object. (184) shows that *höl qil* ‘to make soggy’, V2 of (182) must select an object like ‘handkerchief’.

- (184) Ahmat *(qolyaghliqni) höl qilwetti.
 Ahmat qolyaghliq-ni höl qil-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat handkerchief-ACC soggy make-PST-3
 “Ahmat made his handkerchief soggy.”

The set of examples in (185) illustrate a similar pattern. In (185a), the object *gep* ‘speech’ receives accusative case. (185b) shows that V2 *angla* ‘to listen’ is compatible with an accusative object, while (185c) shows that V1 *tur* ‘to stand’ is not. Thus it must be V2 *angla* rather than V1 *tur* that is selecting the accusative object when the two verbs are linked in (185a).

- (185) a. Uning geplirini jimjit turup anglidi.
 U-ning gep-lar-i-ni jimjit tur-(i)p angla-di-0
 3SG-GEN speech-PL-3.POSS-ACC quietly stand-(I)P listen-PST-3
 “(S)he stood listening quietly to what they had to say.”
- b. Uning geplirini jimjit anglidi.
 U-ning gep-lar-i-ni jimjit angla-di-0
 3SG-GEN speech-PL-3.POSS-ACC quietly listen-PST-3
 “(S)he listened quietly to what they had to say.”
- c. *Uning geplirini jimjit turdi.
 U-ning gep-lar-i-ni jimjit tur-di-0
 3SG-GEN speech-PL-3.POSS-ACC quietly stand-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he stood quietly to what they had to say.”

Case marking further demonstrates that the object of IASVCs is selected by V2 rather than V1. Some Uyghur verbs, like *köyün* ‘to care for’ in (186), idiosyncratically select a dative internal argument. The object of most Uyghur verbs, including *baq* ‘to raise’ in (187), is realized with accusative case. When V1 of an IASVC is a verb selecting a dative argument but V2 is not, then the object will surface with accusative rather than dative case in (188), indicating that it the object is not being selected by V1.

- (186) Sizge/*ni bek köyünimen.
 Siz-ga/*ni bek köyün-i-men
 2SG.FORM-DAT/ACC very care.for-NPST-1SG
 “I really care for you.”

- (187) Iskender bu balini/*gha béqiwatidu.
 Iskender bu bala-ni/*ga baq-iwat-i-du
 Iskender DEM child-ACC/DAT raise-PROG-NPST-3
 “Iskender is raising this child.”

- (188) Iskender bu balini/*gha köyünüp béqiwatidu.
 Iskender bu bala-ni/*ga köyün-(i)p baq-iwat-i-du
 Iskender DEM child-ACC/DAT care.for-(I)P raise-PROG-NPST-3
 “Iskender is raising this child in a caring way.”

The above asymmetry in object case will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.3.

Both object case data and the fact that V1 does not always select an object indicate that there is not true object sharing in IASVCs. Instead, the object must be interpreted as an argument of (transitive) V1 by another means. In the next section, I pursue an analysis in which V1 can select an empty category whose identity depends on the object of V2.

Control Analyses

This section reviews two prominent analyses that take object sharing in SVCs to be a form of control. I will show that this type of analysis makes correct predictions for Uyghur inner aspect SVCs. The fact that the object of V1 is controlled by the object of V2 is a defining characteristic of this construction, and the basis for its name.

Focusing on the Niger-Congo language Ewe, Collins (1997a) defines true SVCs as constructions in which an internal argument is shared. The pair of examples in (189-190) shows that the internal argument can either be the object of a transitive V2 or subject of an unaccusative V2, while V1 is always a transitive verb.

- (189) Me nya dɛvi-ɛ dzo.
 I chase child-DEF leave
 “I chased the child away.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 461)

- (190) Wo ɖa fufu ɖu.
 they cook fufu eat
 “They cooked fufu and ate it.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 461)

Collins argues that the internal argument sharing that defines Ewe SVCs must be mediated by an empty category. This empty category, he contends, must be little *pro*, an empty category capable of being assigned case. Evidence for the presence of this empty category includes the option of the case-assigning postposition *yi* directly following an SVC. The *yi* postposition, according to Collins, can appear in the presence of a nominal that otherwise is not assigned case. For example, *yi* can follow an NP referring to the result of an action as in (191), and it can follow what Collins considers a nominal adverb as in (192).

- (191) E wɔ ɖokoe-wo fiɛ (yi).
 you make yourself king P
 “You have made yourself a king.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 469)

- (192) Kofi zɔ efiɛ-tɔ (yi)
 Kofi walk king-like P
 “Kofi walked regally.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 470)

Crucially, (*yi*) is only allowed following a nominal that does not otherwise have a visible source of case assignment. (193) shows that (*yi*) is disallowed after an intransitive verb, and (194) shows that (*yi*) cannot follow an accusative direct object.

- (193) Kofi zɔ (*yi).
 Kofi walk (*P)
 (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 470)

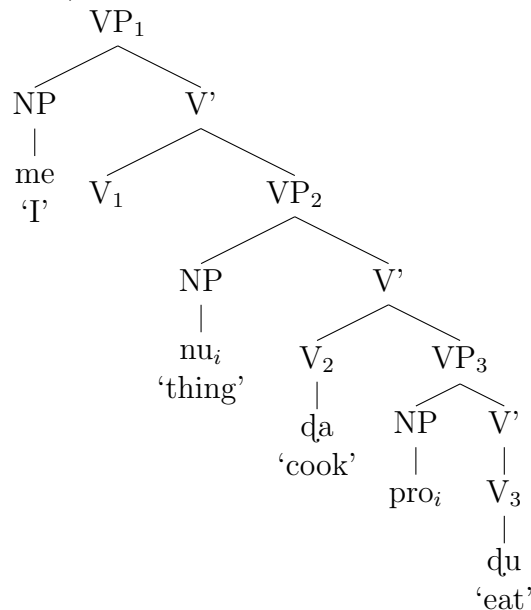
- (194) Kofi fo Yao (*yi).
 Kofi hit Yao (*P)
 (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 469)

Returning to SVCs, Collins takes the ability of *yi* to follow an SVC as a sign that an empty category is present. Since the nominal ‘child’ can receive accusative case from the transitive verb in (195), *yi* must be assigning case to a covert argument.²

- (195) Me nya d̡evi-ε dzo (yi).
 I chase child-DEF leave *p*
 “I chased the child away.” (ewe) (Collins 1997a: 470)

Collins considers the empty category in SVCs to be *pro* because it can be assigned case, among other reasons. The structure he posits allows for the *pro* argument of V2 to always be bound by the overt object of V1. An example structure based on sentence (190) is shown in (196).

- (196) (Collins 1997a: 491)



I will not analyze the empty category in Uyghur inner aspect SVCs as little *pro*. By definition, *pro* occupies an argument position where it is capable of being assigned case and

2. Collins (1997a) claims in a footnote that *yi* is always syntactically present, but has the option of being overtly spelled out or phonologically null, in a similar fashion to some analyses of English complementizer *that*.

can alternate with an overt argument. For example, *pro* is presumably syntactically present when the subject is not overt in Uyghur, a well-known phenomenon fittingly known as *pro-drop*.

- (197) (U) ketti.
 (U) ket-di-0
 (3SG) leave-PST-3
 “(S)he/they left.”

If *pro* is present in Uyghur IASVCs, then it should be possible for an overt pronoun co-referring with the main object of the construction to appear in this position as well, without altering the type of reading yielded by this construction. Since the canonical pattern of IASVCs is [Obj V1-(i)p V2] and Uyghur is an (S)OV language, we might expect the additional overt argument to surface between V1 and V2. In fact, the surface pattern [Obj V1-(i)p Obj V2] is possible in Uyghur.

- (198) Ahmat mitalni urup uni tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p u-ni tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P 3SG-ACC flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pounded the metal and flattened it.”

However, the addition of a pronoun changes the meaning of the sentence, as indicated in my translation. (198) cannot mean that pounding the metal was the way in which the subject flattened the metal; it can only mean that the speaker pounded the metal, and also flattened it (by some unspecified means). For this reason, it is possible to modify each verb in (198) with a different time adverbial to make the separation of the pounding and flattening events explicit, and to insert a coordinator between each verb phrase.

- (199) Ahmat mitalni sa’et üçte urup (andin) uni sa’et tötte
 Ahmat mital-ni sa’et üç-da uru-(i)p (andin) u-ni sa’et töt-da
 Ahmat metal-ACC hour three-LOC pound-(I)P (and.then) 3SG-ACC hour four-LOC
 tüzliwetti.
 tüzle-iwet-di-0
 flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pounded the metal at 3 and (then) flattened it at 4.”

It is also possible to add the progressive aspect marker *-iwat* to each verb in (198).

- (200) Ahmat mitalni uruwitip uni tüzliwatidu.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-iwat-(i)p u-ni tüzle-iwat-i-du
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-PROG-(I)P 3SG-ACC flatten-PROG-NPST-3

“Ahmat is pounding the metal and flattening it.”

I thus consider the presence of an overt pronoun indicative of a distinct syntactic structure, and I discuss the structure of this multiple event construction in section 2.4. For present purposes, the fact that a single event interpretation is not possible when an overt pronoun is present in the construction indicates that the empty category cannot be *pro*.

Positing big PRO as the empty category rather than little *pro* avoids this problem. PRO in IASVCs is an empty pronoun devoid of its own phi features (Kratzer 2009, Landau 2016), and it is obligatorily controlled by the object of V2 because the InnerAspect Phrase in which it is merged is predicated of the clause to which it adjoins (Williams 1980, 1992). Some later analyses inspired by Collins (1997a) substitute PRO for *pro*. For example, Nishiyama (1998) adopts Collins’s analysis and applies it to Japanese V-V compounds with two significant changes: 1) Nishiyama (1998) considers Japanese V-V constructions to be headed by V2 rather than by V1 as in Ewe; and 2) Nishiyama considers the empty category present in V-V compounds to be big PRO rather than little *pro*. I postpone discussion of head directionality parameters until section 2.5 and continue to focus on the nature of the empty category here.

Following the work of Larson (1988), Nishiyama (1998) assumes that the external argument is introduced by a separate projection, which he labels Tr(ans)P using Collins’s (1997b) terminology. TrP is also the projection responsible for assigning accusative case. Nishiyama thus updates Burzio’s (1986) Generalization, that a verb can only assign a theta role to a subject if it can assign accusative case to an object, as follows:

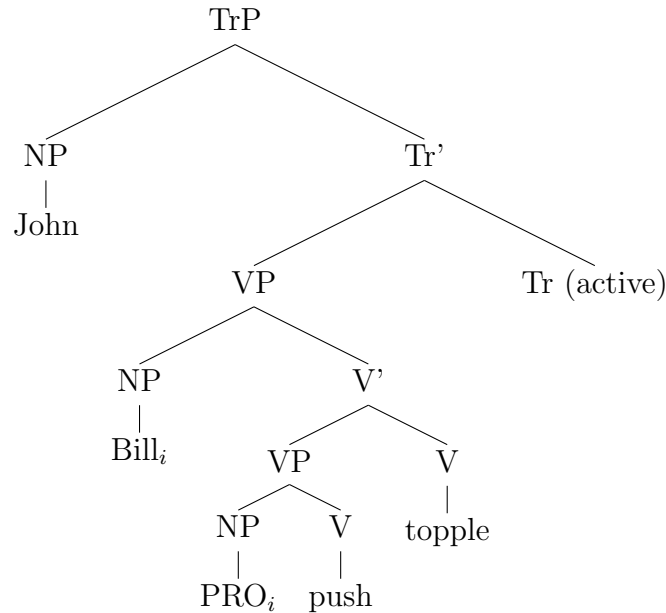
- (201) The object position is a Case position iff the clause contains active Tr. (Nishiyama 1998: 183)

The object of V1 cannot have case because a Tr (Voice) head, which assigns case to objects in Nishiyama’s analysis, is not present between V1 and V2. Thus only a PRO element, obligatorily bound by the c-commanding object of V2 and lacking case, can be merged in this position. (203) shows Nishiyama’s analysis of a sentence like (202). The object of V1 is PRO, and both verbs are under the scope of a Tr head that introduces the external argument.

- (202) John-ga Bill-o osi-taosi-ta
 John-NOM Bill-ACC push-topple-PST

“John toppled Bill by pushing him/pushed Bill down.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 184)

(203) (Nishiyama 1998: 185)



A control analysis like Nishiyama's elegantly captures the fact shown in examples (186-188) that the case of the object always matches the selectional requirements of V2 but not V1 in Uyghur: the overt object is always selected by V2, not V1.

Summary

So far, I have argued that inner aspect SVCs involve a single clause, and that whenever V1 selects an object, it is unpronounced and obligatorily controlled by the object of V2. The next question I consider is whether V1 should be analyzed as a complement of V2, or as part of a phrase adjoining to a projection containing V2.

2.2.3 Adjunction rather than Complementation

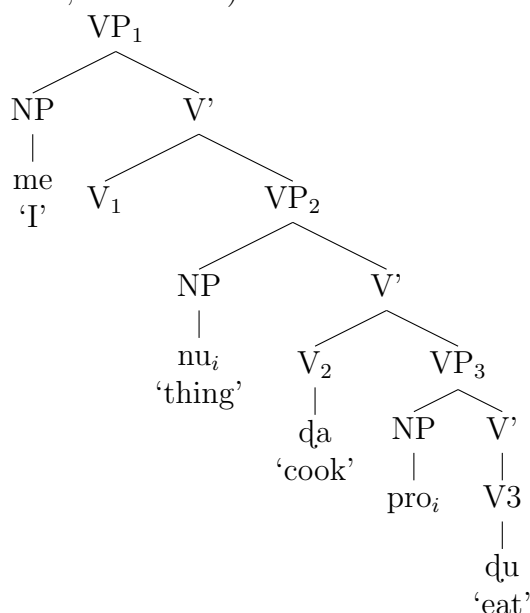
The last section argued that object sharing in Uyghur IASVCs must be achieved by control, and that it must be the object of V2 controlling a null element selected by V1. This section will take that same argument farther, showing that V2 is selectionally dominant over V1 in terms of transitivity of the construction and case assignment, and that V1 can be iterated. This section builds on work begun in Tash and Sugar (2018). There we argued that in resultative (object control) constructions, the *-(i)p*-marked V1P, which describes a manner in which V2 is performed, is adjoined to V2P, headed by a verb whose meaning entails a change of state.

I will first highlight the fact that both control analyses discussed in the previous section involve a complementation relationship between V1 and V2 before showing why an analysis based on adjunction is better suited to handle the Uyghur data.

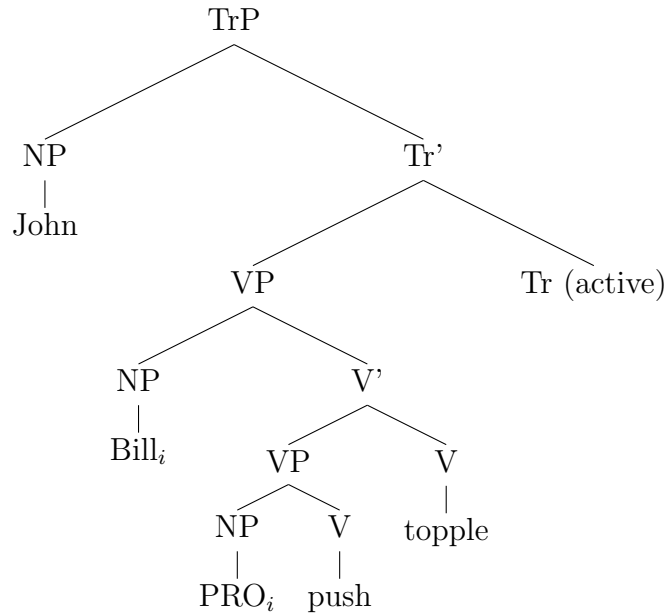
Complementation Analyses

Although I adopt the analysis in this chapter that object sharing is achieved via control, I will diverge from the analyses of Collins (1997a) and Nishiyama (1998) in proposing that control in Uyghur IASVCs arises out of an adjunction rather than complementation structure. If we replace *pro* with PRO in Collins' analysis, then the complementation analyses of Collins (1997a) and Nishiyama (1998) are essentially mirror images of one another, differing only by the head directionality parameter. The two authors' analyses are shown in (204) and (205), respectively. Collins (1997a)'s left-branching analysis reflects the SVO word order of Ewe, while Nishiyama (1998)'s right-branching analysis reflects the SOV word order of Japanese. I return to discussion of the relationship between verb order and branching parameters in section 2.5.

(204) (Collins 1997a: 491, Ewe SVCs)



(205) (Nishiyama 1998: 185, Japanese V-V compounds)



In the rest of this section, I will argue that complementation analyses do not capture the essential properties of Uyghur IASVCs. The primary data will come from the combinatory possibilities of transitive and/or intransitive verbs, case marking, and iteration of V1. Since Japanese bears a greater grammatical resemblance than Ewe to Uyghur in many regards, including inflectional patterns and word order, I will focus on Nishiyama's (1998) analysis of Japanese as the representative point of comparison.

Transitivity Combinations

In this section, I motivate an adjunction-based account of inner aspect SVCs by carefully comparing what is different in terms of argument structure between IASVCs and Japanese V-V compounds, which bear a surface resemblance to IASVCs and have been analyzed as a complementation structure. What Uyghur IASVCs and Japanese V-V compounds share in common is that when V1 selects an internal argument, it must have a controller. The key fact that sets Uyghur IASVCs apart from Japanese V-V compounds is that whenever an external argument is present, it must be shared by both verbs.

Both Japanese V-Vs and Uyghur IASVCs allow the two verbs forming a compound to match in transitivity. (206) and (207) show transitive-transitive patterns, and (208) and (209) show unaccusative-unaccusative patterns in Japanese and Uyghur, respectively.

(206) John-ga Bill-o osi-taosi-ta
 John-NOM Bill-ACC push-topple-PST

“John toppled Bill by pushing him/pushed Bill down.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 184)

- (207) Ahmat mitalni sürtüp parqirtiwettti.
 Ahmat mital-ni sürt-(i)p parqir-t-wet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC scrub-(I)P shine-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat scrubbed the metal shiny.”

- (208) Ball-ga koroge-oti-ta
 Ball-NOM roll-fall-PST
 “The ball rolled down.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 186)

- (209) Derya qattiq tonglap muzlap ketti.
 Derya qattiq tongla-(i)p muzla-(i)p ket-di-0
 River solid freeze-(I)P become.ice-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “The river froze solid.”

It is also possible for both V1 and V2 to be unergative in Uyghur. I do not have relevant data for Japanese.

- (210) U duduqlap sözlidi.
 U duduqla-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stutter-(I)P speak-PST-3
 “(S)he spoke in a stuttering way.”

The pattern in which V1 is unaccusative and V2 transitive is widely productive in Japanese. In such cases, V1 and V2 share a theme, but the subject is only the agent of V2. This pattern is exemplified in (211), where *huki* ‘boil over’ is an unaccusative verb but *kobosi* ‘spill’ is transitive. This pattern is not possible in Uyghur. (212a) shows that it is ungrammatical to combine an unaccusative V1 with a transitive V2. (212b) shows that the unaccusative verb becomes a grammatical match for a transitive verb with the addition of causative morphology to derive a transitive verb, and the verb describing a manner should be V1.

- (211) John-ga soup-o huki-kobosi-ta
 John-NOM soup-ACC boil.over-spill-PST
 “The soup boiled over and John spilled it” [John spilled the soup by boiling it over]. (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 193 cf. Matsumoto 1996: 213)

- (212) a. *U mengzini qizirip girim qildi.
 U mengz-i-ni qizar-(i)p girim qil-di-0
 3SG cheek-3.POSS-ACC redden-(I)P makeup do-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he/they painted their cheeks red.”
- b. U mengzini girim qilip qizartiwal-di.
 U mengz-i-ni girim qil-(i)p qizar-t-iwal-di-0
 3SG cheek-3.POSS-ACC makeup do-(I)P redden-CAUS-BEN-PST-3
 “(S)he/they painted their cheeks red.”

The transitive-unaccusative pattern is rarer and more complicated. In Japanese as well as Uyghur, the pattern is allowed only when the theme of V2 is the object of V1 but no agent is present. The only overt argument is the shared theme, promoted to nominative subject position in the absence of an external argument.

- (213) a. Coat-ga ki-kuzure-ta
 Coat-NOM wear-get.out.of.shape-PST
 “The coat was worn and got out of shape.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 189)
- b. *John-ga coat-o ki-kuzure-ta
 John-NOM coat-ACC wear-get.out.of.shape-PST

The same pattern is shown for Uyghur in (214a). The (unmarked) nominative subject is the shared theme ‘cheek’. (214b) shows that when an agent is the nominative subject and ‘cheek’ is an accusative object, then the sentence becomes ungrammatical. However, I will give evidence on page 104 that (214a) is not actually an IASVC in Uyghur.

- (214) a. Uning mengzi girim qilip qizirip ketti.
 U-ning mengz-i girim qil-(i)p qizar-(i)p ket-di-0
 3SG-GEN cheek-3.POSS makeup do-(I)P redden-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Their/her/his cheeks turned red by makeup.”
- b. *U mengzini girim qilip qizirip ketti.
 U mengz-i-ni girim qil-(i)p qizar-(i)p ket-di-0
 3SG cheek-3.POSS-ACC make-up do-(I)P redden-(I)P leave-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he/they turned their cheeks red by makeup.”

When V1 is transitive and V2 is unergative in Japanese, the two verbs share an external rather than internal argument.

- (215) John-ga kaban-o moti-sat-ta
 John-NOM bag-ACC hold-leave-PST
 “John left with a bag (holding a bag).” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 191)

This construction is also possible in Uyghur, although I will argue on page 107 that examples like (216) are not IASVCs either because two syntactic events are present in the construction.

- (216) Iskender somkisini quchaghlap ketti.
 Iskender somka-i-ni quchaghla-(i)p ket-di-0
 Iskender bag-3.POSS-ACC hold-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Iskender left holding his bag.”

Uyghur IASVCs also allow V1 to be unergative when V2 is transitive.

- (217) Ahmat qolyaghliqni yighlap höl qilwetti.
 Ahmat qolyaghliq-ni yighla-(i)p höl qil-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat handkerchief-ACC cry-(I)P soggy make-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat cried his handkerchief soggy.”

This pattern, where V1-unergative and V2-transitive share a subject, is not mentioned in Nishiyama (1998). However, Tsujimura (2013) gives example (218), in which the sole argument of V1 ‘go out’ is clearly the subject rather than the object of V2 ‘to meet’. A native speaker of Japanese also reports that a sentence like (219) is acceptable, though a bit archaic.³

- (218) Taro-ga tomodati-o de-mukaeta.
 Taro-NOM friend-ACC went.out-to.meet
 “Taro went out to meet his friend.” (jpn) (Tsujimura 2013: 202)

3. The same speaker (Sho Sugita, personal communication, 5/3/2019) also reports that the following line occurs in song 4408 of the Japanese poetry anthology *Manyōshū* compiled after 759 AD (retrieved from <https://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/kairouwait08/>).

(i) Shiroy kaji no sode-wo naki-nurashi.
 White linen MOD sleeve-ACC cry-make.wet
 “(somebody) made the white linen sleeves wet by crying.” (jpn)

- (219) ?John-ga sode-o naki-nurashi-ta.
 John-NOM sleeve-ACC cry-make.wet-PST
 “John cried his sleeve wet.” (jpn)

The possible transitivity and argument sharing combinations of (apparent) inner aspect SVCs in Uyghur as compared to those of Japanese V-V compounds are summarized in Table 2.1. Rows 3 and 4 the crucial points of differences between Uyghur and Japanese, and I will argue below that they can be explained by analyzing IASVCs as being formed through adjunction rather than complementation. I place a ‘*’ next to the ✓s for Uyghur in rows 5 and 6 because I will show below that neither of these constructions are actually IASVCs.

	Uyghur	Japanese	V1	V2	Shared argument	Agent present
1	✓	✓	transitive	transitive	ext, int	V1, V2
2	✓	✓	unaccusative	unaccusative	int	–
3	✓	✓?	unergative	transitive	ext	V1, V2
4	X	✓	unaccusative	transitive	int	V2
5	*✓	✓	transitive	unaccusative	int	–
6	*✓	✓	transitive	unergative	ext	V1, V2

Table 2.1: Transitivity Combinations of Uyghur IASVCs vs. Japanese V-V Compounds

Comparing the possible transitivity combinations of Japanese and Uyghur, the unique generalization that emerges about Uyghur is that any internal argument of V1 must be shared with V2, and any external argument of V2 must be shared with V1. I will now show how an adjunction analysis can account for this generalization. The InnerAspect Phrase containing V1 lacks the functional structure to select a phonologically overt argument. Instead, it introduces an obligatorily controlled PRO argument that is interpreted as coreferential with the internal argument of V2. Adjunction of the InnerAspect Phrase below the Voice head of the main clause ensures that both verbs share an external argument.

First I address internal argument sharing. (220) is an example of a Japanese V-V compound in which V1 is unaccusative and V2 is transitive.

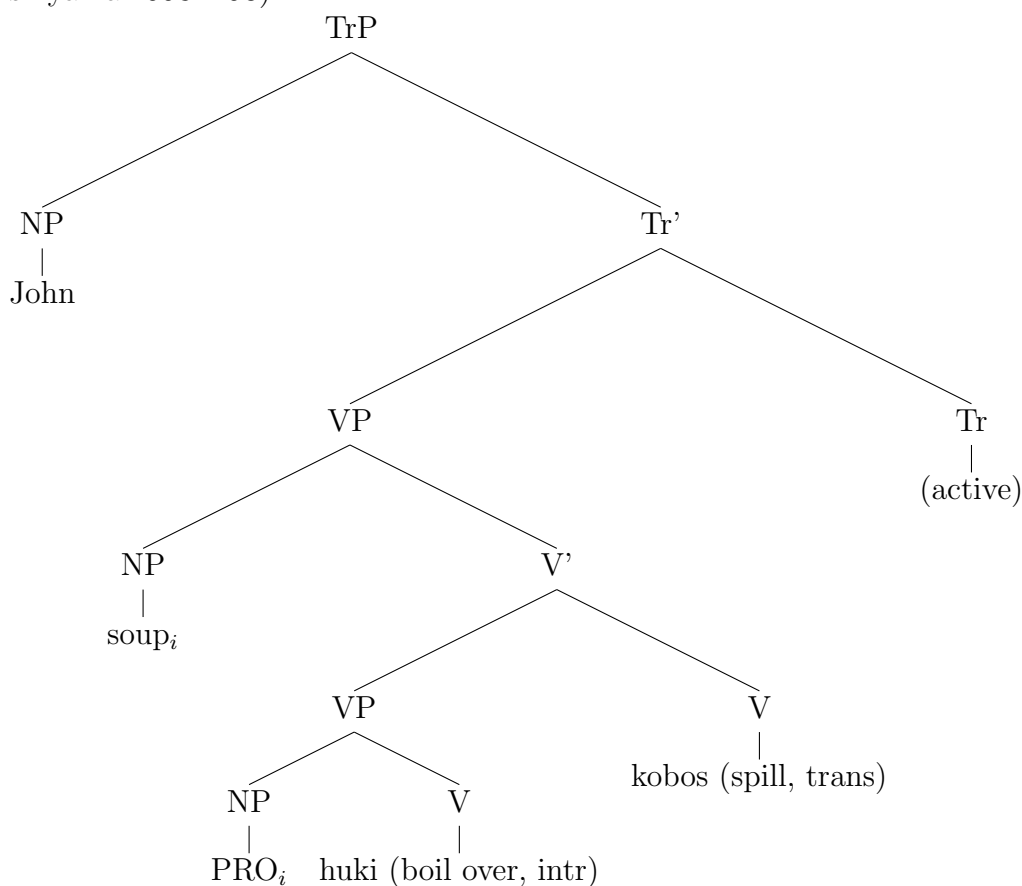
- (220) John-ga soup-o huki-kobosi-ta
 John-NOM soup-ACC boil.over-spill-PST
 “John boiled the soup over (the soup boiled over and John spilled it).” (Nishiyama 1998: 193)

It is precisely this pattern, in which the theme is shared by an unaccusative V1 and a transitive V2 as in (221a), that is disallowed in Uyghur. The sentence is rendered grammatical by causativizing V1 to derive a transitive rather than unaccusative verb as in (221b).

- (221) a. *Abliz su(ni) qaynap tashturiwetti.
 Abliz su(-ni) qayna-(i)p tash-dur-iwet-di-0
 Abliz water(-ACC) boil-(I)P overflow-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz boiled (the) water over.”
- b. *Abliz suni qaynap tashturiwetti.
 Abliz su-ni qayna-(i)p tash-dur-iwet-di-0
 Abliz water-ACC boil-(I)P overflow-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz boiled the water over.”

The acceptability of the V1-unaccusative V2-transitive pattern in Japanese is exactly what an analysis in which V2 heads the construction and V1 is its complement predicts. Nishiyama analyzes (220) as shown in (222). ‘Soup’, the object of V2, controls the PRO theme of V1 by c-command. TrP is the projection that introduces the external argument, effectively equivalent to what I call ‘VoiceP’.

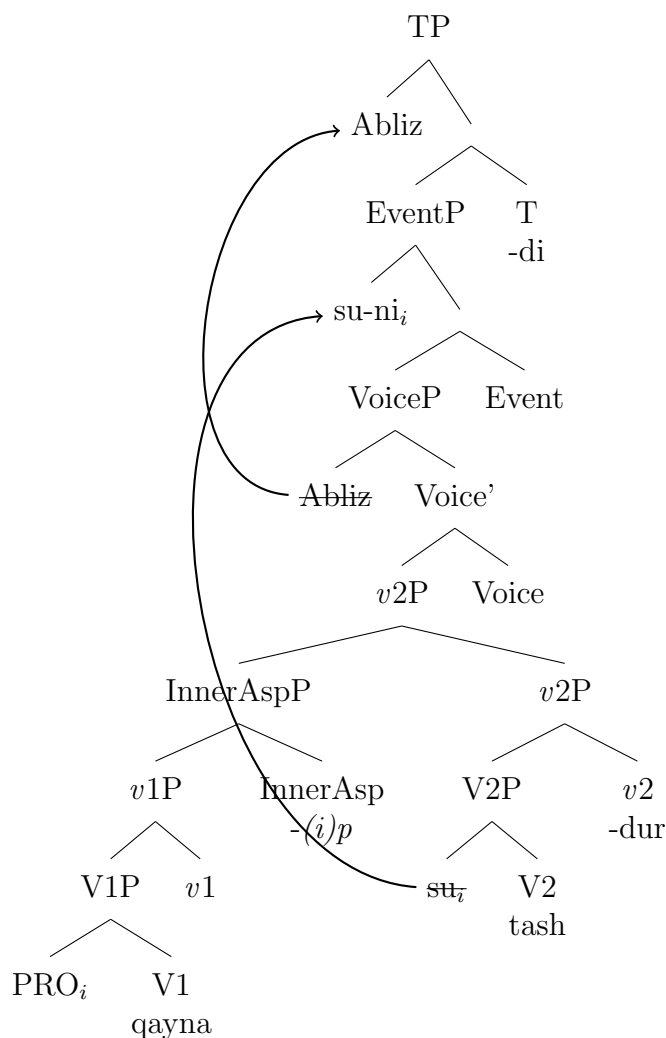
(222) (Nishiyama 1998: 193)



The difference between Uyghur and Japanese can be accounted for straightforwardly if V1

is part of an adjunct to V2 instead of being part of its complement in Uyghur. Let us suppose that the constituent containing V1 (headed by $-(i)p$), which I call InnerAspectP, can adjoin to the main clause at vP , after V2's object has merged in the root's specifier or complement. This configuration is shown in (223). Crucially, the position of adjunction is below VoiceP, the projection introducing an external argument when active (Kratzer 1996).

(223)



The derivation in (223) is ungrammatical because both verbs are merged under the same active Voice head. In order to be compatible with this Voice head, V1 must be a verb that can be associated with an external argument. However, V1 is unaccusative in this case, resulting in an argument structure mismatch. As shown in the contrast between (224) and (225), the sentence is rendered grammatical by adding the causative suffix $-t$ to ‘boil’ to derive a transitive verb. The availability of the causative marker on V1 shows that a vP layer, which can be headed by an overt causative morpheme, is present in the adjoined material.

- (224) *Abliz su(ni) qaynap tashturiwetti.
 Abliz su(-ni) qayna-(i)p tash-dur-iwet-di-0
 Abliz water(-ACC) boil-(I)P overflow-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz boiled (the) water over.”
- (225) Abliz suni qaynitip tashturiwetti.
 Abliz su-ni qayna-t-(i)p tash-dur-iwet-di-0
 Abliz water-ACC boil-CAUS-(I)P overflow-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 “Abliz boiled the water over.”

At first glance, Uyghur and Japanese are alike in allowing the V1-transitive V2-unaccusative pattern as long as no overt subject is present.

- (226) Coat-ga ki-kuzure-ta
 Coat-NOM wear-get.out.of.shape-PST
 “The coat was worn and got out of shape.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 189)
- (227) Uning mengzi girim qilip qizirip ketti.
 U-ning mengz-i girim qil-(i)p qizar-(i)p ket-di-0
 3SG-GEN cheek-3.POSS makeup do-(I)P redden-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Their/her/his cheeks turned red by makeup.”

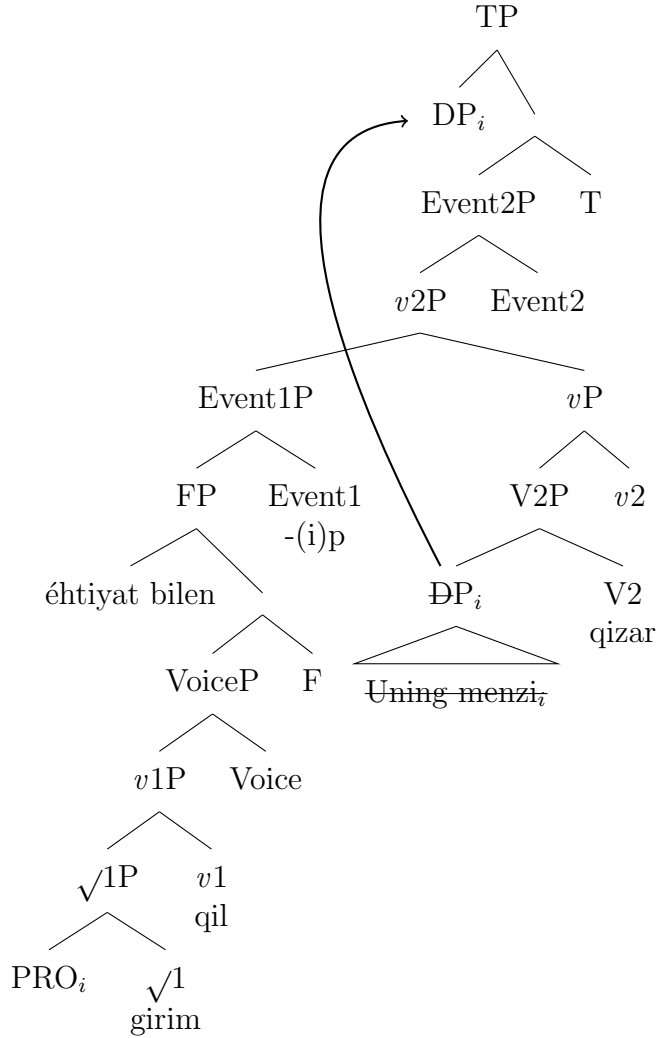
However, there is evidence that more structure is present in the projection of V1 in (227) than in IASVCs. For example, it is possible to modify the transitive V1 with an agent-oriented adverb like *ishtiyaq bilen* ‘with gusto’ without otherwise affecting the meaning of the sentence.

- (228) Uning mengzi ishtiyaq bilen girim qilip qizirip ketti.
 U-ning mengz-i ishityaq bilen girim qil-(i)p qizar-(i)p ket-di-0
 3SG-GEN cheek-3.POSS gusto with makeup do-(I)P redden-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Their/her/his cheeks turned red by applying makeup with gusto.”

The possibility of modifying V1 but not V2 with an agent-oriented adverb suggests that, unlike in IASVCs, the adjoined material is large enough to contain an active Voice head c-commanding transitive V1. I thus analyze the V1-transitive V2-unaccusative pattern as

an event SVC, to be explained in more detail in section 2.3. Because V2 is unaccusative, no active Voice head is present in the main clause, and the theme of V2 will be promoted to subject position. $-(i)p$ heads an Event projection containing an active Voice head whose external argument is unrealized, and the PRO argument of V1 is controlled by the theme of V2 after it moves to matrix subject position.

(229)



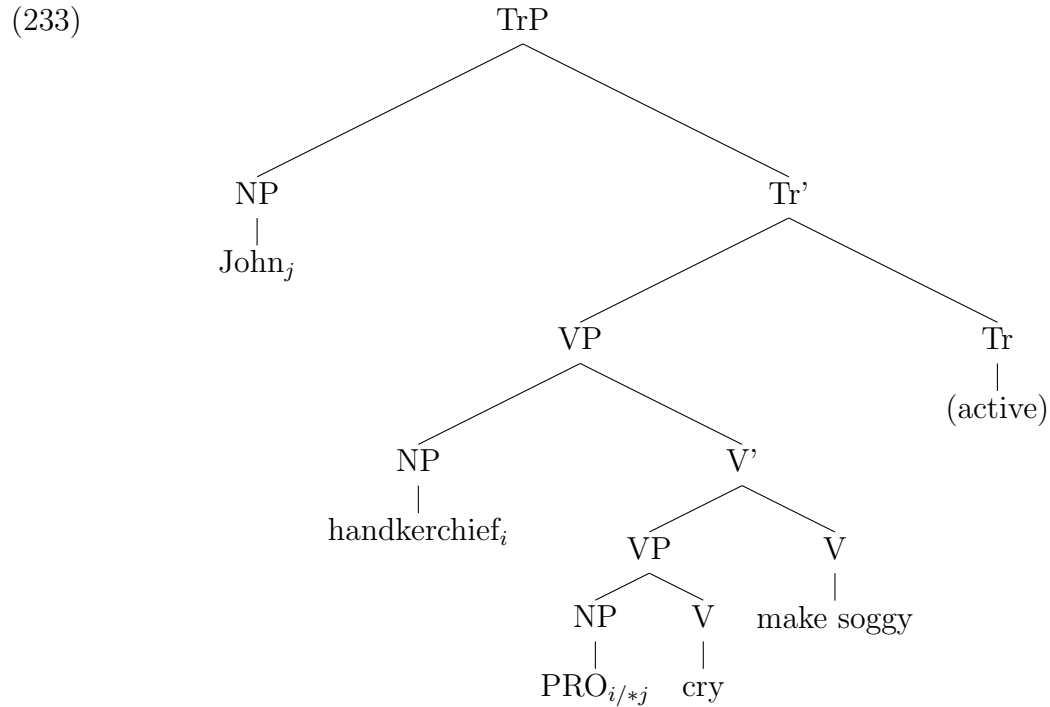
Uyghur IASVCS do allow the V1-unergative V2-transitive pattern. In (230), *Ahmat* is the subject of V1 ‘cry’ and V2 ‘make soggy’.

- (230) Ahmat qol yaghliqni yighlap höl qilwetti.
 Ahmat qol yaghliq-ni yighla-(i)p höl qil-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat hand scarf-ACC cry-(I)P soggy make-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat cried his handkerchief soggy.”

Such sentences appear to also be at least marginally acceptable in Japanese.

- (231) Taro-ga tomodati-o de-mukaeta.
 Taro-NOM friend-ACC went.out-to.meet
 “Taro went out to meet his friend.” (jpn) (Tsujimura 2013: 202)
- (232) ?John-ga sode-o naki-nurashi-ta.
 John-NOM sleeve-ACC cry-make.wet-PST
 “John cried his sleeve wet.” (jpn)

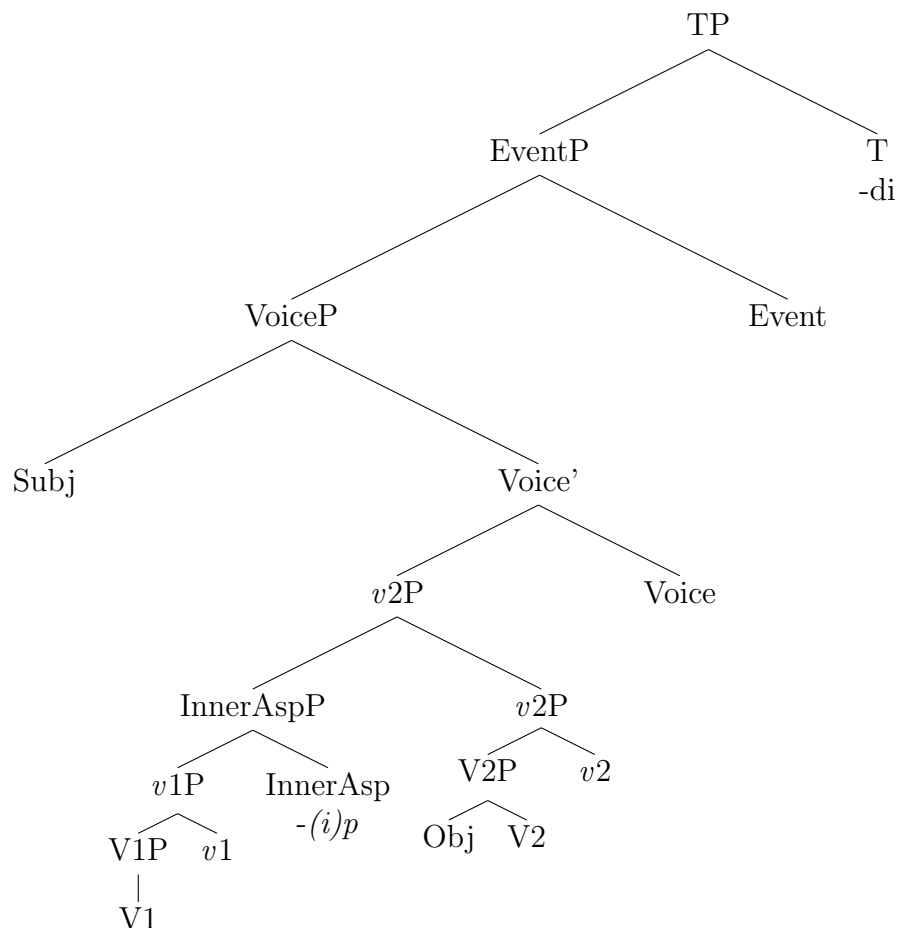
However, sentences like (231) and (232) are predicted to be ungrammatical by Nishiyama (1998). If Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) holds in his analysis, then the PRO object of V1 can only be controlled by the object of V2 but never by the subject of V2. If grammatical, the sentence resulting from the structure in (233) would at least be semantically odd because it would be interpreted as saying that the handkerchief cried.



The reason why (230) is allowed in Uyghur is explained under an adjunction analysis. Being an unergative verb, *yighla* ‘to cry’ does not select an internal argument, and the external argument merged in Spec, VoiceP is interpreted as the subject of both predicates. As mentioned earlier in this section, the analysis proposed here relies on the lexical verbs

not being responsible for the introduction of external arguments (Marantz 1981, Kratzer 1996, Pylkkänen 2008 internal). The separation between external arguments and the lexical verb has been motivated by the ability of internal but not external arguments to affect the meaning of a verb phrase among other evidence. In my analysis, lexical verbs select internal (theme) arguments, but external (agent) arguments are introduced by a separate projection which I label VoiceP.

(234)



Finally, the fact that Uyghur IASVCs do not allow the allow the V1-transitive V2-unergative combination like Japanese V-Vs do provides support for an adjunction analysis. A first glance at (236) makes it appear that Uyghur allows the same pattern as shown in Japanese example (235).

(235) John-ga kaban-o moti-sat-ta
 John-NOM bag-ACC hold-leave-PST

“John left with a bag (holding a bag).” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 191)

- (236) Iskender somkisini quchaghlap ketti.
 Iskender somka-i-ni quchaghla-(i)p ket-di-0
 Iskender bag-3.POSS-ACC hold-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Iskender left holding his bag.”

However, there is reason to believe that more than one syntactic event is present in (236). First, the object *somka* ‘bag’ is clearly an argument of V1 rather than V2 in (236), indicating that enough functional structure is present for V1 to select an overt argument. Second, it is possible to separately modify V1 and V2 with manner adverbials without affecting the interpretation of temporal overlap/precedence between holding the bag and leaving, as demonstrated in (237).

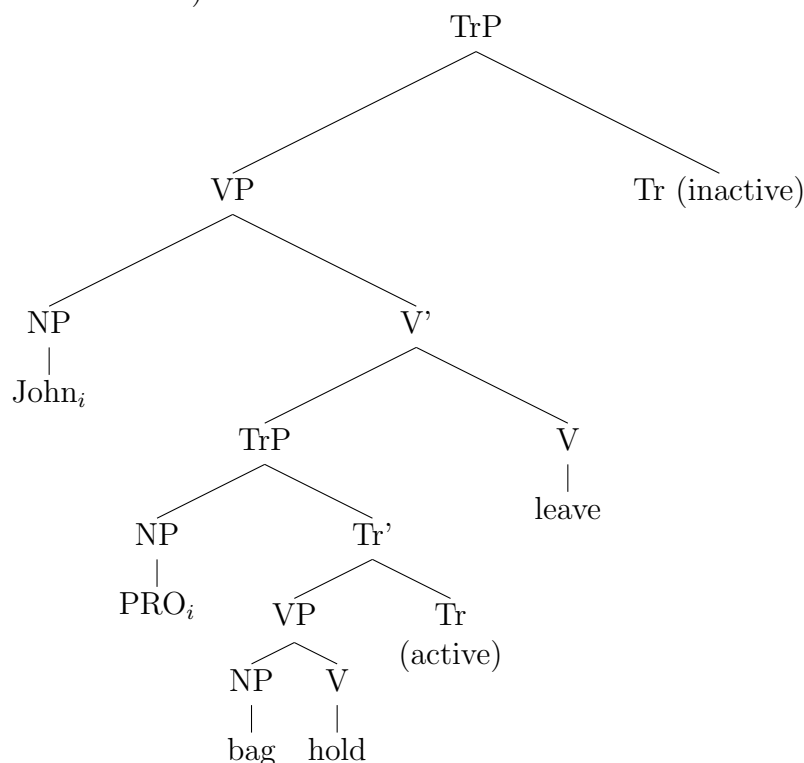
- (237) Iskender somkisini ching quchaghlap moto bilen ketti.
 Iskender somka-i-ni ching quchaghla-(i)p moto bilen ket-di-0
 Iskender bag-3.POSS-ACC tightly hold-(I)P motorcycle with leave-PST-3
 “Iskender left on a motorcycle holding his bag tightly.”

(237) shows that there is enough functional structure present for manner adverbs, which I assume occupy the specifiers of functional projections outside the verbal domain as in Cinque (1999), to separately modify each verb. Because this amount of functional structure is available, I analyze (236) as a multiple event construction, to be analyzed in section 2.4. Rather than heading an InnerAspP which adjoins to *v*2P, *-(i)p* in this case heads an Event projection that is coordinated with another Event Phrase containing V2.

Without the addition of a Voice head in the adjoining material, there is not enough structure to license the overt object of V1. The V1-transitive V2-unergative pattern is thus only possible in multiple event constructions, not inner aspect SVCs, in Uyghur.

Returning to Japanese example (235), this example is different from other Japanese examples discussed by Nishiyama because it is clearly V1 rather than V2 that selects the overt internal argument, and it is not shared with V2. To obey his interpretation of Burzio’s generalization, Nishiyama is forced to posit that V2, itself embedded under an inactive TrP, selects an active TrP rather than just VP as its complement. Thus the object of V1 is licensed because it is c-commanded by a case assigning Tr head that does not c-command V2.

(238) (Nishiyama 1998: 192)



Although Nishiyama does not use the same functional category labels as I do, the TrP in his analysis plays a similar role to VoiceP in the analysis I will give for event SVCs in section 2.3 and multiple event constructions in section 2.4.

This section has contrasted the transitivity and argument sharing possibilities of Uyghur IASVCs with those reported for Japanese V-V compounds by Nishiyama (1998). While a complementation analysis accounts for most combinatory possibilities in Japanese, it does not capture the impossibility of sharing an internal argument when an external argument is not shared in Uyghur. I showed that an analysis in which V1 is part of a phrase adjoining to a projection V2 creates the right c-command conditions to explain why the external argument of V2 and the internal argument of V1 must always be shared in Uyghur IASVCs. In the next section, I provide further evidence from case marking that this analysis is on the right track.

Case Marking

Nishiyama (1998) uses case marking of the object in Japanese V-V compounds as evidence that the compounds are headed by V2 rather than V1. The crucial evidence comes from compounds combining two verbs whose respective objects surface with different case marking when each is used outside of the compound. As shown by the respective contrast between (239) and (240), the object of the verb *ot* ‘to chase’ usually surfaces with accusative case, while the verb *tui* ‘to attach’ selects a dative object.

- (239) John-ga Mary-o ot-ta
 John-NOM Mary-ACC chase-PST
 “John chased Mary.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 177)

- (240) John-ga Bill-ni tui-ta
 John-NOM Bill-DAT attach-PST
 “John attached to Bill.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 177)

When *ot* and *tui* are combined to form a V-V compound, however, the object must take dative rather than accusative case marking.

- (241) John-ga Mary-ni/*o oi-tui-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT/*ACC chase-attach-PST
 “John chased and attached (i.e., caught up with) Mary.” (jpn) (Nishiyama 1998: 184)

For Nishiyama, the fact that the case of the object reflects the requirements of V2 rather than V1 is evidence that V2 heads the construction.

Similar evidence from case patterns show that V2 is selectionally dominant in Uyghur inner aspect SVCs just as it is in Japanese V-V compounds. The object of most Uyghur transitive verbs, like *buz* ‘to break’, surfaces with accusative rather than dative case.

- (242) Adil telewizor*ge/ni buziwetti.
 Adil telewizor-*ge/ni buz-iwet-di-0
 Adil television-*DAT/ACC break-COMPL-PST-3
 “Adil broke the television.”

There are certain verbs, however, which idiosyncratically select dative objects, like *teg* ‘to touch’ (see Sugar and Abulimiti 2019 for discussion).

- (243) Adil telewizorge/*ni tegdi.
 Adil telewizor-ga/*ni teg-di-0
 Adil television-DAT/*ACC touch-PST-3
 “Adil touched the television.”

When the two verbs form an inner aspect SVC with *-(i)p*, the case of the object is the same as if the object were only an argument of V2. Thus the object in (244) is accusative rather than dative.

- (244) Adil telewizor*ge/ni tégip buziwetti.
 Adil telewizor-*ga/ni teg-(i)p buz-iwet-di-0
 Adil television-*DAT/ACC touch-(1)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 “Adil broke the television by touching it.”

Another example is shown below. The verb *köyün* means ‘to care for’ and selects a dative object as shown in (245), but the object of the verb *baq* ‘to raise’ takes accusative case as shown in (246). Once again, the argument in the IASVC formed by the combination of the two verbs must be accusative, as shown in (247).

- (245) Sizge/*ni bek köyünimen.
 Siz-ga/*ni bek köyün-i-men
 2SG.FORM-DAT/*ACC very care.for-NPST-1SG
 “I really care for you.”

- (246) Iskender bu balini/*gha béqiwatidu.
 Iskender bu bala-ni/*ga baq-iwat-i-du
 Iskender DEM child-ACC/*DAT raise-PROG-NPST-3
 “Iskender is raising this child.”

- (247) Iskender bu balini/*gha köyünüp béqiwatidu.
 Iskender bu bala-ni/*ga köyün-(i)p baq-iwat-i-du
 Iskender DEM child-ACC/*DAT care.for-(1)P raise-PROG-NPST-3
 “Iskender is raising this child in a caring way.”

As discussed extensively in the last section, it is V2 rather than V1 that selects the overt object in Uyghur, as it is in Japanese according to Nishiyama (1998). I have also established that V1, unless unergative, selects a PRO internal argument because the functional structure necessary to assign case to this internal argument is lacking, and because the InnerAspect Phrase containing V1 is treated as a predicate of the main clause. However, I interpret the patterns from Uyghur discussed in this section as evidence that the projection containing V1 adjoins to the main clause containing V2, rather than being part of the complement of V2.

In addition to case of the object never reflecting the idiosyncratic assignment of V1 when relevant, there is another piece of evidence from case marking that favors an adjunction rather than complementation analysis of IASVCs which I call the Marked Object Requirement. I argue that the Marked Object Requirement reflects the need of V1's PRO argument to be controlled, and that the object of V1 can only control PRO after moving to a derived position because PRO is part of an adjunct to *v*2P. As mentioned in the basic grammar description of Uyghur in chapter 1, specific objects in Uyghur overt accusative case marking, while non-specific objects are bare.

- (248) a. Maqale yazdim.
 Maqale yaz-di-m
 Article write-PST-1SG
 "I wrote an article."
 b. Maqalini yazdim.
 Maqale-ni yaz-di-m
 Article-ACC write-PST-1SG
 "I wrote the article."

Crucially, it has been argued extensively that marked objects surface in a structurally superior position to unmarked objects in Turkic languages (e.g. Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Aygen 2007 for discussion of this fact in Turkish). This can be demonstrated in Uyghur by comparing their position to manner adverbs. (249) shows that marked objects obligatorily precede the agent-oriented manner adverbial *qesten* 'intentionally', while unmarked objects obligatorily follow the same adverb.

- (249) a. Xemit chay*(ni) qesten ichti.
 Xemit chay-*(ni) qesten ich-di-0
 Xemit tea-ACC intentionally drink-PST-3
 "Xemit intentionally drank the tea."
 b. Xemit qesten chay(*ni) ichti.
 Xemit qesten chay(*-ni) ich-di-0
 Xemit intentionally tea-ACC drink-PST-3
 "Xemit intentionally drank tea." (adapted from Major and Yakup 2015)

This fact becomes relevant in this chapter because the object of an inner aspect SVC must receive overt accusative marking, even when it is non-specific.

- (250) Her küni tamlar*(ni) boyap qizartiwetti.
 Her kün-i tam-lar*(-ni) boya-(i)p qizar-t-iwet-di-0
 Every day-3.POSS wall-PL-ACC paint-(1)P redder-CAUS-COMPL-PST-3
 “(S)he/they painted walls red every day.”

I state this generalization as the Marked Object Requirement.

- (251) **Marked Object Requirement:** An object shared by two verbs in an inner aspect SVC must be overtly case-marked.

One may suspect that the obligatory presence of the *-ni* suffix on the non-specific object in examples like (250) is triggered by the *-iwet* suffix following V2. *-iwet* is generally used in inner aspect SVCs which express a resultative meaning because it indicates that the action of the verb is applied to the entirety of the object (Tömür 2003, Tash and Sugar 2018). However, (252) shows that the *-iwet* suffix following a single verb does not necessarily require *-ni*-marking of a non-specific object.

- (252) Ötken yili her hepte bir parche maqale yéziwettim.
 Öt-gan yil-i her hepte bir parche maqale yaz-iwet-di-m
 Pass-REL year-3.POSS every week one CL article write-COMPL-PST-1SG
 “Last year I wrote an article every week.”

Furthermore, the Marked Object Requirement holds even when *-iwet* is not added to V2.

- (253) Iskender her küni mital*(ni) urup tüzliði.
 Iskender her kün-i mital*(-ni) uru-(i)p tüzle-di-0
 Iskender every day-3.POSS metal*(-ACC) hit-(1)P flatten-PST-3
 “Iskender hammered metal flat every day.”

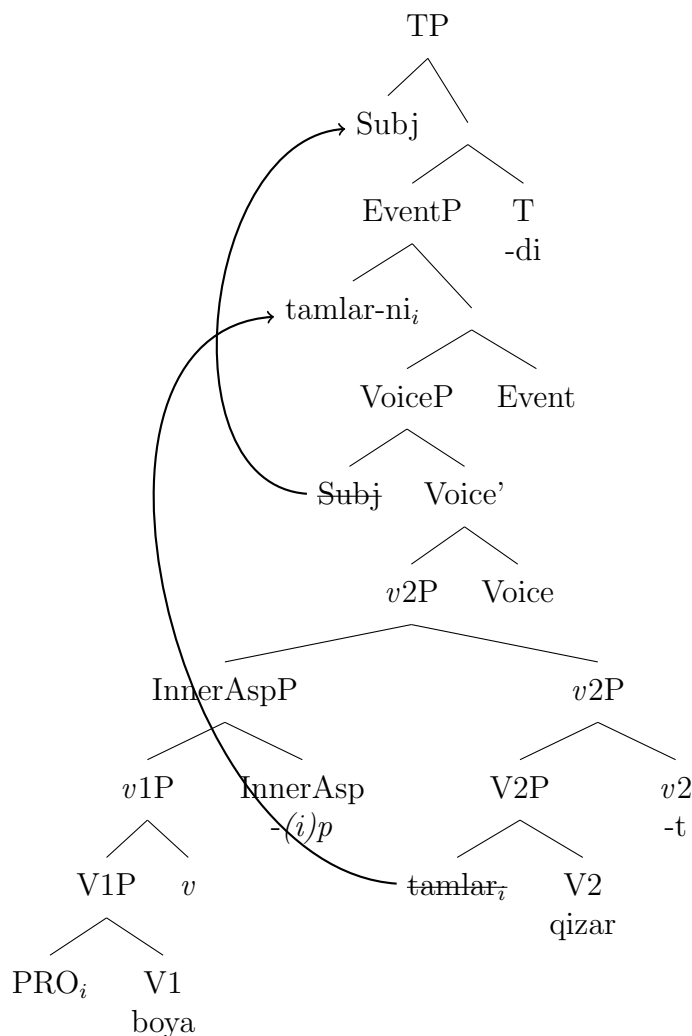
Instead, I propose that the Marked Object Requirement is due to the need for the overt object selected by V2 to control the PRO object of V1. If V1 is part of a phrase that adjoins to *v2P*, then the object of V2 can only c-command the object of V1 by moving to the specifier of a higher projection.

I follow Kornfilt (1984) and others in assuming that overtly marked objects in Uyghur, as in other Altaic languages, move to the specifier of a higher functional head. In this position, they are either assigned overt accusative case by a functional head or receive accusative as a dependent case by being in the same domain as the subject *a la* Marantz (2000). Movement is necessary for specific objects to escape nuclear scope in the sense of

Diesing (1991), but specificity is not the only possible driver of movement. The reason why the object of V2 must move to a higher position in an IASVC, I propose, is because only in this position can it c-command and thus control the object of V1. Failing to move will result in an ungrammatical derivation in which the object of V1 is uncontrolled.

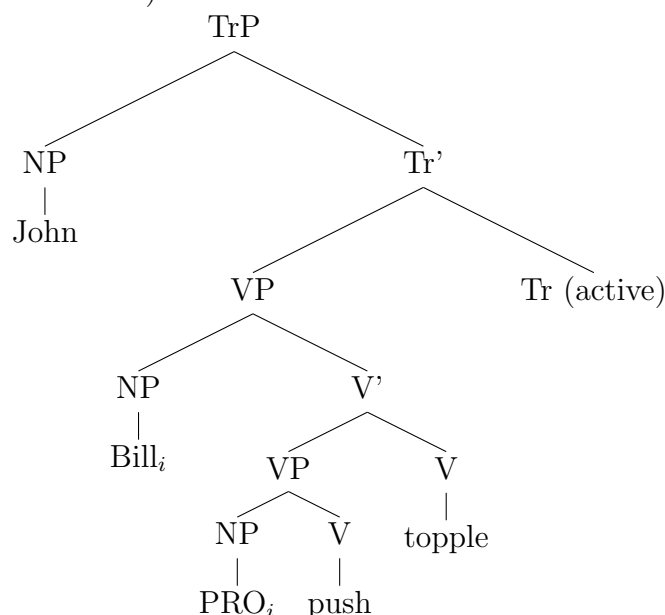
Consider the analysis given in (254), in which V1 adjoins to V2 after V2's object has been base-merged. Only by moving from its base position to its derived position (which I consider to be Spec, EventP, as argued in chapter 1) can the object selected by V2 c-command the PRO object of V1. It is the need of V1's PRO argument to be controlled, I propose, that derives the Marked Object Requirement.

(254)



Crucially, this analysis is only possible if V1 adjoins to V2 rather than being selected by V2's complement. Consider a complementation structure like that of Nishiyama (1998).

(255) (Nishiyama 1998: 185)



Under this analysis or any analysis in which the two verbs are in a complementation relationship, the object c-commands the PRO object of V2 from its base position, predicting that an inner aspect SVC with an unmarked object should be grammatical, contrary to fact in Uyghur.

The fact that object case is realized as if V2 were the only verb in the construction, and that accusative objects must be overtly case-marked, motivate an analysis of inner aspect SVCs in which the phrase containing V1 adjoins to the main clause containing V2 rather than being merged as its complement.

Iteration of V1

A crucial difference between adjunction and complementation is that adjunction by definition is optional and can be iterative, while a complement stands in a one-to-one relationship with the head that selects it. Thus while an English predicate may be modified by multiple adjuncts as in (256), (257) shows that a monotransitive verb may only take one complement.

(256) I deliberately slowly quietly opened the door at midnight with one hand. (eng)

(257) *I opened the door the window. (eng)

The iterability of V1 has been used to argue for its adjunct status in resultative or inner aspect SVCs in Mongolian (Shibagaki 2011) and Korean (Sells 1998, Shim and Den Dikken 2007) among other typologically similar languages.

In Uyghur, it is possible for multiple *-(i)p*-marked phrases to precede the finite verb phrase. In (258) and (259), the verbs *uru* ‘to pound’ and *bas* ‘to press’ respectively modify the final verb *tüzle* ‘to flatten’, describing the manner of flattening the metal. When both ‘pound’ and ‘press’ are suffixed with *-(i)p* in the same sentence, then both verbs are interpreted as modifying V2 in (260).

- (258) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pounded the metal flat.”

- (259) Ahmat mitalni bésip tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni bas-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC press-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pressed the metal flat.”

- (260) Ahmat mitalni urup bésip tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p bas-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P press-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pounded and pressed the metal flat (flattened it by pounding and pressing).”

One may wonder whether the two *-(i)p*-marked verbs in (260) are actually covertly coordinated. If that were the case, then the coordinated phrases could in principle either be adjoined to the projection of V2 or be the complement of V2. There is reason to believe that ‘pound’ and ‘press’ are not coordinated with each other in (259), though. It is possible to insert the overt verbal coordination marker *hem* ‘and’ between ‘pound’ and ‘press’, as shown in (261). Doing so, however, changes the meaning of the sentence such that pounding the metal and pressing the metal flat are conceived as two separate actions, only pressing but not pounding being the direct way in which the subject flattened the metal.

- (261) Iskender mitalni urup hem bésip tüzliwetti.
 Iskender mital-ni uru-(i)p hem bas-(I)P tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Iskender metal-ACC hit-(I)P and press-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Iskender pounded the metal and pressed it flat.”

The fact that (261), with a coordination marker between two V1s, is a multiple event construction (formed by coordination of two Event Phrases, one of which is itself an IASVC) rather than an IASVC is confirmed by the ability to modify each conjunct with a separate temporal adverbial. That is, the temporal adverbial *chüshte* ‘at noon’ modifies the act of hammering the metal at noon, while the temporal adverbial *chüshtin kéyin* ‘in the afternoon’ modifies the act of pressing it flat in (262).

- (262) Iskender mitalni chüshte urup hem chüshtin kéyin bésip
 Iskender mital-ni chüsh-da uru-(i)p hem chüsh-din kéyin bas-(I)P
 Iskender metal-ACC noon-LOC hit-(I)P and noon-ABL after press-(I)P
 tüzliwetti.
 tüzle-iwet-di-0
 flatten-COMPL-PST-3

“Iskender pounded the metal at noon and pressed it flat in the afternoon.”

Since overtly coordinating two *-(i)p*-suffixed V1s changes the meaning of the sentence, it stands to reason that V1 and V2 are not coordinated when an overt coordinator is absent. The fact that multiple V1s may describe the manner of V2 thus supports a structure in which material containing V1 adjoins to a position above V2 rather than being selected as V2’s complement. I consider (261) to be an example of the multiple event construction, which I will discuss in section 2.4.

Summary

This section has used argument structure, case marking and iteration as evidence to motivate an analysis of IASVCs in which V1 is contained in a projection which adjoins to the main clause, contra complementation analyses of SVCs or V-V compounds like Collins (1997a) or Nishiyama (1998).

2.2.4 Section Summary: Analysis of Inner Aspect SVCs

The previous subsections demonstrated that inner aspect SVCs consist of a single clause in which V1 selects PRO as its internal argument and adjoins as part of a larger phrase to the main clause which contains V2. Putting these points together, I derive a Uyghur inner aspect SVC like (263) as shown in (264).

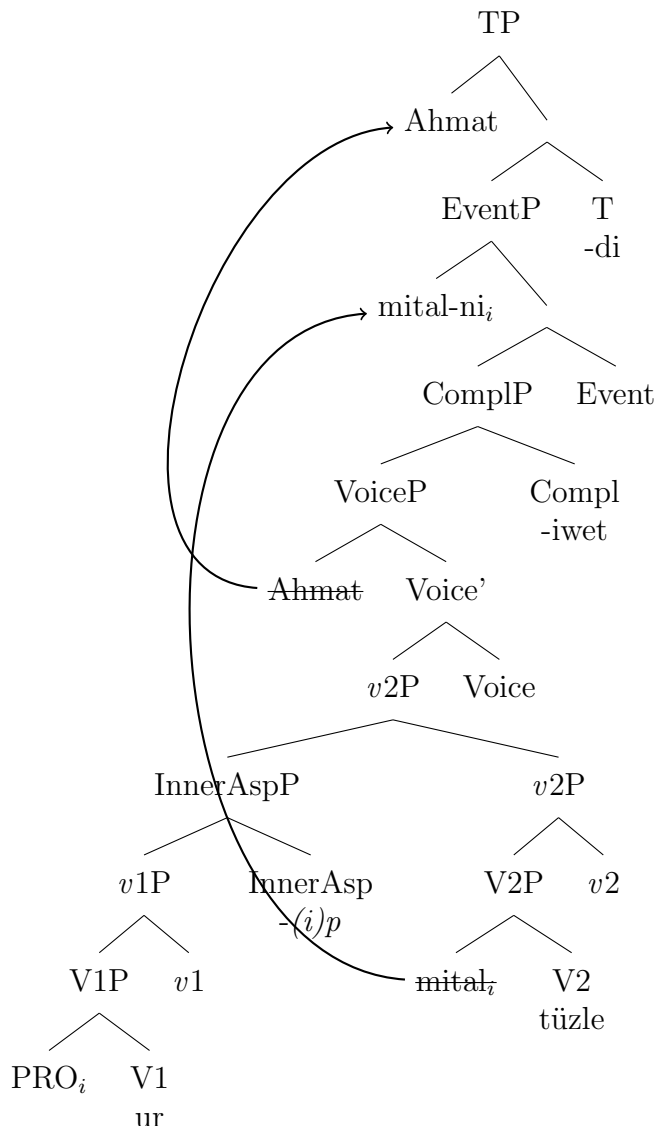
The derivation in (264) can be thought of as the derivation of a sentence with a single (in this case transitive) verb with the addition of an adjunct to *vP*. The adjunct containing V1 is an InnerAspP headed by *-(i)p*. Although it contains enough functional structure to introduce a causative morpheme, it lacks the functional structure necessary to introduce an external argument or assign case to an internal argument. An adjunct InnerAsp Phrase is also non-finite, and enters a predication relationship which requires agreement with the

main clause (Williams 1980, 1992, Landau 2016). As such, the internal argument of V1 is PRO, a ‘minimal pronoun’ with a D feature but no valued phi features (Kratzer 2009, Landau 2016), that must be bound by the overt object of V2 once the latter raises to its derived position in Spec, EventP. The external argument introduced in VoiceP is interpreted as an argument of both verbs c-commanded by the Voice head. External argument sharing through adjunction below the point where the external argument is base-merged is also assumed in adjunction-based analyses of SVCs like Larson (1991), Law and Veenstra (1992), Law (1996) and Veenstra (2000) among others.⁴

- (263) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

4. The adjunction-based analyses cited above analyze V2 rather than V1 as being part of the adjunct. I believe this is a mirror effect because the languages analyzed in these studies have SVO word order instead of SOV like Uyghur.

(264)



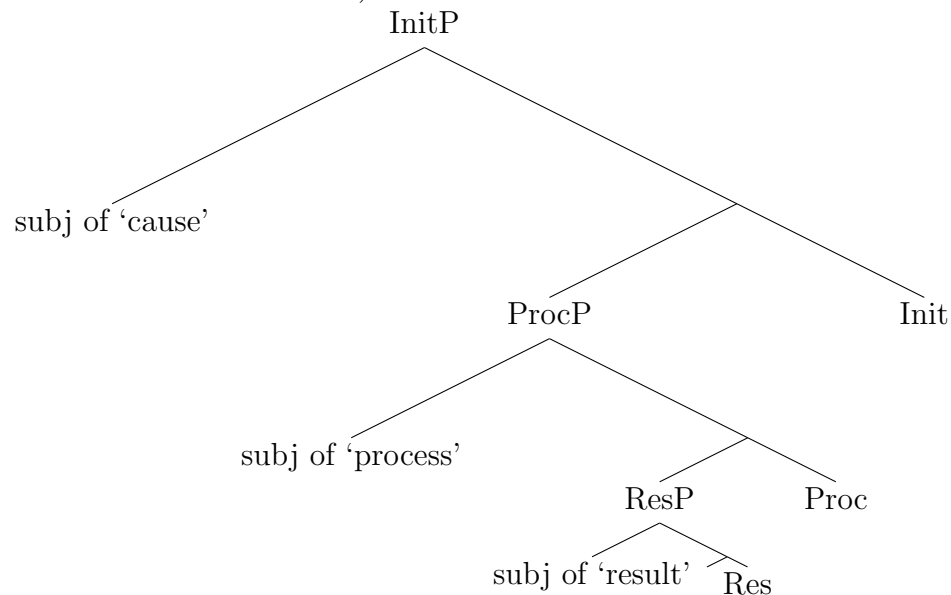
Recall from my definitions of EventP and InnerAspectP in chapter 1 that the former but not the latter includes a position for manner adverbs to be merged. My analyzing the $-(i)p$ -marked projection of V1 as InnerAspP thus predicts that it should not be possible for a manner adverb to modify V1 without also modifying V2. (265) shows that this is indeed the case. The manner adverb *téz* ‘quickly’ modifies the act of pounding metal flat, but cannot modify the act of pounding to the exclusion of flattening.

- (265) Ahmat mitalni téz urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni téz uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC quickly pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3

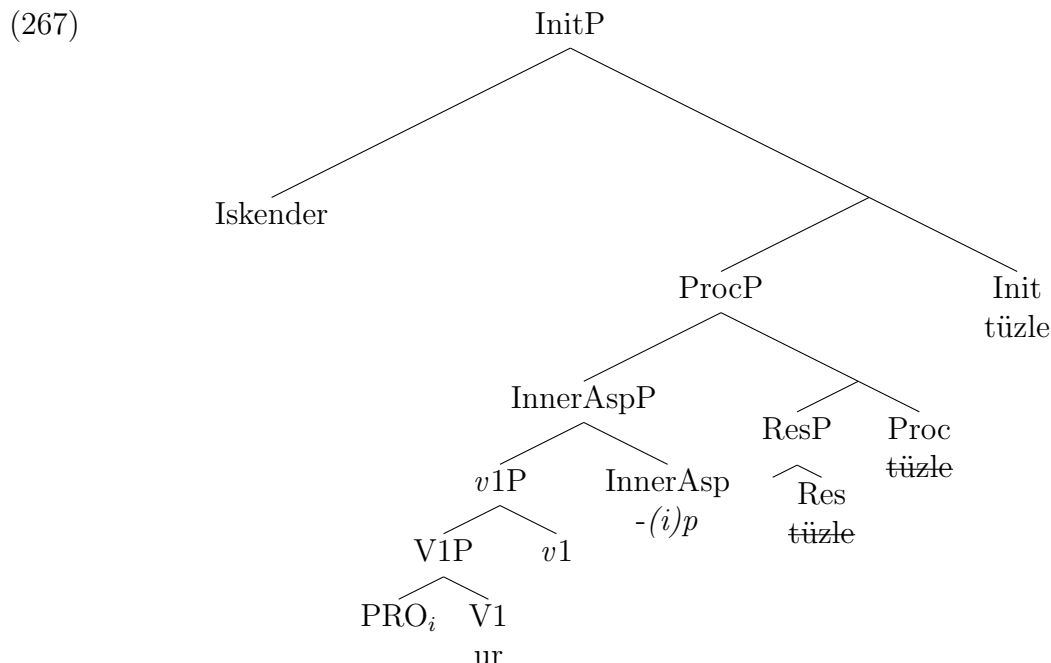
“Ahmat quickly pounded the metal flat.” (*“quickly pounded the metal and flattened it”)

One intriguing alternative to the adjunction analysis proposed here would be to argue that the phrasal material containing V1 is actually the specifier of a Process phrase in the sense of Ramchand (2008). As described in chapter 1, Ramchand segments the verbal domain into Init(iation) (aka cause), Proc(ess) and Res(ult) components. Verbs can be merged in one or more of these heads, depending on which elements of event structure are present.

(266) (based on Ramchand 2008: 46)



Given that V1 elaborates on the process by which the action denoted by V2 is performed, one might analyze V1 as filling the specifier of the process phrase as in (267). Given that V2 in (263) both takes an agentive subject and expresses a resultative meaning, it should move through all three verbal heads in (267).



However, there are three issues with an analysis like (267). First, analyzing the $-(i)p$ -phrase containing V1 as a specifier does not explain the iteration data seen in section 2.2.3.

Second, in Ramchand's (2008) analysis, the specifier of each verbal projection is a nominal argument. The specifier of ProcP is claimed to be the 'subject of process' also known as the Undergoer of the event being assembled. Allowing the specifier to be a non-nominal category headed by $-(i)p$ is an otherwise unmotivated and significant change to Ramchand's proposal. Third and related to the second point, if the specifier of ProcP is filled in (267), then it is unclear where the object of V2 is merged. The object could first be merged in Spec, ResP since it is the resultee argument of the sentence, but it should also move to Spec, ProcP in Ramchand's system since it is the undergoer of the event as well.

A solution to the above problems would be to say that the $-(i)p$ -phrase containing V1 adjoins to the ProcP projection rather than filling its specifier. This is effectively what I have argued in this section, although I remain agnostic about Ramchand's labels for the projections comprising the verbal domain.

With an adjunction-based analysis of inner aspect SVCs in place, I next turn next to constructions in which a larger phrasal category is adjoined.

2.3 Event SVCs

Event SVCs are recognizable from the fact that each verb selects a distinct internal argument, but the internal argument of V2 precedes the internal argument of V1 in surface order. In (268), for example, *derize* 'window' is the theme of V2 *chaq* 'to break', but both V1 *at* 'to throw' and its theme *tash* 'stone' linearly intervene between 'window' and

‘break’. The same pattern is exemplified in (269), where V1 *ghinshi* ‘to hum’ and its theme *naxsha* ‘song’ intervene linearly between the optional goal *mektep* ‘school’ of V2 and V2 *mang* ‘to walk’. The subject is obligatorily shared in all cases.

- (268) Shox bala derizini tash étip chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 “The naughty child broke the window by throwing a stone. (modified from ANKI file)”

- (269) Iskender (mektepke) naxsha ghingship mangdi.
 Iskender (mektep-ga) naxsha ghingshi-(i)p mang-di-0
 Iskender school-DAT song hum-(I)P walk-PST-3
 “Iskender hummed a song while walking (to school).”

Native speakers perceive these constructions as describing a single eventuality on the whole, but there is a clear sense in which there is another distinct event or action that forms part of the greater main event. In (268), for example, throwing the stone can be described as a separate event from breaking the window, but it also describes the manner by which the window was broken. In (269), humming a song is an incidental event that occurs at the same time as the subject is walking to school.

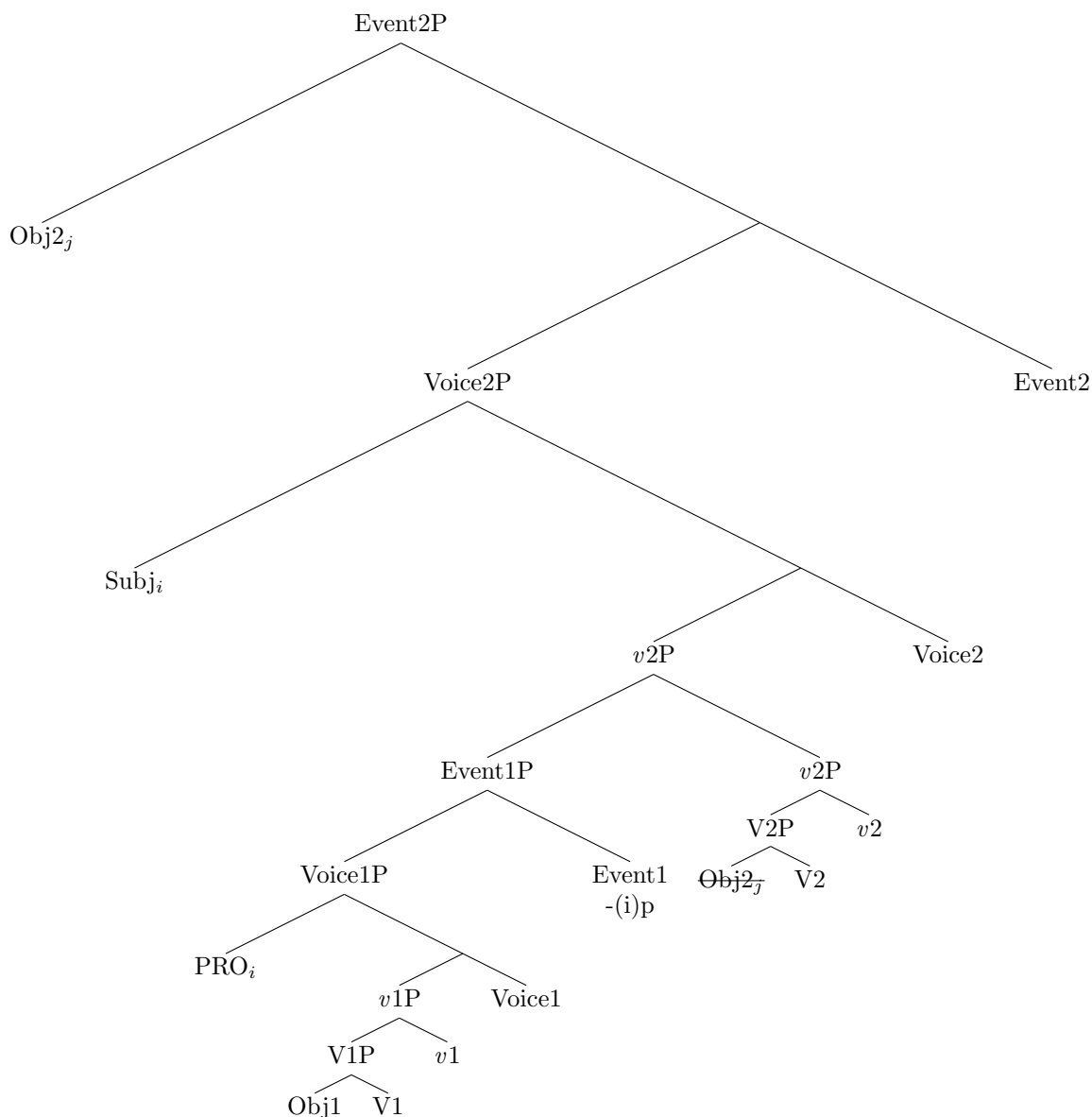
Not only can V1 select a separate internal argument from V2 in this construction; the object of V1 can be overtly case-marked if context requires that it be specific.

- (270) Shox bala derizini qolidiki tashni étip
 Shox bala derize-ni qol-i-diki tash-ni at-(i)p
 Naughty child window-ACC hand-3.POSS-REL stone-ACC throw-(I)P
 chiqiwetti.
 chaq-iwet-di-0
 break-COMPL-PST-3
 “The naughty child broke the window by throwing the stone in their/her/his hand.”

- (271) Iskender mektepke u naxshini ghingship mangdi.
 Iskender mektep-ga u naxsha-ni ghingshi-(i)p mang-di-0
 Iskender school-DAT DEM song-ACC hum-(I)P walk-PST-3
 “Iskender hummed that song while walking to school.”

I analyze V1 and its argument as comprising a complete syntactic event (i.e. an Event Phrase), headed by $-(i)p$, adjoining to the main clause which contains V2. In other words, the only difference between this construction and inner aspect SVCs is that the adjoining material is an Event Phrase rather than an InnerAsp Phrase. Recalling the discussion in the previous chapter, I consider EventP to be a functional projection selecting VoiceP as its complement. Event1P is a non-finite adjunct that enters a predication relationship with the main clause in the sense of Williams (1980), resulting in a requirement that the subject introduced in Spec, Voice1P be controlled by the subject of the main clause. My analysis, shown in (272), not only captures the intuition that a separate event modifies a larger event; it provides the structure necessary for V1 to select a separate internal argument. The proposed structure is monoclausal in that the construction contains only one C-T layer, but bieventive because two Event Phrases are present.

(272) event SVC



I now discuss several predictions successfully made by the above analysis.

One prediction made by the analysis in (272) is that event SVCs, unlike IASVCs, should allow the V1-unaccusative V2-transitive combination. (273) shows that this is indeed the case. Under my analysis, (273) is grammatical because the internal argument of V1 will be controlled by the subject of V2, but the extra non-active Voice layer adjoined to *v2P* prevents the subject of V2 from being interpreted as an external argument of V1. Recall from section 2.2.3 that the V1-unaccusative V2-transitive pattern was not grammatical in IASVCs, in which the adjunct lacks a Voice layer to prevent the external argument of V2 from being interpreted as the agent of V1.

- (273) Iskender putini yiqilip sunduruwal-di.
 Iskender put-i-ni yiqil-(i)p sun-dur-iwal-di-0
 Iskender foot-3.POSS-ACC fall-(I)P break-CAUS-BEN-PST-3
 “Iskender broke his foot by falling.”

That an extra Voice layer is present in this construction is confirmed by the fact that it is possible to separately modify V1 and V2 with different adverbials, as in (274).

- (274) Iskender putini éhtiyatsizliqtin yiqilip toluq sunduruwal-di.
 Iskender put-i-ni éhtiyatsiz-liq-din yiqil-(i)p toluq sun-dur-iwal-di-0
 Iskender foot-3.POSS-ACC careless-NMLZ-ABL fall-(I)P completely break-CAUS-BEN-PST-3
 “Iskender completely broke his foot by carelessly falling.”

Passivization of event SVCs is not revealing of their monoclausality, but my analysis can account for the passivization facts. It is not possible to passivize an event SVC unless the construction is converted into one sentence containing two parallel events as in (275). I discuss this multiple event construction in section 2.4. (276) is an attempt to passivize (268) while preserving the separation of V2 from its internal argument. Passivizing V2 is unacceptable regardless of whether V1 is in active or passive voice. (277) is another acceptable way to passivize (268), but it requires nominalizing V1 so that it forms an ablative phrase which is interpreted like a *because* clause. The subject of V1 *at* ‘to break’ is *tash* ‘stone’ (preceded by the topicalized dative *derize* ‘window’), while the subject of V2 is optionally realized as the pronoun *u* ‘it’.

- (275) Tash ét(ili)p derize chéqiwetildi.
 Tash at-il-(i)p derize chaq-iwet-il-di-0
 Stone throw-PASS-(I)P window break-COMPL-PASS-PST-3
 “The stone was thrown and the window was broken.”

- (276) *Derize tash ét(ili)p chéqiwetildi.
 Derize tash at(-il)-(i)p chaq-iwet-il-di-0
 Window stone throw(-PASS)-(I)P break-COMPL-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The window was broken by throwing a stone.”

- (277) Derizige tash étilghanliqtin (u) chéqilip ketti.
 Derize-ga tash at-il-gan-lik-din (u) chaq-il-(i)p ket-di-0
 Window-DAT stone throw-PASS-REL-NMLZ-ABL (3SG) break-PASS-(I)P leave-PST-3

“The window was broken by a stone being thrown.”

My analysis can account for the unacceptability of (276) in a straightforward fashion. If V1 is realized with passive voice like V2, then its internal argument will need to move to Spec, TP for abstract case licensing. This position is instead occupied by the theme of V2, and moving the object out of the adjunct island would be unacceptable (Ross 1967, Huang 1983). Additionally, if V1 is realized with active voice, then *derize* ‘window’ would have to be the agent that throws a rock; this also leads to unacceptability because *derize* is already theta-marked as the theme of breaking.

The event SVC shows clearly monoclausal behavior when it comes to aspect marking. In (278a), the progressive suffix *-iwat* attaches only to V2 but not to V1, yet both V1 and V2 receive a progressive reading as indicated in the translation. (278b) shows that it is not possible to attach a progressive suffix to V1. This fact is also predicted by my analysis: the adjoining material that includes V1 is not large enough to include a Prog head.

- (278) a. Iskender mektepke naxsha ghinship kétiwatidu.
 Iskender mektep-ga naxsha ghinshi-(i)p ket-iwat-i-du
 Iskender school-DAT song hum-(I)P leave-PROG-NPST-3
 “Iskender is humming while heading to school.”
- b. *Iskender mektepke naxsha ghinshiwitip kétiwatidu.
 Iskender mektep-ga naxsha ghinshi-iwat-(i)p ket-iwat-i-du
 Iskender school-DAT song hum-PROG-(I)P leave-PROG-NPST-3
 Intended: “Iskender is humming while heading to school.”

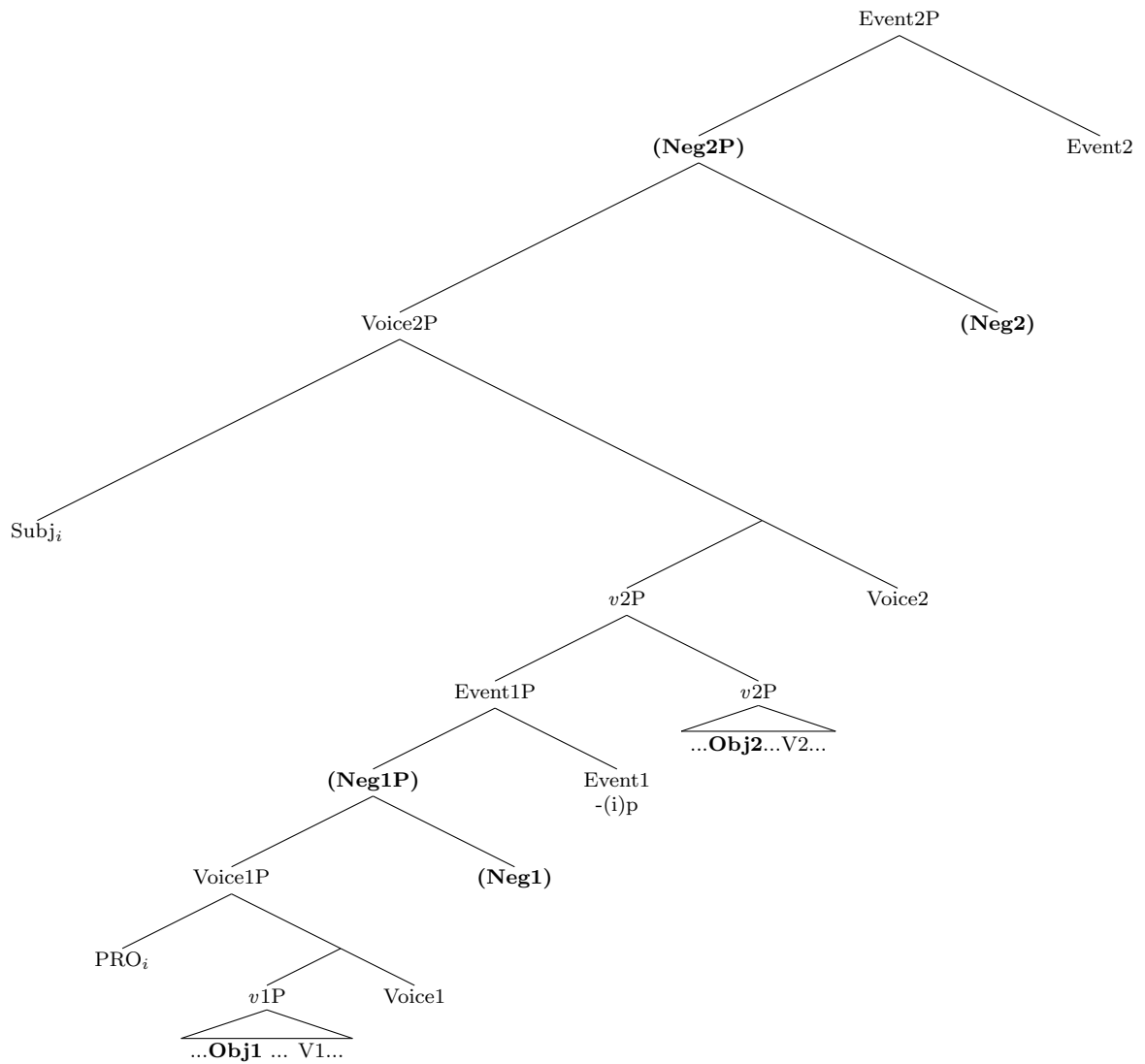
My analysis also predicts the n-word licensing facts of the construction. The paradigm in (279) illustrates that an n-word object is only licensed by negation of a verb that c-commands it. (279a) and (279b) show that negating V2 respectively licenses an n-word object of V1 or V2, although this construction is not the preferred way to express such meanings (hence the ? marking). (279c) shows that negating V1 licenses the n-word object of V1, but (279d) shows that negating V1 does not license the n-word object of V2.

- (279) a. ?Iskender héchyerge naxsha ghingship mangmaydu.
 Iskender héchyer-ga naxsha ghingshi-(i)p mang-ma-i-du
 Iskender nowhere-DAT song hum-(1)P walk-NEG-NPST-3
 “Iskender doesn’t walk anywhere while humming songs.”

- b. ?Iskender mektepke héchqandaq naxshini ghingship mangmidi.
 Iskender mektep-ga héchqandaq naxsha-ni ghingshi(i)p mang-ma-di-0
 Iskender school-DAT no.kind.of song-ACC hum-(I)P walk-NEG-PST-3
 “Iskender didn’t walk to school while humming any song.”
- c. Iskender mektepke héchbir naxshini ghingshimay mangdi.
 Iskender mektep-ga héchbir naxsha-ni ghingshi-ma-(i)p mang-di-0
 Iskender school-DAT not.any song-ACC hum-NEG-(I)P walk-PST-3
 “Iskender didn’t hum any song while walking to school.”
- d. *Iskender héchyerge naxsha ghingshimay mangdi.
 Iskender héchyer-ga naxsha ghingshi-ma-(i)p mang-di-0
 Iskender nowhere-DAT song hum-NEG-(I)P walk-PST-3
 Intended: “Iskender didn’t hum a song while walking anywhere.”

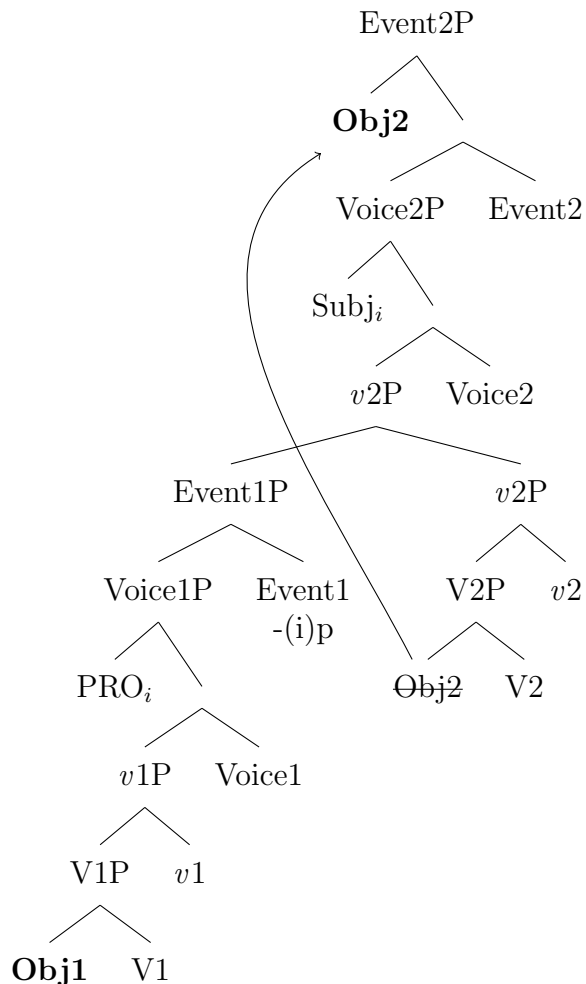
This paradigm has a simple explanation in that while negation of V2 c-commands both internal arguments, negation of V1 only c-commands the internal argument of V1.

(280)



Another crucial aspect of the analysis in (272) is that once the object of V2 moves to its derived position in Spec,EventP as shown in (281), it c-commands the object of V1.

(281)



Uyghur pronominals are subject to binding Principle B (Chomsky 1981), which states that a pronoun must be free in its domain. Interpreting domain as clause, Principle B explains why the pronoun *men* ‘me’ cannot be the object of a transitive verb when the external argument is also first person in (282a). (282b) demonstrates that the pronoun *men* is a perfectly acceptable object as long as it doesn’t co-refer with the external argument.

- (282) a. *Men méni yaxshi körimen.
 Men men-ni yaxshi kör-i-men
 1SG 1SG-ACC good see-NPST-1SG
 Intended: “I like myself.”
- b. U méni yaxshi köridü.
 U men-ni yaxshi kör-i-du
 3SG 1SG-ACC good see-NPST-3
 “(S)he/they likes me.”

(283) shows that when the object of V1 is a pronoun that is coreferential with the object of V2, the sentence is ungrammatical. A natural explanation of this fact under my analysis is that the object of V2 c-commands the object of V1 in the same clause; binding of the V1 object by the V2 object induces a Principle B violation.

- (283) *Shox bala derizini uni urup chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni u-ni uru-(I)P chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC 3SG-ACC hit-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3

Intended: “The naughty child broke the window by hitting it.”

Notice that in multiple event constructions like (284), which I show in section 2.4 involve coordination of two EventPs or TPs, it is possible for a pronoun argument of V2 to corefer with the object of V1. The contrast between these sentences shows that there is no c-command relation between the two objects in (284) because the verb phrases are coordinated, but the object of V2 c-commands the object of V1 in (283), indicating that event SVCs are not formed by coordination.

- (284) Tursun bultur roman yézip uni élan qildi.
 Tursun bultur roman yaz-(i)p u-ni élan qil-di-0
 Tursun last.year novel write-(I)P 3SG-ACC publish do-PST-3

“Tursun wrote a novel and published it last year.”

Further confirmation that event SVCs are not coordination structures comes from the fact that it is not grammatical to insert a coordination marker between V1 and V2. Movement of the object of V2 to a position that linearly precedes V1 and its object would likely violate the coordinate structure constraint (Ross 1967).

- (285) *Shox bala derizini tash étip hem chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p hem chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P and break-COMPL-PST-3

Intended: “The naughty child broke the window by throwing a stone.”

The structure in (272) also predicts that manner adverbials may scope from two different positions. Since the adjoining predicate is embedded under its own Event head, it should be possible for a manner adverb to modify only V1. It should also be possible for an adverb to scope over both verbs by modifying the event in the main clausal spine. (286) demonstrates the availability of both scope positions. When the adverb modifies the adjoining event, the sentence can mean that the child threw the rock stubbornly but did not necessarily intend to break the window. When the adverb modifies the main clause

event, the sentence means that the breaking of the window was part of the child's stubborn behavior as well. A reading in which only the breaking of the window, the event denoted by V2, was done stubbornly is unavailable.

- (286) Shox bala derizini bengwashliq bilen tash étip chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni bengwashliq bilen tash at-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stubbornness with stone throw-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 "The child (stubbornly) broke the window by (stubbornly) throwing a stone."

This section has demonstrated that an event SVC may be formed in Uyghur by adjoining an Event Phrase to a position c-commanded by the Voice head along the main clausal spine. This construction is identical to the inner aspect SVC except that in this case the adjoined material is an EventP, which contains enough functional structure to license an overt internal argument and an empty pronoun as its external argument. The next section will discuss a different type of lexical *-(i)p* construction involving coordination rather than adjunction.

2.4 Multiple Event Constructions

While event SVCs showed [Obj2 Obj1 V1 V2] word order, multiple event constructions show the pattern [Obj1 V1 (Obj2) V2]. These constructions are interpreted as describing two distinct (though usually related) events that occur either sequentially or simultaneously. Both object sharing and subject sharing are optional; V1 and its object precede V2 and its object when both objects are overt. As (289) exemplifies, each verbal projection may in turn contain a bleached V2 construction or an inner aspect SVC.

- (287) Iskender maqale yézip élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P publish do-PST-3
 "Iskender wrote and published an article."

- (288) Oghlum mektepke béríp, qizim ishqa bardi.
 Oghl-im mektep-ga bar-(i)p qiz-im ish-ga bar-di-0
 Son-1SG.POSS school-DAT go-(I)P daughter-1SG.POSS school-DAT go-PST-3
 "My son went to school, and my daughter went to work."

- (289) Ular tamaq yep bolup yataqqa qaytip keldi.
 Ular tamaq ye-(i)p bol-(i)p yataq-ga qayt-(i)p kel-di-0
 3PL food eat-(I)P be-(I)P dorm-DAT return-(I)P come-PST-3

“They finished eating and came back to the dorm.”

The object of V1 is difficult to interpret if not overt, but the object of V2 can either be overt or little *pro*, interpreted as coreferential with the object of V1.

- (290) ??
 Iskender yézip maqale élan qildi.
 Iskender yaz-(i)p maqale élan qil-di-0
 Iskender write-(I)P article publish do-PST-3

Intended: “Iskender wrote (something) and published an article.”

- (291) Iskender maqale yézip élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P publish do-PST-3

“Iskender wrote and published an article.”

- (292) Iskender maqale yézip kitab élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p kitab élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P book publish do-PST-3

“Iskender wrote an article and published a book.”

When it is pragmatically or semantically impossible to identify the second internal argument with the first, the covert *pro* object of V2 is necessarily understood as referring to a separate argument. Due to the contradictory meanings of *kel* ‘to come’ and *ket* ‘to leave’ in (293), for example, the goal of ‘leave’ is understood to be some place other than the speaker’s location in New York.

- (293) Abliz New Yorkka kélip (bashqa yerge) ketti.
 Abliz New York-ga kel-(i)p (bashqa yer-ga) ket-di-0
 Abliz New York-DAT come-(I)P other place-DAT leave-PST-3

“Abliz came to New York and left (for another place).”

Unlike with event SVCs or inner aspect SVCs, in multiple event constructions it is possible to add an overt coordination marker after $-(i)p$ without altering the truth conditions of the sentence.

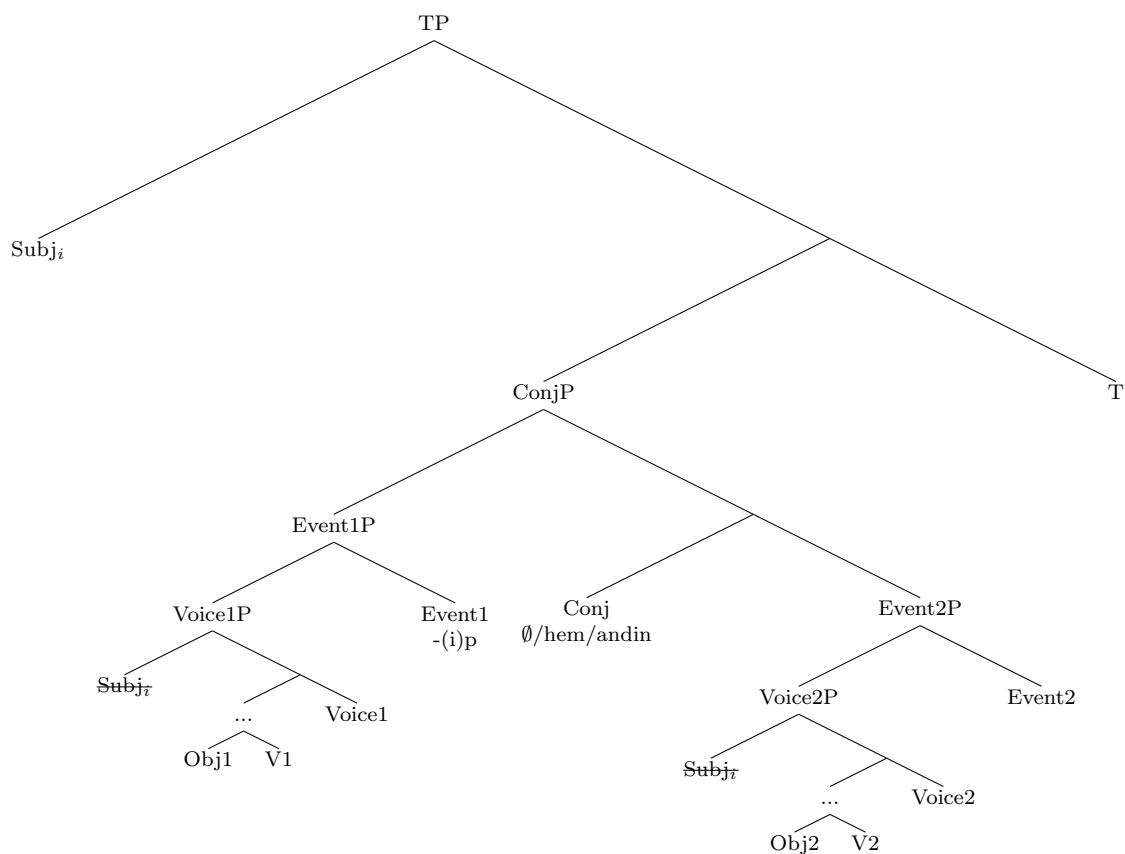
- (294) Tursun aldi bilen maqale yézip andin élan qilidu.
Tursun ald-i bilen maqale yaz-(i)p andin élan qil-i-du
Tursun before-3.POSS with article write-(I)P and.then publish do-NPST-3
“Tursun first writes an article and then publishes it.”

- (295) Abliz New Yorkka kélip (andin) ketti.
Abliz New York-ga kel-(i)p (andin) ket-di-0
Abliz New York-DAT come-(I)P and.then leave-PST-3
“Abliz came to New York and then left.”

I analyze multiple event constructions as two conjoined EventPs, or two conjoined TPs when each verb has a separate subject. I follow Benmamoun et al. (2009) in considering the two conjuncts to respectively occupy the leftward specifier and rightward complement of a ConjP, even in an otherwise head-final language like Uyghur. When two EventPs are coordinated, the first is headed by $-(i)p$ because V1 is unable to move out of the specifier to T for inflection. The subject, base-merged in Spec, Voice2P, undergoes ATB movement to its surface position in Spec, TP for licensing.⁵

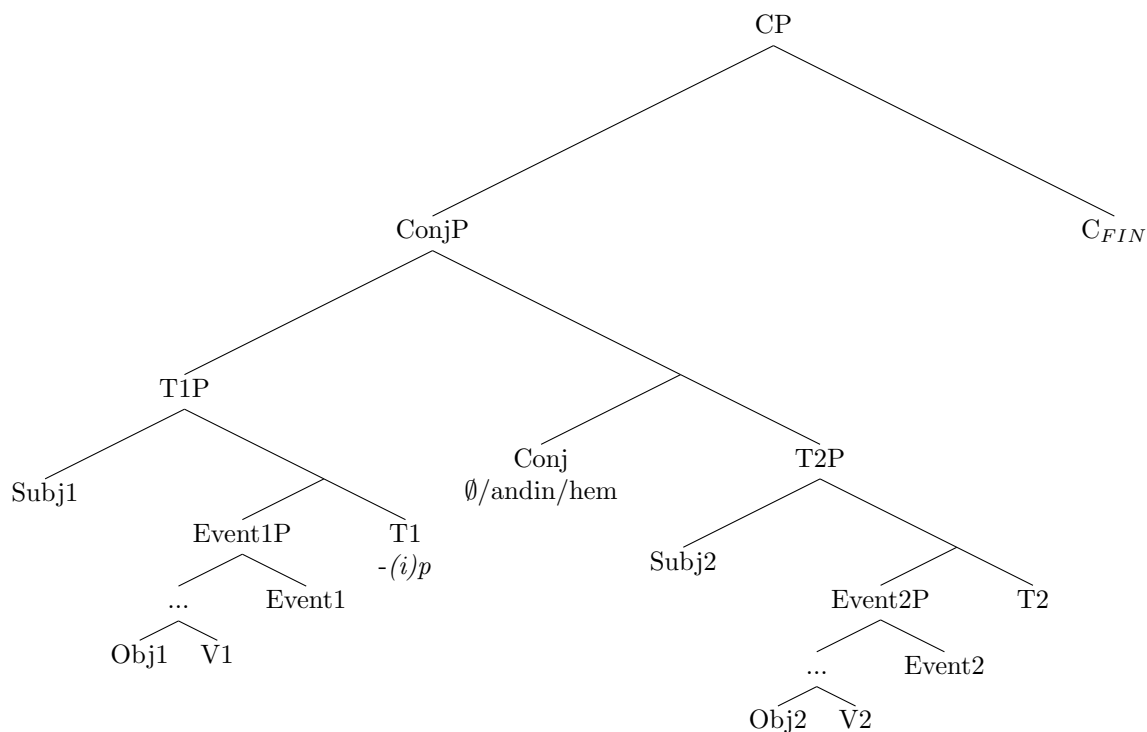
5. Given that I analyze multiple event constructions as coordination structures, a question arises as to how V2 can head-move out of a conjunct to receive inflection from T, apparently violating the Coordinate Structure Constraint of Ross (1967). I suggest two possibilities to account for the appearance of tense morphology on V2. After V2 overtly moves as high as it can within the conjunct, stopping at Event2, either it raises to adjacent T for word-formation post-syntactically along the lines of Harizanov and Gribanova (2018), or it forms a word with T through linear adjacency in the sense of Takano (2004). Either derivation would combine overt movement in the syntax with a post-syntactic word formation operation.

(296) Coordinated EventPs



When two TPs are coordinated like in (288), the first, non-finite TP is headed by $-(i)p$. V1 is unable to move out of the conjunct to the source of finiteness in C. A separate overt subject can be licensed in the specifier of each TP, or a little *pro* can serve as the subject of either conjunct.

(297) Coordinated TPs



Multiple event constructions show biclausal behavior. For the construction to be passivized and a shared object promoted to subject position, both verbs must show passive morphology as in (298). Each verb must therefore be embedded under a separate Voice head.

- (298) Maqale yéz*(il)ip élan qilindi.
 Maqale yaz*(-il)-(i)p élan qil-in-di-0
 Article write-PASS-(I)P publish do-PASS-PST-3

“The article was written and published.”

(299a) shows that it is possible to separately attach the progressive aspect marker *-iwat* to each verb, while (299b) shows that a single progressive marker on V2 also allows both verbs to be interpreted in progressive aspect. I assume that V1 sharing aspect and tense values with V2 in (299b) is available by default when V1 is non-finite and unmarked for aspect.

- (299) a. Bala dostining öyide naxsha éytiwítip
 Bala dost-i-ning öy-i-da naxsha éyt-iwat-(i)p
 Child friend-3.POSS-GEN house-3.POSS-LOC song sing-PROG-(I)P
 ussul(mu) oynawatidu.
 ussul(-mu) oyna-iwat-i-du
 dance(-also) play-PROG-NPST-3
 “The child is singing songs and dancing at a friend’s house.”
- b. Bala dostining öyide naxsha éytip (turup)
 Bala dost-i-ning öy-i-da naxsha éyt-(i)p (tur-(i)p)
 Child friend-3.POSS-GEN house-3.POSS-LOC song sing-(I)P (stand-(I)P)
 ussul(mu) oynawatidu.
 ussul(-mu) oyna-iwat-i-du
 dance(-also) play-PROG-NPST-3
 “The child is singing songs and dancing at a friend’s house.”

(300) shows that it is even possible for V1 to have progressive aspect while V2 does not, and for V1 to be a transitive verb while V2 is unaccusative.

- (300) Abliz mektepke bériwétip yiqildi.
 Abliz mektep-ga bar-iwat-(i)p yiqil-di-0
 Abliz school-DAT go-PROG-(I)P fall-PST-3
 “Abliz fell while going to school.”

The coordinated EventPs (and TPs) are large enough to each contain their own negative phrase, as evidenced by the fact that each verb may be negated separately, and n-word objects are only licensed by negation of the verb that selects them.

- (301) a. U héchnerse yémey(le) qaytip keldi.
 U héchnerse ye-ma-(i)p(-la) qayt-(i)p kel-di-0
 3SG nothing eat-NEG-(I)P-FOC return-(I)P come-PST-3
 “(S)he came back without eating anything.”
- b. *U héchnerse yep qaytip kelmidi.
 U héchnerse ye-(i)p qayt-(i)p kel-ma-di-0
 3SG nothing eat-(I)P return-(I)P come-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he came back without eating anything.”

- (302) a. U tamaq yep bolup héchyerge ketmidi.
 U tamaq ye-(i)p bol-(i)p héchyer-ga ket-ma-di-0
 3SG food eat-(I)P become-(I)P nowhere-DAT leave-NEG-PST-3
 “(S)he finished eating and didn’t go anywhere.”
- b. *U tamaq yep bolmay héchyerge ketti.
 U tamaq ye-(i)p bol-ma-(i)p héchyer-ga ket-di-0
 3SG food eat-(I)P become-NEG-(I)P nowhere-DAT leave-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he didn’t finish eating and go anywhere.”

The data in (301-302) show that an n-word object of V1 may only be licensed by negation of V1, while an n-word object of V2 may only be licensed by negation of V2. That is, licensing of negative objects is confined to the conjunct in multiple event constructions. Nevertheless, a single negation marker on V2 can license an n-word subject. (303) means that nobody published or wrote a book.

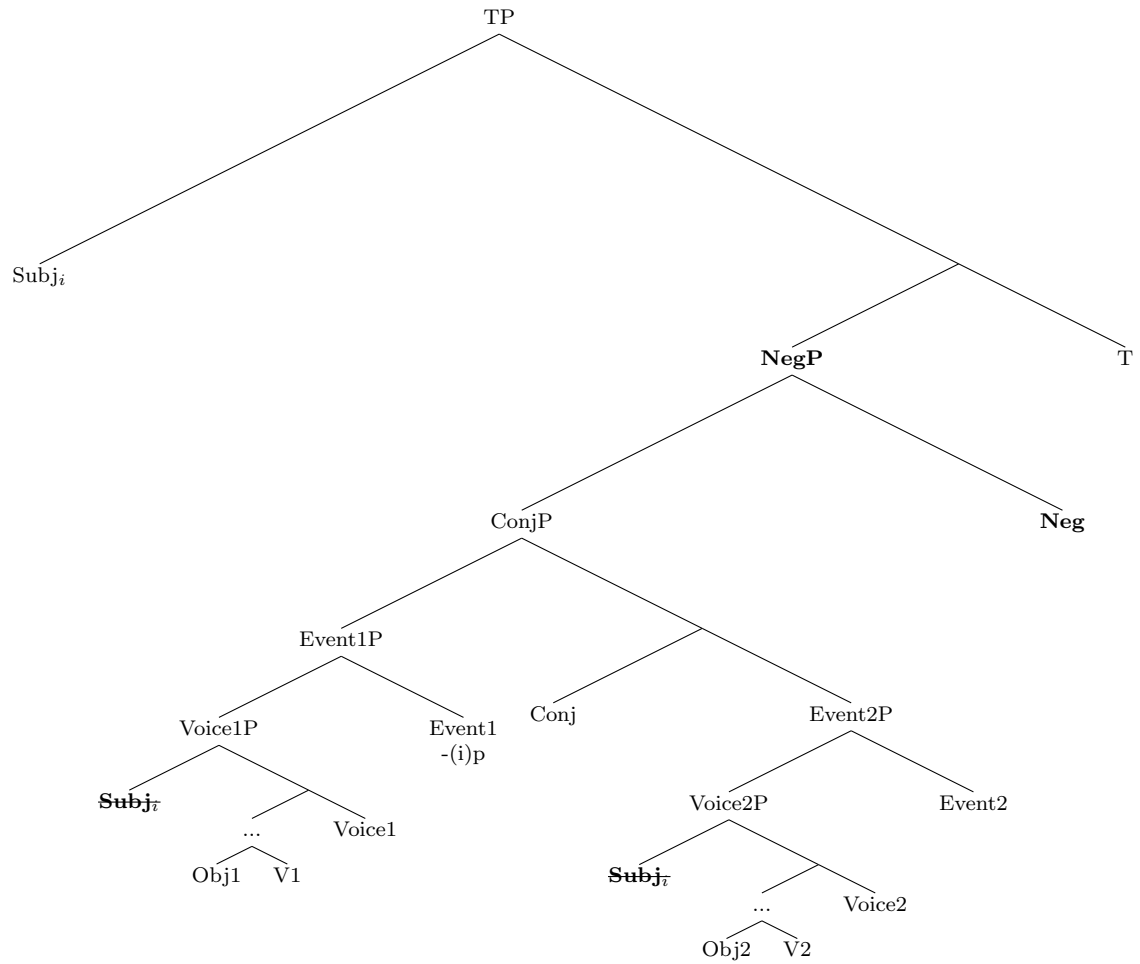
- (303) Héchkim kitab yézip élan qilmidi.
 Héchkim kitab yaz-(i)p élan qil-ma-di-0
 Nobody book write-(I)P publish do-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody wrote and published a book.”

Negation of V1, on the other hand, cannot license an n-word subject.

- (304) *Héchkim tamaq yémey qaytip keldi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-ma-(i)p qayt-(i)p kel-di-0
 Nobody food eat-NEG-(I)P return-(I)P come-PST-3
 Intended: “Nobody ate any food and came back.”

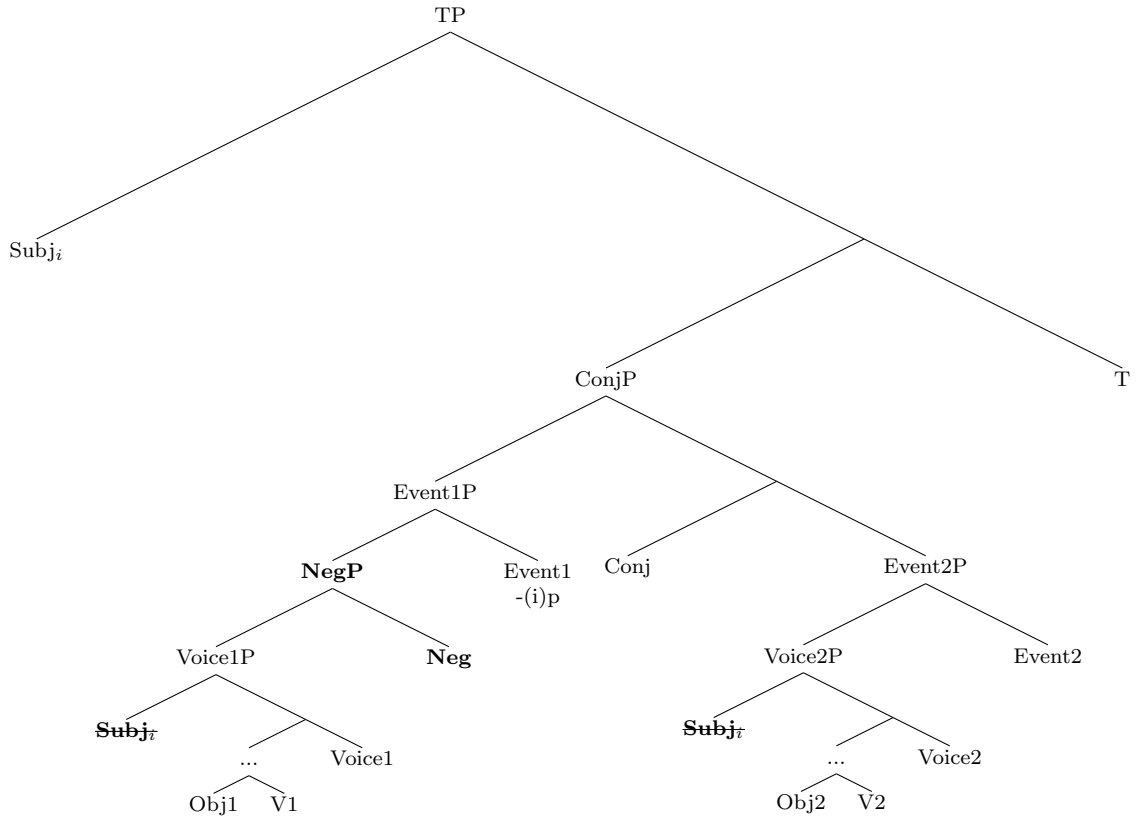
My analysis can account for all the negative concord facts from (301-304) based on position of negation, across-the-board subject movement, and derivation by phases. Assuming that the subject moves from both Spec, VoiceP positions to Spec, TP in an across-the-board fashion, I attribute the contrast between (303) and (304) to possible merge positions for negation. In chapter 4, I will motivate the ability of a negation projection to appear at four different heights within the clause: selecting *v*P, VoiceP, AuxP or even ProgP as its complement. Negation following V2 can thus be merged in a higher position outside the conjunction structure where it c-commands the subject position made available by both VoicePs. This configuration, shown in (305), is what makes (303) possible.

(305)



Negation following V1, on the other hand, is inside the first EventP conjunct, and cannot c-command the subject position of the second conjunct. Hence the ungrammaticality of (304).

(306)



As for why negation of a given verb cannot license the n-word object of the other verb in (301) or (302), I attribute these facts to the presence of phase boundaries between the object inside an EventP and the high position of negation outside the conjunction structure. That is, by the time negation is potentially merged outside of two coordinated EventPs, the objects of each verb are no longer accessible for the syntactic agreement that the results in negative concord (see chapter 4 for further discussion).

Extraction from multiple event constructions strictly observes the Coordinate Structure Constraint of Ross (1967). Across the board extraction of an object is allowed when the extracted object is selected by both verbs as in (307a).⁶ It is also possible to extract a different object to the edge of both conjuncts as in (307b).⁷ It is not possible, however, to extract the object of V2 over a different object selected by V1, as shown in (307c).

6. I discuss the subject-oriented reflexive *özem*, which can appear anywhere there is a copy of the subject, on page 141.

7. Although the sentence is perfectly grammatical without it, sentence (307b) is uttered most felicitously with the addition of the bleached verb *qoy*. *Qoy* in this context is semantically bleached of its lexical meaning to indicate that the act of preparing food was completed. In the next chapter, I will analyze the bleached verb *qoy* as overtly realizing a Voice head. Therefore, *qoy*'s presence in (307b) does not mean that the conjunct is any larger than an EventP containing its own Voice head.

- (307) a. Tamaqni özem teyyarlap yédim.
 Tamaq-ni öz-m teyyarla-(i)p ye-di-m
 Food-ACC self-1SG.POSS prepare-(I)P eat-PST-1SG
 “I prepared and ate the food myself.”
- b. Poluni özem teyyarlap qoyup nannila özem
 Polu-ni öz-em teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p nan-ni-la öz-m
 Pilaf-ACC self-1SG.POSS prepare-(I)P put-(I)P nan-ACC-FOC self-1SG.POSS
 yédim.
 ye-di-m
 eat-PST-1SG
 “I prepared the pilaf myself but ate only the naan myself.”
- c. *Poluni özem nanni teyyarlap qoyup yédim.
 Polu-ni öz-m nan-ni teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p ye-di-m
 Pilaf-ACC self-1SG.POSS naan-ACC prepare-(I)P put-(I)P eat-PST-1SG
 Intended: “The pilaf, I ate after preparing the naan myself.”

Further confirmation that objects may extract to the front of their respective conjuncts but not outside of the coordinate structure itself comes from extraction over temporal adverbs with sentential scope. (308a) shows that an object may extract over a temporal adverb (like *axsham* ‘last night’) that has scope over only the first conjunct, but (308b) shows that when the temporal adverb is interpreted as scoping over both conjuncts, an object may not extract over it. Native speakers react to (308b) by asking, “Then when did you eat the naan?”. (308c), however, shows that the object may precede an adverb with sentential scope when it is extracted from both conjuncts in an across the board fashion (as discussed in Ross 1967).

- (308) a. Poluni axsham teyyarlap qoyup etigen nan yédim.
 Polu-ni axsham teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p etigen nan ye-di-m
 Pilaf-ACC last.night prepare-(I)P put-(I)P morning naan eat-PST-1SG
 “As for the pilaf, I prepared it last night, and ate naan in the morning.”
- b. *Poluni axsham özem teyyarlap qoyup nanla
 Polu-ni axsham öz-m teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p nan-la
 Pilaf-ACC last.night self-1SG.POSS prepare-(I)P put-(I)P naan-FOC
 yédim.
 ye-di-m
 eat-PST-1SG
 Intended: “As for the pilaf, I prepared it and ate only naan last night.”

- c. Poluni axsham teyyarlap qoyup yédim.
 Polu-ni axsham teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p ye-di-m
 Pilaf-ACC last.night prepare-(I)P put-(I)P eat-PST-1SG
 “As for the pilaf, I prepared and ate it last night.”

That grammatical extraction out of multiples events happens across the board is confirmed by the placement of reflexive marker *öz* ‘self’. *Öz* can follow any copy of its binder. (309) shows that *özem* ‘myself’ can be bound by the subject *men* ‘I’ either in the subject’s derived position preceding the specific object (in (309a)), or in the subject’s base position following the specific object (in (309b)).

- (309) a. Men *özem* romanni yazdim.
 Men *öz-m* roman-ni yaz-di-m
 1SG self-1SG.POSS novel-ACC write-PST-1SG
 “I myself wrote the novel.”
- b. Men romanni *özem* yazdim.
 Men roman-ni *öz-m* yaz-di-m
 1SG novel-ACC self-1SG.POSS write-PST-1SG
 “I myself wrote the novel.”

When two *-(i)p*-linked conjuncts share a subject, *öz* can appear inside each conjunct, suggesting a copy of the subject is present inside each conjunct.

- (310) Men poluni *özem* teyyarlap qoyup *özem* nan
 Men polu-ni *öz-m* teyyarla-(i)p qoy-(i)p *öz-m* nan
 1SG pilaf-ACC self-1SG.POSS prepare-(I)P put-(I)P self-1SG.POSS naan
 yédim.
 ye-di-m
 eat-PST-1SG
 “I prepared the pilaf myself and ate naan myself.”

In multiple event constructions, manner adverbs can only scope over their own conjunct as shown in (311), while sentential adverbs can scope over both conjuncts as shown in (312). This indicates that each conjunct is large enough to include its own site for manner adverbs to merge (in a functional projection below EventP), but not large enough to include the position in which sentential adverbs are merged.

- (311) Oghlum xoshal halda mektepke k tip qizim
 Oghul-m xoshal hal-da mektep-ga ket-(i)p qiz-m
 Son-1SG.POSS happy circumstance-LOC school-DAT leave-(I)P daughter-1SG.POSS
 perishan halda xizmetke mangdi.
 perishan hal-da xizmet-ga mang-di-0
 unhappy circumstance-LOC work-DAT walk-PST-3

“My son having happily left for school, my daughter unhappily went to work.”

- (312) Bextke yarisha, oghlum mektepke k tip qizim
 Bext-ga yarisha oghul-m mektep-ga ket-(i)p qiz-m
 Happiness-DAT fitting son-1SG.POSS school-DAT leave-(I)P daughter-1SG.POSS
 ishqa ketti.
 ish-ga ket-di-0
 work-DAT leave-PST-3

“Fortunately, my son went to school and my daughter went to work.”

This section has shown that multiple event constructions are formed by conjoining two EventPs or TPs, only one of which has access to finite inflection. Having now motivated analyses of the core types of lexical *-(i)p* constructions that are the topic of this chapter, I take a moment in the next section to address how my analyses bear on discussions of verb order constraints in SVCs.

2.5 Verb Order Flexibility

In this section, I show how the analyses I have developed in this chapter explain verb order requirements seen in multi-verb constructions. I argue that the order of VPs in inner aspect SVCs and event SVCs is constrained by a requirement that the adjoining verb specify a manner in which the event described by V2 is performed, and the requirement that adjuncts adjoin leftward in Uyghur. Word order is sometimes ‘fixed’ in these constructions because V1 is part of an adjunct, and only a phrase interpreted as modifying the manner in which the main event is carried out can be adjoined to the main clause. Multiple event constructions, on the other hand, display freer verb order because the conjuncts are not in any relationship of subordination or adjunction. To the extent that some conjunct orders are more felicitous than others, it is a matter of temporal iconicity rather than a hard grammatical constraint. Analyzing SVC-like constructions as adjunction or coordination structures explains verb order facts that are puzzling under complementation-based analyses.

As mentioned at the outset of this dissertation and this chapter, Uyghur multi-verb constructions match descriptions of serial verb constructions because they involve multiple

verbs sharing a tense value without an overt coordination marker (except in some multiple event constructions). However, the syntactic structure or even proper description of SVCs has not been widely agreed upon, leading Haspelmath (2016) to call the construction a ‘comparative concept’ at best. This chapter has demonstrated that multiple verb configurations are formed through a variety of syntactic derivations in one language alone. To the extent that the Uyghur variants are similar enough to SVCs in other languages to be worth comparing, I wish to now address the issue of how the order of verbs in these constructions relates to the underlying order of heads and complements in languages.

Since Muysken (1988), it has been observed that although languages may differ in canonical word order (e.g. SVO versus SOV order), the respective order of verbs in SVCs does not vary according to word order of the language at large. As an example of this conundrum, first note that the Ijo language of southern Nigeria, like Uyghur, shows head final word order in the VP and elsewhere (Carstens 2002).

- (313) béle-bi-ò náma tua
 pot-DET-in meat put
 “put meat in the pot” (ijo) (Carstens 2002: 6)

Serial verb constructions in Ijo, however, show the same respective ordering between verbs as that found in head-initial languages like Sranan. (314) is a Sranan SVC in which the instrumental verb *teki* ‘take’ precedes *tyari* ‘carry’. In a similar fashion, the instrumental verb *teki* ‘take’ precedes *tèri* ‘cover’ in Ijo example (315). The order of the verbs *teki* ‘take’ and *tèri* ‘cover’ cannot be reversed (315b).

- (314) no teki baskita tyari watra
 no take basket carry water
 “Don’t carry water with a basket.” (srn) (Muysken 1988 in Carstens 2002: 3)

- (315) a. áràú zu_ye ákì buru tèri-mí
 (s)he basket take yam cover-PST
 “She covered the yam with a basket” (ijo) (Muysken 1988 in Carstens 2002: 3)
- b. *áràú buru tèri zu_ye ákì-mí
 (s)he yam cover basket take-PST
 Intended: “She covered the yam with a basket.”

Assuming that SVCs are formed through complementation as in the analyses of Collins (1997a) and Nishiyama (1998), Carstens (2002) takes the facts in (314) and (315) as

evidence that SOV languages underlyingly have SVO word order and there is no such thing as an underlyingly head-final language, as famously argued in Kayne (1994). In other words, if one verb in an SVC is the complement of another, and if head-complement order is parameterized between languages, then why do the same verbs consistently appear as heads of SVCs in head-initial languages but as complements in head-final languages? In this chapter, I escape this conundrum by showing that similar constructions in Uyghur are formed by adjunction rather than complementation.

If the complementation relationship between V1 and V2 is assumed, then an alternative explanation for the fixed verb order of SVCs could be that they reflect temporal iconicity (Jakobson 1965, Tai 1985, Li 1993). If two actions occur in a sequence, then they must be named in that sequence irrespective of head parameter settings. For example, in order to cover yams with a basket, one must first take the basket then use it to cover yams; hence the inflexible word order in (314). Baker (1989) challenges this claim by pointing out that some SVCs describing simultaneous actions still show rigid order. For example, Baker questions why the order of verbs in Ij̧o example (316) cannot be reversed, since the events of singing a song and pleasing/benefitting a third party happen simultaneously.⁸

- (316) *dúma tun-nì a-p̄r̄i*
 song sing-0 her-give

“sing a song for her” (ij̧o) (Williamson 2011 in Baker 1989: 525)

In the next chapter, I will specifically argue that the verb *ber* ‘to give’ in Uyghur can select an EventP as its theme, accounting for its need to follow the verb in its complement. While the aims of this dissertation are not to cover universal word ordering constraints in SVCs, at least in Uyghur it is in fact possible to reverse the order of lexical verbs that describe simultaneous events, provided that neither of them is part of the other’s argument structure as in the case of *ber*. (317) shows an example with two intransitive verbs in an inner aspect SVC, and (318) shows an example from an event SVC in which each verb selects its own object. Changing the order of verbs induces no detectable difference in truth conditions; the only difference between (a) and (b) is which action is placed in the foreground or background. This difference in foregrounding and backgrounding is easier to detect in the translations of the event SVC (318).

- (317) a. *Derya qattiq muzlap tonglap ketti.*
Derya qattiq muzla-(i)p tongla-(i)p ket-di-0
 River solid become.ice-(I)P freeze-(I)P leave-PST-3

“The river froze solid (turned to ice by freezing).”

8. Baker (1989) attributes the verb order of (316) to an adjacency requirement on direct but not indirect theta role assignment. That is, *tun-nì* ‘sing’ must immediately follow its direct object *dúma* ‘song’ in (316), while *p̄r̄i* ‘give’ need not be adjacent to *dúma* because *dúma* is the indirect object of *p̄r̄i*. I provided arguments against Baker’s analysis and showed that the object of Uyghur IASVCs is not truly shared in section 2.2.2.

- b. Derya qattiq tonglap muzlap ketti.
 Derya qattiq tongla-(i)p muzla-(i)p ket-di-0
 River solid freeze-(I)P become.ice-(I)P leave-PST-3

“The river froze solid (froze by turning to ice).” (Tash and Sugar 2018: 176)

- (318) a. Iskender naxshini ghingship mektepke mangdi.
 Iskender naxsha-ni ghingshi-(i)p mektep-ga mang-di-0
 Iskender song-ACC hum-(I)P school-DAT walk-PST-3

“Iskender walked to school while humming a song.”

- b. Iskender mektepke méngip naxsha ghingshidi.
 Iskender mektep-ga mangn-(i)p naxsha ghingshi-di-0
 Iskender school-DAT walk-(I)P song hum-PST-3

“Iskender hummed a song while walking to school.”

The reason that the order of verbs is reversible in (317) and (318) is that either verb in these examples may be interpreted as modifying the *manner* in which the event described by the other verb unfolds or is performed. In (317), it is possible to describe water as freezing by turning to ice, or turning to ice by freezing. In (318), it is possible for someone to walk while humming or hum while walking. I loosely state this requirement as the Manner Requirement.

- (319) **Manner Requirement:** When one verbal projection adjoins to another verbal projection, the verb in the adjoining projection must modify the manner by which the main event described in the construction happens.

Tash and Sugar (2018) discovered one reflex of the Manner Requirement in the form of a telicity generalization in Uyghur resultative IASVCs. In resultative IASVCs, V2 must form a telic verb constellation with the object (in the sense of Smith 2013). Tash and Sugar use an *in*-adverbial test to evaluate telicity (Vendler 1957, Dowty 1979, Smith 2013 *inter alia*). In Uyghur, telic predicates are compatible with a time expression in locative case that delimits the time frame in which an event takes place (Aihemaiti 2013, Sugar 2015). For example, *ikki parche salam xet yaz* ‘write two letters’ in (320) is compatible with the *in*-adverbial *bir sa’ette* ‘in one hour’ because it is a telic event. Because *yüğüür* ‘to run’ is an atelic event, the addition of the same *in*-adverbial is infelicitous in (321).

- (320) Qudret bir sa’ette ikki parche salam xet yazdi.
 Qudret bir sa’et-da ikki parche salam xet yaz-di-0
 Qudret one hour-LOC two CL greeting letter write-PST-3

“Qudret wrote two greeting letters in an hour.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 170)

- (321) ??
 Balılar bir sa’ette yügürdi.
 Bala-lar bir sa’et-da yügür-di-0
 Child-PL one hour-LOC run-PST-3
 Intended: “The children ran in an hour.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 106)

The *in*-adverbial test shows that object control resultative constructions are telic, and that this telicity is shared by the verb constellation formed with V2, not with V1.

- (322) a. ??
 Ahmat bir sa’ette mitalni uruwetti.
 Ahmat bir sa’et-da mitalni ur-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat one hour-LOC metal-ACC hit-COMPL-PST-3
 Intended: “Ahmat hit the metal in an hour.”
- b. Ahmat bir sa’ette mitalni tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat bir sa’et-da mitalni tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat one hour-LOC metal-ACC flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat flattened the metal in an hour.”
- c. Ahmat bir sa’ette mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat bir sa’et-da mitalni ur-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat one hour-LOC metal-ACC hit-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat hit the metal flat in an hour.”

The upshot of this finding is that word order is flexible in resultative SVCs as long as V2 is telic. It is unsurprising then to find that both verbs in (317) are telic in combination with an internal argument.

- (323) Derya bir sa’ette muzlidi.
 Derya bir sa’et-da muzla-di-0
 River one hour-LOC become.ice-PST-3
 “The river became ice in an hour.”

- (324) Derya bir sa’ette tonglidi.
 Derya bir sa’et-da tongla-di-0
 River one hour-LOC freeze-PST-3
 “The river became froze in an hour.”

Telicity is relevant to resultative IASVCs because it is a known cross-linguistic property of resultative constructions (Wechsler 2001, Tomioka 2007, Shibagaki 2011). However, telicity alone does not explain fixed verb ordering in all inner aspect SVCs. While (325a) means that the subject spoke in a stammering manner, reversing the order of verbs in (325b) results in a different meaning: that the subject was speaking (without stammering) but then began to stammer.

- (325) a. U duduqlap sözlidi.
 U duduqla-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stammering-(I)P speak-PST-3
 “(S)he/they spoke in a stammering way.”
- b. U (toluq) sözlep duduqlap qaldi.
 U (toluq) sözle-(i)p duduqla-(i)p qal-di-0
 3SG (fully) speak-(I)P stammer-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “(S)he/they was speaking (normally) but suddenly began to stammer.”

Whereas (325a) describes a single event, (325b) marks a transition from one event (of speaking) to another (of stammering). The fact that there are two syntactic events present in (325b) but not in (325a) is confirmed by the ability to attach progressive morphology to V1 in (326b) without changing the reading from (325b), while adding progressive morphology to V1 in (326a) makes the single event reading (associated with object control) of (325a) unavailable.

- (326) a. ??
 U duduqliwétip sözlidi.
 U duduqla-iwat-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stammer-PROG-(I)P speak-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he spoke in a stammering way.”
- b. U toluq sözliwétip duduqlap qaldi.
 U toluq sözle-iwat-(i)p duduqla-(i)p qal-di-0
 3SG fully speak-PROG-(I)P stammer-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “(S)he was speaking normally but suddenly began to stammer.”

The word order facts in (325) are not related to telicity, but are explained by the Manner Requirement: stammering is a manner of speaking, but speaking is not usually considered a manner of stammering.

That V1 describes a manner can also be demonstrated by the ability of an inner aspect SVC (with the addition of V1) to serve as a natural way to answer a question about how

V2 alone was performed, as I first pointed out early in section 2.2. For example, (327b) is a natural answer to the question posed in (327a), while (328b) is odd as an answer to (328a). Even the question posed in (328a) sounds odd, because the verb being questioned already specifies a manner of doing something. The same pattern is shown for a resultative IASVC in (329) and (330).

- (327) a. Q:
 U qandaq sözlidi?
 U qandaq sözle-di-0
 3SG how speak-PST3
 “How did (s)he/they speak?”
- b. A:
 U duduqlap sözlidi.
 U duduqla-(i)p sözle-di-0
 3SG stammer-(I)P speak-PST-3
 “(S)he spoke in a stuttering way.”

- (328) a. Q:
 U qandaq duduqlidi?
 U qandaq duduqla-di-0
 3SG how stammer-PST3
 “How did (s)he/they stammer?”
- b. A: ??
 U (toluq) sözlep duduqlidi.
 U (toluq) sözle-(i)p duduqla-di-0
 3SG fully speak-(I)P stammer-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he stammered by speaking.”

- (329) a. Q:
 Ahmat mitalni qandaq tüzliwetti
 Ahmat mital-ni qandaq tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-AC qandaq flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “How did Ahmat flatten the metal?”
- b. A:
 Uni urup tüzliwetti
 U-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 3SG-AC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “He pounded it flat/flattened it by pounding.”

- (330) a. Q:
 Ahmat mitalni qandaq urdi?
 Ahmat mital-ni qandaq ur-di-0
 Ahmat metal-AC qandaq pound-PST-3
 “How did Ahmat pound the metal?”
- b. A: ??
 Uni urup tüzliwetti
 U-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 3SG-AC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “He pounded it flat/pounded it by flattening.”

That V1 adds meaning about the manner of an action also explains why it is an adjunct: V2 already describes an event with a process and sometimes a result, and the optional presence of V1 is solely for modification purposes.

The goal of this section has been to show that even when temporal ordering is not at issue, there are independent constraints on word order relating to the semantic relationship between verbs. Thus it is not necessary to posit that V2 follows V1 as its complement, and the rest of Uyghur’s head-final word order is derived from underlying head-initial word order. The V1-V2 order is fixed in Uyghur IASVCs and event SVCs because a projection containing V1 adjoins leftward to a projection containing V2.

Since multiple event constructions are formed by coordination and do not involve an adjunction-based manner requirement, they are expected to show flexible conjunct ordering. Indeed, conjuncts interpreted as describing simultaneous or overlapping actions, or actions that do not require a fixed temporal sequence, can be freely reordered as in (331) and (332).

- (331) Bala dostining öyide naxsha éytip ussul oynidi.
 Bala dost-i-ning öy-i-da naxsha éyt-(i)p ussul oyna-di-0
 Child friend-3.POSS-GEN home-3.POSS-LOC song sing-(I)P dance play-PST-3

“The child sang and danced at a friend’s house.”

- (332) Bala dostining öyide ussul oynap naxsha éytip.
 Bala dost-i-ning öy-i-da ussul oyna-(i)p naxsha éyt-di-0
 Child friend-3.POSS-GEN home-3.POSS-LOC dance play-(I)P song sing-PST-3

“The child danced and sang at a friend’s house.”

When the actions described by each conjunct have a causal or temporally depend relationship, however, then it becomes pragmatically odd (though not ungrammatical) to change their order. The English translation of (334) is also pragmatically odd for the same reason.

- (333) Tamaqni özem teyyarlap yédim.
 Tamaq-ni öz-m teyyarla-(i)p ye-di-m
 Food-ACC self-1SG.POSS prepare-(I)P eat-PST-1SG

“I prepared and ate the food myself.”

- (334) ??
 Tamaqni özem yep teyyarlidim.
 Tamaq-ni öz-m ye-(i)p teyyarla-di-m
 Food-ACC self-1SG.POSS eat-(I)P prepare-PST-1SG

Intended: “I ate and prepared the food myself.”

The contrast between (333) and (334) echoes contrasts in English consecutive coordination constructions, which can also be attributed to temporal iconicity (Jakobson 1965).

- (335) How much can you drink and still stay sober? (eng) (Goldsmith 1985: 213 in Weisser 2015: 211)

(336) *? You can still stay sober and drink so much vodka. (eng) (Weisser 2015: 212)

The conclusion of this discussion, then, is that the ordering of verbs in Uyghur lexical $-(i)p$ constructions can be explained by independent factors: the Manner Requirement in the case of adjunction and pragmatic felicity in the case of coordination. The Manner Requirement is a grammatical constraint, while temporal iconicity is a pragmatic principle. Deriving OV word order from underlying VO word order as in Kayne (1994) is therefore not needed in order to account for the verb ordering facts of Uyghur. The fact that the analyses proposed in this chapter can explain verb order restrictions without resorting to extra movement is an additional benefit that this line of analysis has over complementation-based approaches.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed three ways in which lexical verbs, only one of which surfaces with tense inflection, may be combined in Uyghur. The essential properties of the inner aspect SVC, event SVC, and multiple event construction are summarized in table 337.

Construction	V1 Relationship to V2	$-(i)p$ Head	V1 Object	V1 Subject
Object control	adjunct	InnerAsp	PRO	none
Subject control	adjunct	Event	pro/r-expression	PRO
Multiple event	conjunct	Event/T	pro/r-expression	pro/r-expression

Table 2.2: Lexical $-(i)p$ constructions in Uyghur

I have analyzed the $-(i)p$ suffix as heading three differently sized phrases: an InnerAspect Phrase, an Event Phrase or a Tense/Inflection Phrase. An InnerAspect Phrase contains a verb and may contain a PRO argument that requires binding, but it does not contain sufficient functional structure to license an overt argument. Adjoining InnerAspect phrases provide information about the manner in which an event is carried out but not about the result of the event. An Event phrase contains a verb and a locus of voice. It has sufficient functional structure to license an overt internal argument, but it can only introduce a covert PRO external argument. Finally, a Tense phrase contains a verb, a full range of voice and aspectual marking, and is able to license overt external as well as internal arguments.

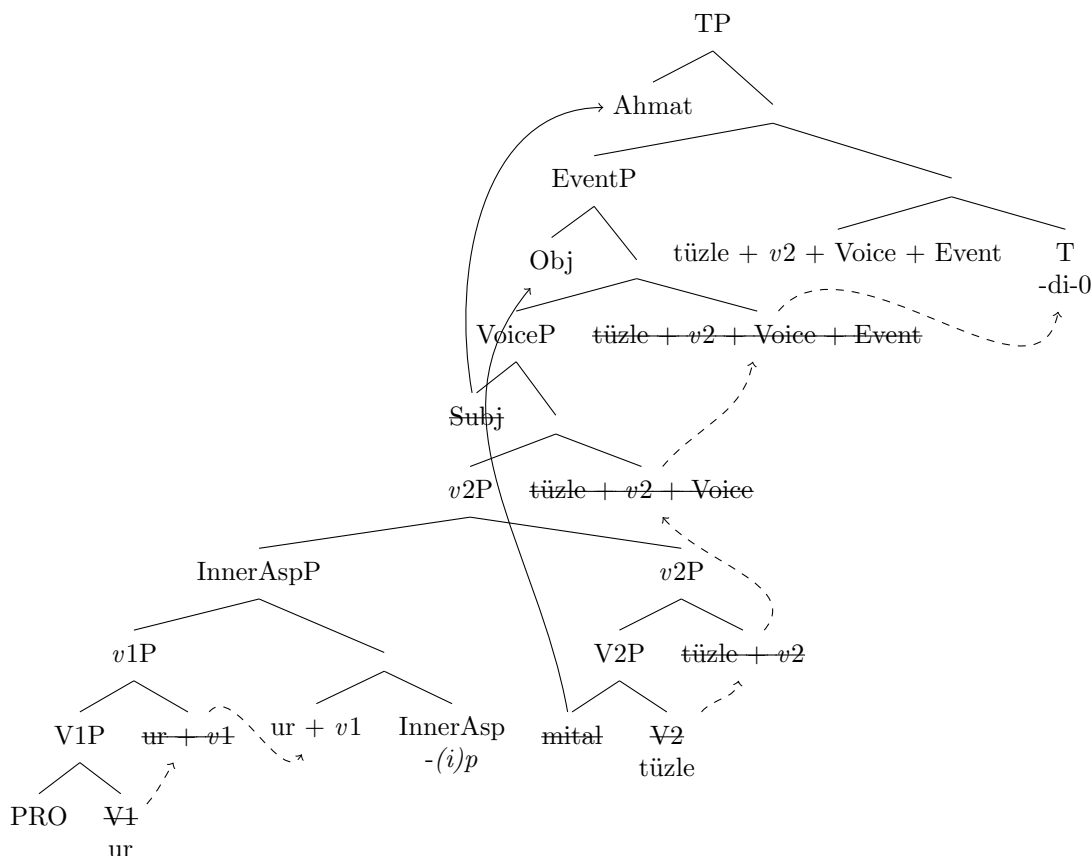
I consider $-(i)p$ to be an event marker when heading all three phrase types because all three phrases describe (part of) an event at different levels of richness. An InnerAspect Phrase consists only of the manner or process portion of an event, and includes the projection introducing an internal argument. An Event Phrase consists of a process as well as initiation, and includes projections to introduce both external and internal arguments. Its boundaries can be related to a reference time by aspectual morphemes in the sense of Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2005, 2007) and Zagana et al. (1995); Zagana (2007). A Tense Phrases includes all participants in an event, and, when finite, relates a reference time to the time of utterance. The $-(i)p$ morpheme is inserted to realize any of

these three heads whenever a syntactic configuration renders the head unable to move to the locus of tense agreement.

The structural configurations that make movement to T or C impossible in constructions discussed in this chapter are none other than the island constraints first discovered by Ross (1967). In the case of inner aspect SVCs and event SVCs in which one event is adjoined the other, V1 is part of an adjunct. Just as extraction from these adjuncts is impossible, verbs are unable to head-move outside of adjuncts. As such the verb will move as far as either the InnerAsp or Event head, and *-(i)p* will be inserted into this position to satisfy the verb's morphological inflection requirement. (338) shows a full derivation of the IASVC (337), in which V1 *ur* 'to pound' moves to InnerAsp within the adjunct.

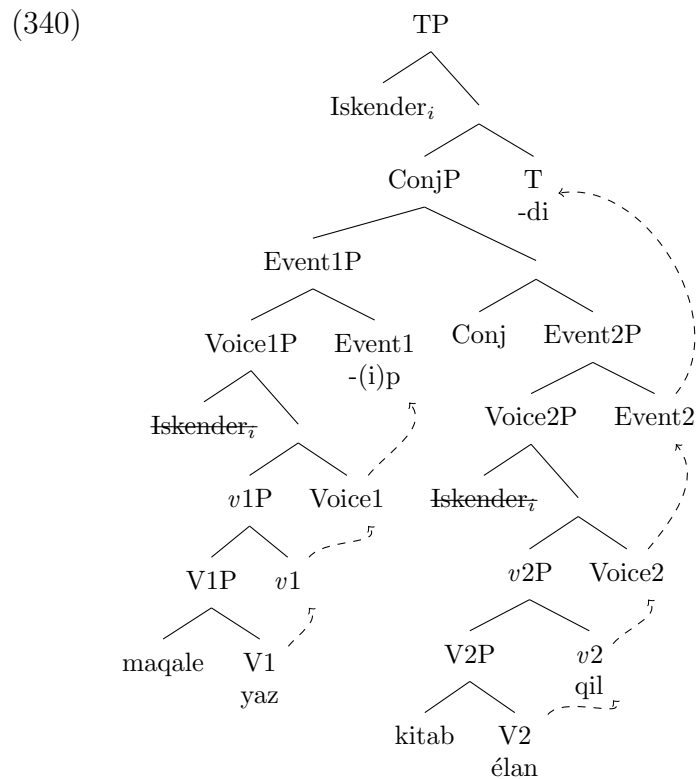
- (337) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 "Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding)."

(338)



In the case of coordination structures in multiple event constructions, V1 is unable to move out of the left conjunct in a specifier position, stopping at Event or non-finite T. $-(i)p$ is inserted at one of these positions for the same reasons as discussed above. A sample derivation of (339), involving coordinated Event Phrases is shown in (340).

- (339) Iskender maqale yézip kitab élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p kitab élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P book publish do-PST-3
 “Iskender wrote an article and published a book.”



In this way, $-(i)p$ fills one of three different event-related functional heads when a verb is otherwise unable to fulfill its morphological requirement for inflection by moving to T, the source of inflection for the clause.

I hope to have shown that Uyghur allows multi-verb constructions that bear some surface resemblance to one another through a variety of different structural configurations. I argue that this variety of constructions is made possible by the availability of a morpheme to insert in functional heads that have been hypothesized to exist but are rarely overtly realized. Because this $-(i)p$ morpheme occupies event structure-related heads, the multi-verb constructions formed by different syntactic structure express different relations

between events and subevents. The constructions discussed in this chapter which rely on mechanisms of adjunction or coordination will serve as important points of comparison when I discuss constructions in which *-(i)p* heads the complement of a semantically bleached functional verb in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Bleached V2 Constructions as Monoclausal Complementation

3.1 Introduction

This dissertation focuses on a productive strategy of linking two verbal constituents within a sentence using the suffix *-(i)p* in the Turkic language Uyghur, which I argue head event-related projections. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the *-(i)p* suffix appears in complementary distribution with tense inflection, and it is only the final verb in an *-(i)p* construction that must be inflected for tense. (341) shows an example of an *-(i)p* construction in which two lexical verbs are linked by *-(i)p*. The first verb in linear order (V1) *oyna* ‘to play’ is marked by *-(i)p*, followed by the inflected final verb (V2) *qayt* ‘to return.’

- (341) Ular meydanda putbol oynap yataqqa qaytti.
Ular meydan-da putbol oyna-(i)p yataq-ga qayt-di-0
3PL field-LOC soccer play-(i)p dorm-DAT return-PST-3
“They played soccer on the field, and came back to the dorm.”

This chapter discusses cases in which V2 is semantically bleached of its lexical meaning and instead contributes grammatical information. For example, the V2 *tur* in (342) does not mean ‘to stay’, but instead means that the action of writing denoted by V1 *yaz* keeps happening.

- (342) Tursun öyige pat-pat xet yézip turidu.
Tursun öy-i-ga pat-pat xet yaz-(i)p tur-i-du
Tursun home-3SG.POSS-DAT often letter write-(i)p stand-NPST-3
“Tursun often writes letters home.” (Tuohuti 2012: 360)

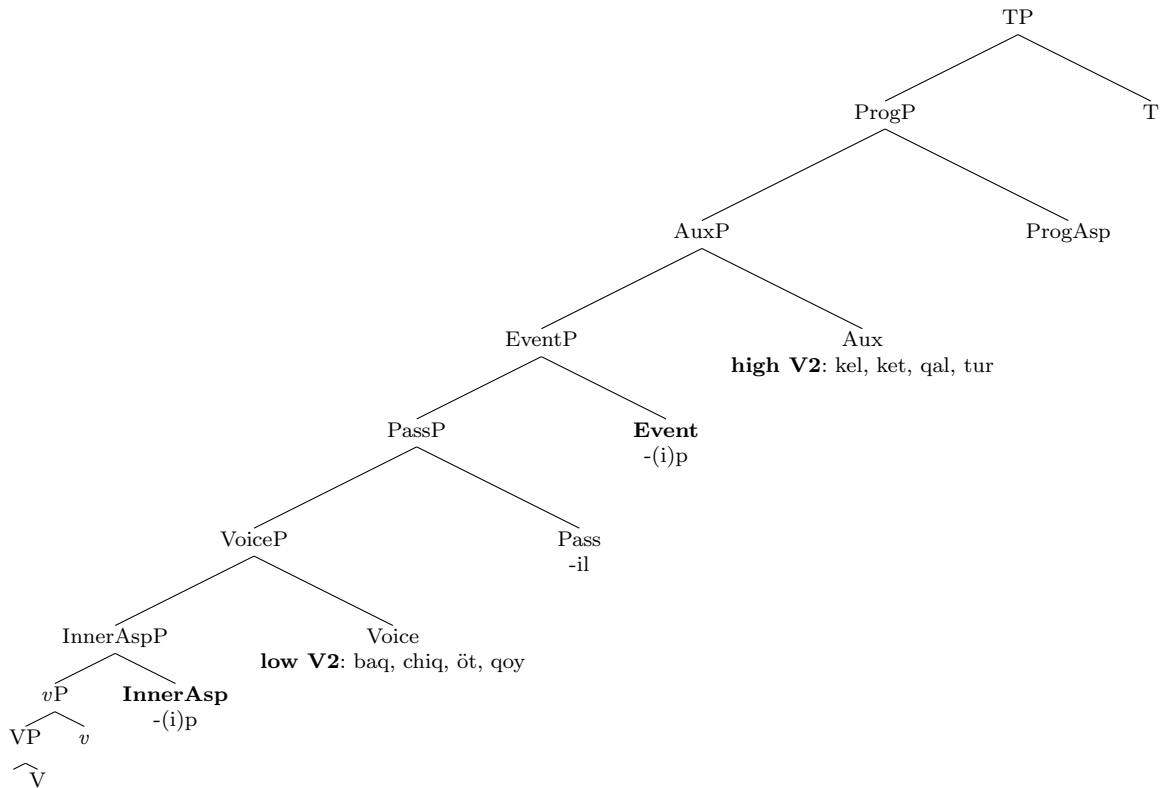
Up to twenty-two verbs have been identified in the literature as capable of undergoing semantic bleaching as V2s (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003, Bridges 2008, Tuohuti 2012). This construction has been called an auxiliary construction by Uyghur linguists, with the semantically bleached V2 labeled an auxiliary (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003). It also bears a resemblance to what Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) call the asymmetric serial verb construction, except for the intervening presence of the *-(i)p* morpheme between verbs. In section 3.4, I discuss the construction's similarity to and differences from cases of restructuring, in which a verb appears to select a reduced clausal complement. I call this construction a 'bleached V2 construction' because throughout this chapter I will point out unique characteristics of this construction, and I will ultimately argue that not all bleached V2s are auxiliaries.

This chapter provides a syntactic account of bleached V2 constructions in which V1 and V2 are both merged in the same clause, V1 as a lexical verb head and V2 as a higher functional head. The key observation will be that there are essentially two groups of bleached V2s: what I will call 'low V2s' and 'high V2s'. Low V2s require an agentive subject, combine with an accomplishment predicate, and can undergo long object movement in passive constructions. They add information about how the agent performed the action (e.g. thoroughly, carelessly) and assert completion. High V2s allow both agentive and non-agentive subjects, derive non-accomplishment readings, and can follow a verb that hosts passive morphology. They either express a change of state, the inception of an event, or derive an iterated habitual reading. These generalizations are summarized for nine bleached verbs under discussion in table 3.2.

Based on the above generalizations, I will analyze bleached V2 constructions as schematized in tree (343). V1 in all cases is a lexical verb merged as the head of VP. Low V2s are actually Voice heads introducing an external argument, while high V2s are higher auxiliary heads located above the locus of passivization. The *-(i)p* morpheme is inserted at a functional head whenever V2 blocks V1 from moving to T for inflection under Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). When a low V2 is present, *-(i)p* is inserted in Inner Aspect, a functional head within the verbal domain that encodes telicity. When a high V2 is present, *-(i)p* is inserted in the Event head, selecting a Voice category as complement and delimiting a complete syntactic event.

V2 type	Agentive subject	Aspectual type	Passivizable verb	Bleached V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
low	required	accomplishment	V2	baq	raise	conative, to try
				chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
				öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
				qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
				tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
high	optional	non-accomplishment	V1	kel	come	iteration from past to present
				ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
				qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
				tur	stand, stay	iteration
un-clear	optional	non-accomplishment	V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction

Table 3.2: Uyghur bleached V2s based on agentivity, aspectual type, and where they and -(i)p appear relative to passive morphology



The chapter will proceed as follows. Section 3.2 briefly reviews three previous types of analysis given for this construction, pointing out both desirable and undesirable predictions made by the three main approaches. My proposal combines the monoclausality of one type of analysis with the variable merge position for $-(i)p$ of another type of analysis. Section 3.3 gives arguments for the monoclausality of bleached V2 constructions. In section 3.4, I briefly review two proposals from restructuring literature concerning similar constructions in other languages. To ensure that an analysis along similar lines is warranted for Uyghur, I give arguments in section 3.5 for believing that bleached V2s are functional rather than lexical heads. Then in section 3.6, I begin developing a monoclausal restructuring analysis of bleached V2 constructions. I establish that certain V2s must appear above passive voice while others must appear below passive voice, and note generalizations about which V2s appear in which position vis-a-vis passive voice related to both event and argument structure as well as aspectual generalizations in section 3.7. This bipartite division will form the basis of positing two possible positions for the $-(i)p$ morpheme. In section 3.8, I present my analysis in its full form: low V2s are Voice heads and high V2s are Auxiliary heads, while the $-(i)p$ morpheme is inserted at an Inner Aspect or Event head whenever a bleached V2 blocks the lexical verb from accessing inflection from the T(ense) head. Section 3.9 evaluates a few predictions made by the monoclausal analysis of bleached V2 constructions I have given. Before concluding, I show in section 3.10 how the verb *ber* ‘to give’, has been mis-classified as a bleached V2 when it is actually a lexical verb.

3.2 Previous Analyses in Turkic Linguistics

Previous syntactic analyses of bleached V2 constructions, in Uyghur and related Turkic languages, share the assumption that bleached $-(i)p$ constructions are headed by V2. That is, V2 is in a higher structural position closer to the locus of inflection. This is the natural assumption to make given that only V2 takes tense and subject agreement morphology, suggesting it is closer than other verbs to the tense head high in the clause. Another argument is that V1, but not V2, may be omitted in A-not-A questions, which have been analyzed as TP ellipsis (Major and Yakup 2015).¹

- (344) Adil alma yep baqtimu (yep) baqmidimu?
 Adil alma ye-(i)p baq-di-mu (ye-(i)p) baq-ma-di-mu
 Adil apple eat-(I)P raise-PST-Q (eat-(I)P) raise-NEG-PST-Q
 “Did Adil try to eat the apple?” (Major and Yakup 2015: 15)

I will first discuss an analysis of the $-(i)p$ suffix in the Turkic language Kazakh as a disassociated morpheme inserted under a distributed morphology system. I conclude that while this analysis captures the distribution of $-(i)p$, it leaves important syntactic questions unanswered. Then I turn to analyses of bleached V2 constructions in Uyghur specifically. These analyses differ in the location they posit for $-(i)p$ in the clausal spine and the size of the complement selected by $-(i)p$, and essentially fall into one of two camps: the adverbial head approach (Tuohuti 2004, 2012, 2017 Muzaipai’er 2014, 2017) and the embedded clause approach (Bridges 2008). What both approaches have in common is the assumption that $-(i)p$ indeed heads some syntactic projection. Before discussing them, I first review an analysis which claims that $-(i)p$ is not associated with any syntactic projection.

3.2.1 Meral’s (2012) Distributed Morphology Study of Kazakh Auxiliaries

Any analysis of multi-verb constructions in Turkic languages cannot escape the question of what role the verb-linking suffix $-(i)p$ plays. Meral (2012) studies a very similar phenomenon to Uyghur bleached V2 constructions in the closely related Kazakh language. Example (345) shows the Kazakh counterpart of Uyghur’s bleached V2 *qoy*.

- (345) Axmet üniuersitet-ke [bar-(i)p qoy-di]
 Axmet:NOM university:DAT go:(I)P.CONV AUX:PST.3SG
 “Ahmet has now arrived at the university.” (kaz) (Meral 2012: 240)

1. I will return to a brief discussion of this analysis in section 3.8.

Meral calls verbs like *qoy* auxiliary heads. Due to their aspectual properties, he suggests that these verbs occupy aspectual heads between T and *v*, and are spelled out at PF under a distributed morphology account. Meral’s primary concern is the *-(i)p* marker. In Kazakh, *-(i)p* appears in free—or at least unpredictable—variation with another so-called converb suffix: *-e*.^{2,3}

- (346) Axmet shay-gha sheker [sal-a tös-ti]
 Axmet:-NOM tea:-DAT sugar put:E.CONV AUX:PST.3SG
 “Ahmet added sugar to the tea (a sudden action).” (kaz) (Meral 2012: 242)

The unpredictability of *-(i)p* and *-e*’s distribution motivates Meral to call the two suffixes “dissociated morphemes” in the sense of Embick and Noyer (2001) among others. Under this account, *-(i)p* does not correspond to any syntactic node, and is inserted at PF for morphological wellformedness reasons when a lexical verb root (which he labels *v*) appears adjacent to an auxiliary.

I consider Meral’s analysis well-motivated in that *-(i)p* only appears after a verb when it is non-final and non-finite, and verbs are only semantically bleached when following *-(i)p*. Clearly either *-(i)p*’s appearance conditions semantic bleaching or vice versa.

However, I am not convinced by the claim that the distribution of *-(i)p* and *-e* is unpredictable. In Modern Uzbek, for example, both *-(i)b* (equivalent to *-(i)p*) and to some extent *-a* (equivalent to *-e*) can occur with the same bleached V2, but the meaning changes with the suffix. For example, *-a qol* in (347) expresses urging and permission on the part of the speaker, while *-b qol* in (348) indicates that an action has a lasting result.

- (347) Juda soz, minib bora qoling.
 Juda soz mini-b bor-a qol-ing
 Juda soz ride-b go-a remain-2SG.IMP
 “It is wonderful, riding [a horse or taking a bus], please go ahead.” (uzb)
 (Abdurahmonov, Vol. I in Ibrahim 1995: 176)

2. Many authors in the Turcology tradition call verb-linking suffixes like *-(i)p* converb suffixes (e.g. Johanson 1995). Haspelmath (1995) defines a converb as “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (p. 3). I argue throughout this dissertation that material headed by *-(i)p* does not always function as an adverbial, and the function of *-(i)p* is better characterized as inflectional and related to event structure. I will thus continue to gloss the suffix under discussion as *-(i)p* to avoid committing to undesired theoretical claims.

3. The vowel of the *-e* suffix is subject to backness harmony with the final vowel of the verb stem. Uyghur appears to have historically had this same suffix, glossed as *-a* in Uyghur literature, in complementary distribution with *-(i)p* (and with slightly different semantics) that also appears, increasingly rarely, in typologically similar Uzbek, but the two morphemes have apparently converged in modern Uyghur (Ibrahim 1995, Muzaipai’er 2014).

- (348) Sahar jimib qoldi.
 Sahar jimi-b qol-di-0
 City quiet-b remain-PST-3

“The city has become quiet.” (uzb) (Cirtautas in Ibrahim 1995: 178)

Furthermore, it is unclear where the notion of morphological wellformedness comes from if $-(i)p$ is not associated with any syntactic head. It is worth noting that it is not the case that $-(i)p$ always attaches directly to the verb stem in Uyghur. (349) shows, and section 3.6 will elaborate upon, a case in which the passive morpheme $-il$ appears between V1 and $-(i)p$. If there is morphological wellformedness requirement, then it must be specific enough that $-(i)p$ meets this requirement, while the passive suffix $-il$ does not.

- (349) Telewizor buzulup qaldi.
 Telewizor buz-il-(i)p qal-di-0
 TV break-PASS-(I)P remain-PST-3

“The television broke.” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 237)

Examples like (349) show at a minimum that whatever role $-(i)p$ fulfills by attaching to the verb, it is not just any suffix that can fulfill this role; otherwise it would not be necessary to add $-(i)p$ after the passive suffix. Additionally, it is not the case that verbs in Uyghur always need to be (overtly) inflected. Verbs in the imperative form may be uninflected, as shown in (350).

- (350) Tursun, derhal bu yaqqa kel!
 Tursun derhal bu yaq-ga kel
 Tursun immediately DEM place-DAT come

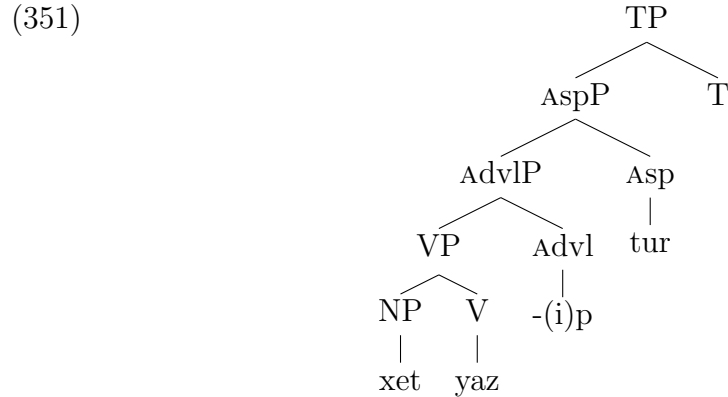
“Tursun, come here immediately!” (Tuohuti 2017: 368)

I will thus pursue an analysis that explains $-(i)p$ ’s appearance not as a dissociated morpheme, but as a morphological requirement that may only be satisfied by the realization of one of two specific functional heads when V1 is unable to inflect by moving to T. The next two analyses I will discuss, developed with Uyghur specifically in mind, do assume that $-(i)p$ occupies a specific head, although they disagree about that head’s location in syntactic structure.

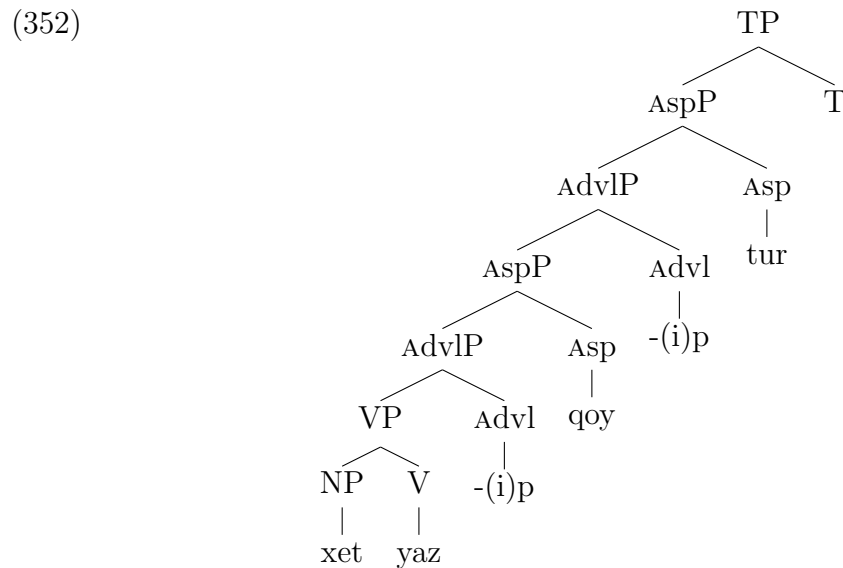
3.2.2 The Adverbial Head Approach

The adverbial head approach (Tuohuti 2004, 2012, 2017, Muzaipai’er 2014, 2017) places the bleached V2 in an aspectual head because the function of bleached V2s has generally been

characterized as aspectual (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003, Bridges 2008, Aihemaiti 2013). The aspectual head selects a so-called adverbial phrase headed by $-(i)p$ as its complement,⁴ and the AdvP selects the verb phrase as its complement. This structure is shown in (351).



This analysis assumes a monoclausal structure in which the complement of $-(i)p$ is no larger than a verb phrase. Tuohuti (2012) mentions the possibility of multiple bleached V2s (a topic I return to in section 3.9.2), and allows for this possibility through the option for the Advl head to select another AspP instead of VP, as shown in (352).



This structure seems to treat all bleached V2s as belonging to the same type, allowing indefinite stacking of aspectual heads (and merging of Advl heads) in any order so long as

4. Calling the head occupied by $-(i)p$ “adverbial” here is essentially a holdover from Tuohuti’s (2004) analysis of lexical $-(i)p$ constructions in which both verbs contribute lexically specified information. For those lexical $-(i)p$ constructions, it makes sense to think of the constituent headed by $-(i)p$ as adverbial in nature, since it is argued (by Tohti, Adurusul, Tash and Sugar 2018, and myself in chapter 2 of this dissertation) to adjoin to the main clause. In the case of bleached V2 constructions, it is essentially just a terminological issue.

they generate intelligible meanings. Additionally, Tohti and Abdurusul do not discuss the presence of voice morphology in these constructions, but presumably the structure should predict a fixed ordering between voice morphology and bleached V2s due to a fixed order between functional heads. I will provide evidence in section 3.9 that both of these predictions are problematic.

3.2.3 The Embedded Clause Approach

Bridges (2008) briefly suggests an embedded CP structure to account for auxiliary V2 constructions based on two observations.⁵ One observation is that the $-(i)p$ suffix appears in complementary distribution with tense morphology, leading her to posit that $-(i)p$ is a defective T head, perhaps selected by a defective complementizer head. She also observes that causative morphology may appear either on V1 or the bleached V2, and that only certain combinations of bleached V2s are possible. (353) shows the V2 *tur* following a causativized lexical verb, while (354) shows causative morphology attaching to the V2 *bol*.

- (353) Manga tamaqni yégüzüp turdi.
 Men-ga tamaq-ni ye-guz-(i)p tur-di-0
 1SG-DAT food-ACC eat-CAUS-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “(S)he kept making me eat food.” (Bridges 2008: 66)

- (354) Manga tamaqni yep bolghuzdi.
 Men-ga tamaq-ni ye-(i)p bol-guz-di-0
 1SG-DAT food-ACC eat-(I)P become-CAUS-PST-3
 “(S)he made me finish eating.” (Bridges 2008: 66)

Furthermore, Bridges finds that V2s may cooccur, but only in certain orders. For example, *baq* may precede *tur*, but not vice versa, as shown in (355) and (356).

- (355) Men téléwisorni ongshap béqip turdum.
 Men téléwisor-ni ongsha-(i)p baq-(i)p tur-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P raise-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
 “I kept trying to fix the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 73)

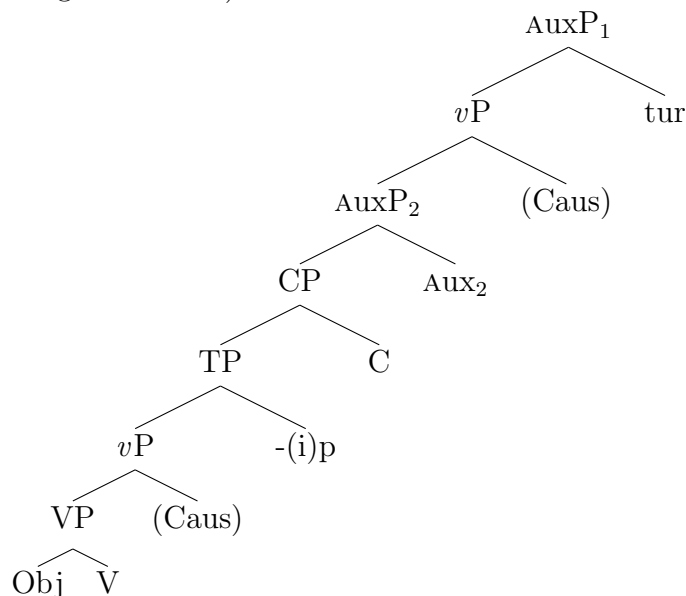
5. Bridges’ account is offered as a very preliminary possibility. The primary focus of her thesis is to categorize the meanings of bleached V2s.

- (356) *Men télévisorni ongshap turup baqtim.
 Men télévisor-ni ongsha-(i)p tur-(i)p baq-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P stand-(I)P raise-PST-1SG

Intended: “I tried to keep fixing the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 76)

I extend the discussion of Bridges’s findings in section 3.9. The ordering constraints between V2s and the variability of ordering with regard to causative morphology lead Bridges to posit two AuxP positions, one above and one below the causative voice head. Combining the need for two positions with the idea that *-(i)p* heads a defective TP, Bridges proposes the multiclausal structure shown in (357), in which an Aux head can either select a causative *v*P or a CP as its complement.

- (357) (based on Bridges 2008: 65)



One prediction not borne out by this structure is that a V1-*(i)p*-CAUS-V2 morpheme order should be possible.

- (358) *Manga tamaqni yep guzturdi.
 Men-ga tamaq-ni ye-(i)p guz-tur-di-0
 1SG-DAT food-ACC eat-(I)P CAUS-STAND-PST-3

Intended: “(s)he kept making me eat food.”

More crucially, the embedded clause approach predicts that bleached V2 constructions will show multiclausal behavior. This means that we should expect material associated with higher layers of the clause to appear between V1 and V2. It also means it should be

possible for two of the same voice heads to appear in the same construction: one in the matrix clause and one in the embedded clause. I will give evidence in sections 3.3 and 3.6 that neither of these respective predictions are borne out.

3.2.4 Section summary

This section introduced three previous analyses of bleached V2 constructions in Uyghur or related Turkic languages. Meral (2012) considers bleached V2s to be auxiliary heads, but morphemes like $-(i)p$ to be disassociated from any syntactic head and instead inserted postsyntactically for morphological wellformedness. Tuohuti (2004, 2012, 2017), Muzaipai'er (2014), and Bridges (2008), on the other hand, all consider $-(i)p$ to be a syntactic head: the former two call it an Adverbial head selecting the verb phrase as its complement, while the latter considers it a defective T head embedding a clause. As for bleached V2s, Tuohuti and Muzaipai'er call them aspectual heads merged in an Aspect projection between V and T, while Bridges calls them Auxiliary heads either selecting or selected by a v projection.

I consider approaches in which $-(i)p$ heads a syntactic projection more promising than those which consider $-(i)p$ disassociated from syntactic structure because, as I will demonstrate in section 3.7, the appearance of $-(i)p$ is associated with certain aspectual or event-related information. The adverbial head approach argues that V2s are aspectual heads occurring along the spine of the same clause as V1, but does not explain ordering between different V2s or between V2s and voice morphology. The embedded clause approach provides a position for V2s to appear above or below (causative) voice morphology, but argues that the material selected by $-(i)p$ constitutes an entire clause. I believe that each of these proposals can account for some crucial facts, but each also makes incorrect predictions.

In my own proposal, I will combine the merits of the previous proposals by positing a monoclausal structure (as in the adverbial head approach) with two possible merge positions for $-(i)p$. The two positions where $-(i)p$ can be merged are the same positions argued for throughout this dissertation: Event and InnerAspect. In either position, $-(i)p$'s presence is morphologically required because V2 blocks V1's ability to move to T. My proposal in this chapter will draw on an insight from Cinque (2003) that verbal categories may occupy functional heads along a fixed clausal spine in a single clause. Before considering a restructuring approach in section 3.4, I will first motivate the claim that Uyghur bleached V2 constructions are in fact monoclausal in the next section.

3.3 Monoclausality

A crucial first question in adjudicating between the adverbial head and embedded clause approaches is whether bleached V2 constructions consist of one or two clauses. Here I consider a clause to contain at least a verbal domain, a locus of voice, and possibly an inflectional domain. Being propositional, a clause should also have a complete argument

structure. In a multiclausal structure, it should be possible for each verb to be separately inflected for voice, aspect or even tense. Conversely, a monoclausal structure should have only one voice and inflectional domain, such that two verbs cannot be separately inflected for voice, aspect or tense. In this section, I show that bleached V2 constructions exhibit monoclausal behavior.

If $-(i)p$ in bleached V2 constructions is some variety of Tense head, we predict that its complement includes the full inflectional domain below Tense. Recall from chapter 2 that V1 in a multiple event construction can take a progressive aspect marker. (359) and (360) show that this is not possible in bleached V2 constructions. The progressive aspect marker must follow V2.

- (359) a. *Xet yéziwétip qoyimen.
 Xet yaz-iwat-(i)p qoy-i-men
 Letter write-PROG-(I)P put-NPST-1SG
 Intended: “I am writing up a letter.”

- b. Xet yézip qoyuwatimen.
 Xet yaz-iwat-(i)p qoy-iwat-i-men
 Letter write-(I)P put-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am writing up a letter.”

- (360) a. *Xet yéziwétip turimen.
 Xet yaz-iwat-(i)p tur-i-men
 Letter write-PROG-(I)P stand-NPST-1SG
 Intended: “I am continuing writing a letter.”

- b. Xet yézip turuwatimen.
 Xet yaz-(i)p tur-iwat-i-men
 Letter write-(I)P stand-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am continuing writing a letter.”

Allowing V2 to embed a clause as its complement also predicts that two voice heads can be present in the structure. Notice that to yield a passive reading of an embedded clause in Uyghur, the embedded verb must be passivized, regardless of whether the matrix verb is passivized (361a) or not (361b). Only passivizing the matrix verb results in a passive reading of the matrix clause, but not of the embedded clause (361c).⁶

6. The most natural way to embed a non-finite clause in Uyghur is through nominalization, as seen in (361). When not nominalized, the *-gan* suffix can be used to form relative clauses as in (i).

- (361) a. Tursun [romanning yézilghanliqi] dédi.
 Tursun [roman-ning yaz-il-gan-lik-i] de-di-0
 Tursun [novel-GEN write-PASS-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS] say-PST-3
 “Tursun said a novel was written.”
- b. [Romanning yézilghanliqi] déyildi.
 [Roman-ning yaz-il-gan-lik-i] de-il-di-0
 [Novel-GEN write-PASS-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS] say-PASS-PST-3
 “It was said that a novel was written.”
- c. [Romanning yazghanliqi] déyildi.
 [Roman-ning yaz-gan-lik-i] de-il-di-0
 [Novel-GEN write-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS] say-PASS-PST-3
 “It was said that someone wrote a novel.” (*“a novel was written”)

The examples in (361) establish that when an embedded clause is present, both the matrix verb and embedded verb may be passivized separately, and passivizing one verb does not passivize the other. The examples in (361) represented one productive strategy of embedding a non-finite clause by nominalizing a relative clause. Other forms of embedded non-finite clauses in Uyghur demonstrate the same pattern. (362) shows the non-finite nominalizing suffix *-ish* attaching to a passivized verb; note that another passive suffix is attached to the matrix clause.

- (362) Bu eser [Ingiliz tiligha terjime qilinish arqiliq]
 Bu eser [Ingiliz til-i-ga terjime qil-in-ish arqiliq]
 DEM literary.work [English language-3.POSS-DAT translate do-PASS-INF via]
 bizge tonushturulghan.
 biz-ga ton-ish-dur-il-gan
 1PL-DAT know-RECP-CAUS-PASS-PERF
 “This literary work was introduced to us by being translated into English.”

The verb in a relative clause can also be passivized separately from the matrix clause, as demonstrated in (363).

-
- (i) Polu yégen adem ketti.
 Polu ye-gan adem ket-di-0
 Pilaf eat-REL person leave-PST-3
 “The person who ate pilaf left.”

- (363) Uning terepidin tonushturulghan kitab manga
 U-ning terep-i-din ton-ish-dur-il-gan kitab men-ga
 3SG-GEN side-3.POSS-ABL know-RECP-CAUS-PASS-REL book 1SG-DAT
 bérildi.
 ber-il-di-0
 give-PASS-PST-3
 “The book introduced by them was given to me.”

If bleached V2s select a non-finite clause as their complement, then it should be possible for either V1 or V2 to be independently passivized (provided both verbs are transitive), and for any non-passivized verb to be interpreted as active. The examples in (364) show that this prediction is not borne out. Only a single passive marker, suffixed to V2, is allowed, and it results in a passive reading of the predicate denoted by V1. Adding a passive suffix to V1, as shown in (364b), is only acceptable on the reading in which a novel was written and then put somewhere (e.g. on a table). In other words, it is only possible to passivize both verbs in a lexical *-(i)p* construction in which each verb retains its lexical meaning and refers to a distinct event (a multiple event construction).

- (364) a. Roman yézip qoyuldi.
 Roman yaz-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 Novel write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was written up.”
 b. *Roman yézilip qoyuldi.
 Roman yaz-il-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “A novel was written up.”

Recall from chapter 2 that when two transitive verbs joined by *-(i)p* retain their lexical meanings and refer to separate events (i.e. form a multiple event construction), each verb must be passivized separately. Passivizing V2 without passivizing V1, which is acceptable when V2 is bleached as in (364), is not acceptable when V2 is a lexical verb as in (365). The contrast between (365) and (364) suggests that there is a structural difference between multiple event constructions and bleached V2 constructions: the former can contain multiple voice heads, while the latter can contain only one.

- (365) Roman yéz*(il)ip élan qilindi.
 Roman yaz*(-il)-(i)p élan qil-in-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P publish do-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was written and published.”

Another test for monoclausality involves licensing of items sensitive to negative polarity like the adverbial *anche*. *Anche* must co-occur with a negated verb, as shown in (366), and the combination of *anche* plus verb X yields the meaning that the subject didn't perform the action denoted by X very much, or only performed the action to a minor extent (Tuohuti 2012).

- (366) Tursun anche köp roman yaz*(mi)di.
 Tursun anche köp roman yaz*(-ma)-di-0
 Tursun so many novel write-NEG-PST-3
 "Tursun didn't write that many novels."

When *anche* appears in an embedded clause, it is not licensed by negation of the matrix verb. This shows that only clausemate negation (a la Oyakawa 1975, Muraki 1978, Kato 1985, Choe 1988, Progovac 1988, 1993, Longobardi 1991, Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2000, Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2000, 2006, Przepiórkowski and Kupsc 1999, Corblin and Tovenia 2001, Weiß 2002 *inter alia*) may license *anche*. I discuss the licensing conditions for negation-sensitive items at greater length in chapter 4.

- (367) *Tursun [anche köp roman yazghanliqini] démidi.
 Tursun [anche köp roman yaz-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Tursun [so many novel write-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: "Tursun didn't say he wrote that many novels."

Crucially, negation of either V1 (368a) or V2 (368b) in a bleached V2 construction licenses *anche*.

- (368) a. Tursun anche köp roman yazmay turidu.
 Tursun anche köp roman yaz-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun so many novel write-NEG-(I)P stay-NPST-3
 "Tursun is still not writing that many novels."
 b. Tursun anche köp roman yézip turmaydu.
 Tursun anche köp roman yaz-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun so many novel write-(I)P keep-NEG-NPST
 "Tursun doesn't keep writing that many novels."

Comparing bleached V2 constructions to *-(i)p* multiple event constructions containing two lexical verbs once again, we see that negation of V2 in multiple event constructions does not license *anche*.

- (369) *Tursun anche köp roman yézip élan qilmidi.
 Tursun anche köp roman yaz-(i)p élan qil-ma-di-0
 Tursun so many novel write-(I)P publish do-NEG-PST-3

Intended: “Tursun didn’t write and publish that many novels.”

This section has provided evidence in favor of assuming a monoclausal structure for bleached V2 constructions, ruling out the embedded clause approach. In the next section, I will give examples of how other authors have used passivization data to motivate a monoclausal structure that provides multiple positions for verbal functional heads.

3.4 Insights from Restructuring Literature

The asymmetrical nature of bleached V2 constructions (in which one verb comes from a limited class and the other from an open lexical class) resembles that of constructions involving restructuring verbs. A restructuring verb is a verb that appears to select a clause as its complement, but appears in a construction that otherwise displays monoclausal properties (Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, Rizzi 1976). The word ‘restructuring’ suggests some change in structure, but not all analyses assume that such a change occurs synchronically. Some authors argue that restructuring verbs select a clausal complement, but that the clausal complement is reduced via head movement or topicalization (Rizzi 1976, 1978, 2013, Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, 1983, Manzini 1983, Hoekstra 1984, Evers et al. 1986; Evers 1988, Goodall 1991 *inter alia*). Other authors argue that restructuring involves a verb (either lexical or functional in nature) selecting a complement within the same clause that is either a VP or less than a full CP (Strozer 1981, Cremers 1983, Zagana 1983, Picallo 1985, Rochette 1988, 1990, 1999, Moore 1990, Rosen 1990, 1991, Cinque 2003, Wurmbrand 1998a,b *inter alia*). The reader is referred to Wurmbrand (2012) for a more thorough overview of restructuring and its history. The analysis I will adopt for bleached V2 constructions is more in line with the latter line of monoclausal restructuring analyses than the former line of biclausal analyses.

I model my analysis of bleached V2 constructions on Fukuda’s (2012) account of restructuring with Japanese aspectual verbs, which draws from Cinque’s (2003) account of Romance restructuring. Cinque investigates asymmetries vis-a-vis passivization exhibited by some Romance restructuring verbs. As Aissen and Perlmutter (1976, 1983) first observed, Spanish verbs that trigger clause union allow a long passive when they indicate an action’s termination.⁷ The defining property of a long passive (a form of long object movement as defined in Wurmbrand 2015) is that the semantic object selected by the more embedded verb is promoted to subject by passivization of the less embedded verb. The long passive is

7. Clause union refers to when a sentence containing a verb that allegedly selects a clausal complement shows monoclausal behavior. Reported clause union effects include clitic climbing and case conversion. See Rizzi (1976, 1978), Aissen and Perlmutter (1976, 1983), Haider (2003) and many of the works cited in the first paragraph of this section for examples.

expressed in Spanish by the ‘be + V-participle’ form, similar to the ‘be + V-ed’ construction in English. *Estas paredes* ‘these walls’ is the logical object of the verb *pintar* ‘to paint’, but it has been promoted to subject position in (370) despite the verb *terminar* ‘to finish’ rather than *pintar* taking a passive participle.

- (370) Estas paredes están siendo terminadas de pintar.
 DEM-PL wall-PL be-3PL.PRES be-PROG finish-PTCP of paint-INF
 “These walls are being finished to paint.” (spa) (Cinque 2003: 65)

Other restructuring verbs do not allow the long passive, instead allowing only the *se*-passive. This form of passivization adds the passive/reflexive *se* morpheme before the verb, and the verb shows agreement with the theme subject.

- (371) a. *Las paredes fueron tratadas de pintar ayer.
 DEM wall-PL be-PST-3PL try-PTCP-FEM.3PL GEN paint-INF yesterday
 Intended: “The walls were tried to paint yesterday.” (spa) (Cinque 2003: 66)
- b. Las paredes se trataron de pintar ayer.
 DEM wall-PL SE try-PST-3PL GEN paint-INF yesterday
 “The walls were tried to paint yesterday.” (spa) (Cinque 2003: 66)

Cinque points out that this pattern holds across a number of Romance languages, including Italian, Portuguese and Catalan. To explain the pattern, he turns to his own functional hierarchy, in which all functional heads occupy fixed positions within a clause (Cinque 1999). Based on relative surface ordering vis-a-vis other functional heads, the 1999 study finds that most functional heads appear higher than the Voice head, with one notable exception being that completive aspect may appear below Voice. A greatly abridged portion of this hierarchy is shown in (372).

- (372) ModP > AspP_{progressive} > VoiceP > AspP_{completive} > V

The ability of terminative, as well as lexical, verbs to passivize, then, is a result of these verbs merging lower in the structure than the Voice head to which they must raise to acquire passive morphology. Other functional verbs and modals do not passivize because they never appear below Voice in the clause.

A similar approach to Cinque’s (2003) restructuring analysis is employed in Fukuda’s (2012) account of what he calls Japanese aspectual verbs. The passivization and aspectual data discussed by Fukuda bear a striking resemblance to the Uyghur facts, as we will see in sections 3.6 and 3.7. Fukuda observes that Japanese aspectual verbs that select an

accomplishment (durative and telic) like *oe* ‘to finish’ can undergo the long passive but cannot select a passivized complement.

- (373) Sono rombun-ga (John-niyotte) yomi -oe -rare -ta
 that paper-NOM (J-BY) read -finish -PASS -PST
 “The paper finished being read by John.” (jpn) (Nishigauchi 1993: 79, cited in Fukuda 2012)
- (374) *Natsuko-to Tsuyoshi-no kutsu-ga migak -are -oe -ta
 N-and T-GEN shoes-NOM polish -PASS -finish -PST
 Intended: “Natsuko and Tsuyoshi’s shoes finished being polished.” (jpn) (Fukuda 2012: 3, modified from Shibatani 1978: 152)

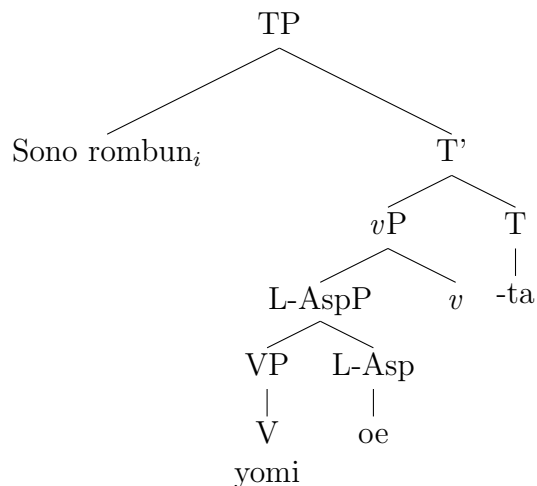
Aspectual verbs that select achievements like *-owar* ‘to end’ show the inverse pattern of accomplishment verbs: they can select a passivized complement, but cannot themselves be passivized.

- (375) Sono machi-ga koogekis -are -owar -ta
 that city-NOM attack -PASS -end -PST
 “That city was done being attacked.” (jpn) (Matsumoto 1996: 178, cited in Fukuda 2012)
- (376) *Sono hon-wa yooyaku kaki -owar -are -ta.
 that book finally write -end -PASS -PST
 Intended: “That book finally was done being read.” (jpn) (Matsumoto 1996: 178, cited in Fukuda 2012)

Fukuda (2012) analyzes Japanese aspectual verbs as occupying one of two aspectual heads. Accomplishment verbs that can undergo the long passive occupy a low aspect head sandwiched between *v* and V, as shown in tree (377).⁸

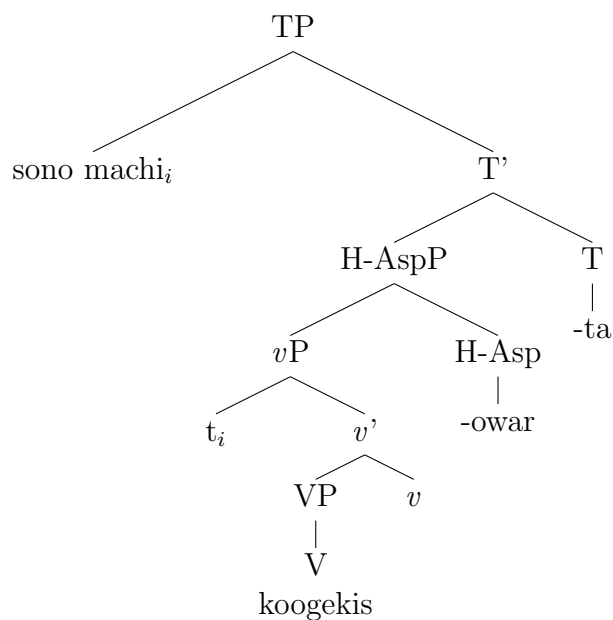
8. While I call the projection introducing the external argument ‘VoiceP’ in this dissertation, Fukuda (2012) and many other authors (e.g. Chomsky 1995 and Coon and Preminger 2011) call this projection ‘*v*P’.

(377)



Achievement verbs that can select a passive complement, on the other hand, sit in a high aspect head whose complement is *v*P.

(378)



In sections 3.6 and 3.7, I will review facts showing that Uyghur bleached V2s pattern very similarly to Japanese aspectual verbs in terms of aspectual features and passivization. I will use this similarity to motivate an analysis which places different bleached V2s above and below voice heads. In order to do so, however, I must first established that Uyghur bleached V2s are functional rather than lexical heads.

3.5 Bleached V2s are Functional Heads

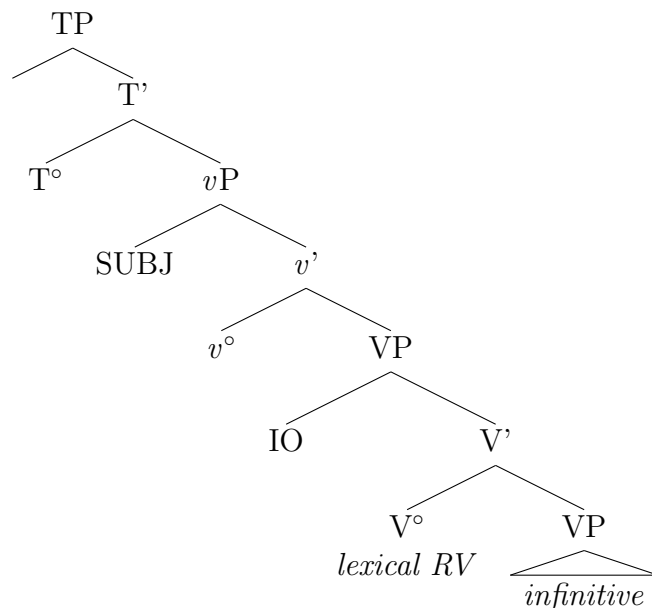
Because I am analyzing bleached V2s in Uyghur as either Voice or Auxiliary heads, it is crucial to establish that these verbs are not in fact lexical verb heads selecting a reduced clausal complement. Wurmbrand (2004) objects to Cinque’s (2003) sweeping claim that restructuring always consists of a functional head and a lexical verb. She demonstrates that restructuring verbs may be either functional or lexical heads, and provides diagnostics for distinguishing the two including argument structure and ordering. I discuss two of her diagnostics that are applicable to Uyghur in this section.

Simply put, I take the distinction between lexical and functional categories to be that the former introduce thematic or predicative information, while the latter introduce grammatical information. In the case of verbs, lexical verbs assign theta roles to their arguments. For a transitive verb like *to cook*, the internal argument will be something that is cooked, and the external argument someone who does some cooking. Although I follow minimalist assumptions that the external argument is introduced in the syntax by a functional head (in fact, optionally by a low V2), it is the lexical verb that determines the idiosyncratic details of the external argument’s role. A verbal category that is functional cannot determine theta roles, but instead can modify the initiation or ending of an event, the frequency of an event’s occurrence, or how an event was performed among other grammatical information.

As shown in the trees in the previous section, Fukuda (2012) analyzes restructuring as the configuration in which a verb occupying an aspectual head selects a complement containing a lexical verb, with both verbs forming part of one clause. Wurmbrand (2004, 2012, 2015), on the other hand, analyzes one type of restructuring as a lexical verb selecting a reduced complement containing another verb.⁹ Tree (379) shows a model of lexical restructuring from Wurmbrand (2004: 992) in which one lexical verb head takes another VP as its complement.

9. Wurmbrand (2004, 2012) does not argue that all restructuring is lexical, but that it is possible for restructuring verbs to be either functional or lexical.

(379)



In this section, I will apply two criteria from Wurmbrand (2004) for determining a verb’s lexical versus functional status, the ability to select internal arguments and flexible word ordering, and show that all the Uyghur bleached V2s under discussion, unlike some German restructuring verbs, are indeed functional heads.

3.5.1 Unavailability of Internal Theta Roles

The first reason to doubt that Uyghur bleached verbs are still lexical in nature is that semantic bleaching removes their ability to select internal arguments. A fundamental distinction between lexical and functional verbs is that while the former have argument structure and assign internal theta roles, the latter do not (Wurmbrand 2004, Fukuda 2012).¹⁰ If bleached V2s are in fact lexical heads, then we expect them to add internal arguments to a predication according to their argument structure requirements. Wurmbrand (2004) uses this prediction to argue that certain German restructuring verbs are lexical heads. For example, the presence of the restructuring verb *erlaubt* “allowed” in (380) allows the addition of the dative argument *dem kind* “the child.” While a counterexample is not provided, it is stated that the dative argument would not be allowed if the verb *erlaubt* were removed from the sentence, presumably because *erlaubt* is ditransitive.

- (380) Dem Kind wurden nur Kekse zu essen erlaubt
 The child-DAT were only cookies to eat allowed
 “They only allowed the child to eat cookies.” (deu) (Wurmbrand 2004: 998)

10. Unergative intransitive verbs are an obvious exception to this generalization.

Bleached V2s behave differently from the lexical restructuring verbs discussed by Wurmbrand (2004). The lexical verb *qoy* ‘to put’ is ditransitive, selecting both an accusative and a dative internal argument.

- (381) Wélisipitimni qorugħa qoydum.
 Wélisipit-im-ni qoru-ga qoy-di-m
 Bicycle-1SG.POSS-ACC courtyard-DAT put-PST-1SG
 “I put my bicycle in the courtyard.” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 239)

However, *qoy* is no longer ditransitive when it is bleached. (382a) shows a sentence with a different lexical verb selecting one internal argument, (382b) shows the same sentence with the addition of bleached V2 *qoy*, and (382c) shows that *qoy*’s addition does not license any additional dative argument.

- (382) a. Akingizni renjittuq.
 Aka-ingiz-ni renji-t-di-uq
 Older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC be.upset-CAUS-PST-1PL
 “We have upset your older brother.”
- b. Akingizni renjitip qoyduq.
 Aka-ingiz-ni renji-t-(I)P qoy-di-uq
 Older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC be.upset-CAUS-(I)P put-PST-1PL
 “Now we have upset your older brother.” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 240)
- c. *Ablizge akingizni renjitip qoyduq
 Abliz-ga aka-ingiz-ni renji-t-(I)P qoy-di-uq
 Abliz-DAT older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC be.upset-CAUS-(I)P put-PST-1PL
 Intended: “Now we have made Abliz upset your older brother.”

The unavailability of internal arguments is most easily illustrated with *qoy* because *qoy* ‘put’ is lexically ditransitive. However, the same principle can be demonstrated by combining an unergative verb with a bleached V2 that is lexically transitive. For example, the verb *yügür* ‘to run’ is unergative, selecting an external but no internal argument.

- (383) Balılar (*musabiqini) yügürdi.
 Bala-lar (*musabiqe-ni) yügür-di-0
 Child-PL race-ACC run-PST-3
 “The children ran.”

(384) shows that the verb *baq* ‘to raise’ is lexically transitive, requiring an internal argument.

- (384) Abliz *(müshük) baqti.
 Abliz *(müshük) baq-di-0
 Abliz cat raise-PST-3
 “Abliz raised cats.”

(385) shows that adding the bleached V2 *baq* to (383) does not license an internal argument.

- (385) Balilar (*musabiqini) yügürüp baqti.
 Bala-lar (*musabiqe-ni) yügür-(i)p baq-di-0
 Child-PL race-ACC run-(I)P raise-PST-3
 “Abliz tried to run.”

The lexical verb *öt* ‘to traverse’ usually selects an ablative internal argument.

- (386) Abliz imtihandin ötti.
 Abliz imtihan-din öt-di-0
 Abliz test-ABL traverse-PST-3
 “Abliz passed the test.”

The verb *tekitle* ‘to emphasize’ selects an accusative internal argument.

- (387) U öginishning muhimliqini tekidlidi.
 U ögen-ish-ning muhim-liq-i-ni tekitle-di-0
 3SG study-INF-GEN important-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC emphasize-PST-3
 “(S)he emphasized the importance of study.” (dict.yulghun.com)

(388) shows that when the bleached V2 *öt* is added to (387), the internal argument must have accusative rather than ablative case.

- (388) U öginishning muhimliqini/*din tekitlep ötti.
 U ögen-ish-ning muhim-liq-i-ni/*din tekitle-(i)p öt-di-0
 3SG study-INF-GEN important-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC/*ABL emphasize-(I)P öt-PST-3
 “(S)he emphasized the importance of study (among other things).”

Like *yügür* ‘to run’, the verb *kül* ‘to laugh’ is also unergative, unable to select an internal argument.

- (389) Balilar (*qiziqchini) küldi.
 Bala-lar (*qiziqchi-ni) kül-di-0
 Child-PL clown-ACC laugh-PST-3
 “The children laughed.”

The verb *tashla* ‘to throw’, on the other hand, is transitive and requires an internal argument.

- (390) Balilar *(tash) tashlidi.
 Bala-lar *(tash) tashla-di-0
 Child-PL stone throw-PST-3
 “The children threw stones.”

Adding *tashla* to (389) does not allow for the presence of an internal argument.

- (391) Balilar (*qiziqchini) külüp tashlidi.
 Bala-lar (*qiziqchi-ni) kül-(i)p tashla-di-0
 Child-PL clown-ACC laugh-(I)P throw-PST-3
 “The children burst out laughing.”

The verbs *chiq* ‘to ascend’, *kel* ‘to come’, *ket* ‘to leave’ and *qal* ‘to remain’ are lexically unaccusative, allowing an internal argument but no external argument.

- (392) Bir chataq chiqti.
 Bir chataq chiq-di-0
 One problem ascend-PST-3
 “A problem came up.”

- (393) Mùshük keldi.
 Mùshük kel-di-0
 Cat come-PST-3
 “A cat came.”

- (394) Müshük ketti.
 Müshük ket-di-0
 Cat leave-PST-3
 “A cat left.”

- (395) Azraq tamaq qaldi.
 Azraq tamaq qal-di-0
 Some food remain-PST-3
 “There’s some food left.”

The next four examples show that none of the bleached V2 counterparts of the above unaccusative verb are able to add an internal argument when combined with an unergative predicate.

- (396) Balilar (*musabiqini) yügürüp chiqti.
 Bala-lar (*musabiqe-ni) yügür-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Child-PL race-ACC run-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 “The children ran all the way.”

- (397) Balilar (*musabiqini) yügürüp keldi.
 Bala-lar (*musabiqe-ni) yügür-(i)p kel-di-0
 Child-PL race-ACC run-(I)P come-PST-3
 “The children have been running.”

- (398) Balilar (*musabiqini) yügürüp ketti.
 Bala-lar (*musabiqe-ni) yügür-(i)p ket-di-0
 Child-PL race-ACC run-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “The children burst out running.”

- (399) Balilar (*qiziqchini) külüp qaldi.
 Bala-lar (*qiziqchi-ni) yügür-(i)p qal-di-0
 Child-PL clown-ACC run-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “The children burst out laughing.”

The examples above are not conclusive evidence that the V2s in question do not contribute argument structure. Even if they were able to select an internal argument, there would be no way to case-license the argument under an Agree-based model of case licensing (Chomsky 2000, 2001), since the intransitive clause does not assign accusative case and there is only one source of nominative case in the clause. At a minimum, we can see that the sole argument available in each of the above examples is logically related to V1 rather than the bleached V2.

Finally, the lexical verb *tur* ‘to stand, stay, live’ often occurs with a locative argument.

- (400) Balilar talada turuwatidu.
 Bala-la tala-da tur-iwat-i-du
 Child-PL outside-LOC stand-PROG-NPST-3
 “The children are standing outside.”

However, (401) shows that when *tur* is semantically bleached, it can occur with an accusative argument, and does not require a locative argument.

- (401) U öginishning muhimliqini tekitlip turidu.
 U ögen-ish-ning muhim-liq-i-ni tekitle-(i)p tur-i-du
 3SG study-INF-GEN important-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC emphasize-(I)P tur-NPST-3
 “(S)he keeps emphasizing the importance of study.”

The fact the internal argument in bleached V2 constructions is not the same type of argument as the lexical counterpart of V2 would select is strong evidence that these verbs occupy functional heads in their bleached capacity. Note that the inability to select internal arguments is a separate issue from selecting external arguments. It has been argued since at least Kratzer (1996) (building on Marantz 1981) that external arguments, unlike internal arguments, are introduced by a functional projection.

3.5.2 Ordering Restrictions

Functional heads are also said to exhibit greater ordering restrictions with respect to each other than lexical heads (Cinque 1999, Wurmbrand 2004, Fukuda 2012). Wurmbrand (2004), for example, notes that German *befahl* ‘to order’ and *versuchte* ‘to try’ can change positions to yield two different felicitous meanings in (402a) and (402b). She analyzes both verbs as lexical restructuring verbs.

- (402) a. Hans befahl der Maria die Augen aufzumachen zu versuchen.
 John ordered the Mary-DAT the eyes open-to-make to try
 “John ordered Mary to try to open the eyes.” (deu) (Wurmbrand 2004: 1003)
- b. Hans versuchte der Maria die Augen aufzumachen zu fefehlen.
 John tried the Mary-DAT the eyes open-to-make to order
 “John tried to order Mary to open the eyes.” (deu) (Wurmbrand 2004: 1003)

Fukuda (2012) observes that such flexibility of ordering does not exist between Japanese aspectual verbs *hajime* “begin” and *oe* “finish”, which he considers functional heads. (403) shows that *oe* must precede *hajime*.

- (403) a. *Taro-wa sono ringo-o tabe -hajime -oe -ta
 T-NOM that apple-ACC eat -begin -finish -PST
 Intended: “Taro finished beginning to eat that apples.” (jpn)
- b. Taro-wa sono ringo-o tabe -oe -hajime -ta
 T-NOM that apple-ACC eat -finish -begin -PST
 “Taro began to finish eating that apple.” (jpn) (Fukuda 2012: 36)

Turning to Uyghur, the order of V1 and bleached V2 is fixed. (404b) and (405b) are deemed ungrammatical by native speakers.

- (404) a. Télëwizor buzulup qaldi .
 Télëwizor buz-il-(i)p qal-di-0
 TV break-PASS-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “The TV broke.”
- b. *Télëwizor qaldi buzulup.
 Télëwizor qal-di-0 buz-il-(i)p
 TV remain-PST-3 break-PASS-(I)P
 Intended: “The TV broke.”
- (405) a. Akingizni ränjitip qoyduq.
 Aka-ngiz-ni ränjät-(i)p qoy-di-uq
 Older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC annoy-(I)P put-PST-1PL
 “We have annoyed your older brother.”

- b. *Akingizni qoyduq ränjitip.
 Aka-ngiz-ni qoy-di-uq ränjät-(i)p
 Older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC put-PST-1PL annoy-(I)P
 Intended: “We have annoyed your older brother.”

Furthermore, it is not possible for a bleached V2 to retain its bleached function when it is not preceded by V1-(i)p. Notice that (406) is different from (405) in that the (intended) bleached V2, *qal* or *qoy*, is now suffixed by -(i)p rather than finite inflection.

- (406) a. ??
 Télévizor qélip buzuldi.
 Télévizor qal-(i)p buz-il-di-0
 TV remain-(I)P break-PASS-PST-3
 Most acceptable reading: “The TV remained and broke.”

- b. ??
 Akingizni qoyup ränjittuq.
 Aka-ngiz-ni qoy-(i)p ränjät-di-uq
 Older.brother-2SG.FORM.POSS-ACC put-(I)P annoy-PST-1PL
 Most acceptable reading: “We placed and annoyed your older brother.”

The above facts contrast with those of Uyghur multiple event constructions in which both verbs are lexical (one of the topics of chapter 2). Multiple event constructions show ordering flexibility with no shift in meaning so long as the reading of the events is simultaneous rather than sequential. For example, the final order of the last two verbs is switched between (407a) and (407b), but the two sentences have identical truth conditions.

- (407) a. Biz sa’et on birgiche uning öyide yep, ichip,
 Biz sa’et on bir-giche u-ning öy-i-da ye-(i)p ich-(i)p
 1PL hour ten one-LIM 3-GEN home-3.POSS-LOC eat-(I)P drink-(I)P
 paranglashtuq.
 paranglash-di-uq
 chat-PST-1PL
 “At her/his house we ate, drank and talked until 11pm.” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 221)

- b. Biz sa'et on birgiche uning öyide yep, paranglaship,
 Biz sa'et on bir-giche u-ning öy-i-da ye-(i)p paranglash-(i)p
 1PL hour ten one-LIM 3-GEN home-3.POSS-LOC eat-(I)P chat-(I)P
 ichtuq.
 ich-di-uq
 drink-PST-1PL

“At her/his house we ate, talked and drank until 11pm.”

As will be discussed further in section 3.9.2, it is in fact possible for multiple bleached V2s to appear in the same sentence, the first being suffixed by *-(i)p*. (408) and (409) show that both *baq* and *qoy* may precede *tur*, respectively, and still be semantically bleached.

- (408) Men téléwisorni ongshap béqip turdum.
 Men télévisor-ni ongsha-(i)p baq-(i)p tur-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P raise-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
 “I kept trying to fix the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 73)

- (409) Men bu romanni oqup qoyup turuwatimen.
 Men bu roman-ni oqu-(i)p qoy-(i)p tur-iwat-y-men
 1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(i)p put-(i)p stand-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am continuing to read up this novel.” (Tuohuti 2012: 355)

(410) and (411) respectively show that the order of the bleached V2s in (408) and (409) may not be reversed, however.

- (410) *Men téléwisorni ongshap turup baqtim.
 Men télévisor-ni ongsha-(i)p tur-(i)p baq-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P stand-(I)P raise-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I tried to keep fixing the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 76)

- (411) *Men bu romanni oqup turup qoyuwatimen .
 Men bu roman-ni oqu-(i)p tur-(i)p qoy-iwat-y-men
 1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(i)p stand-(i)p put-PROG-NPST-1SG
 Intended: “I am continuing to read this novel (possibly as a favor).”

As will be reiterated in section 3.9.2, the fixed ordering between bleached V2s is predicted by an analysis which places bleached V2s into one of two fixed functional projections. Only the order of low V2 followed by high V2 is possible. Table 3.4 is a summary of the bleached V2s under discussion and their functions.

Bleached V2 type	(-i)p +) V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction
V2 (low V2)	baq	raise	conative, to try
	chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
	öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
	qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
	tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
V1 (high V2)	kel	come	iteration from past to present
	ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
	oltur	sit	iteration while waiting
	qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
	tur	stand, stay	iteration
	yür	walk	iteration over long interval

Table 3.4: Types of Uyghur bleached V2s and their functions

Unlike restructuring verbs in German, then, Uyghur bleached V2s show no flexibility of ordering with respect to lexical verbs or other bleached V2s.

3.5.3 Summary

This section has evaluated Uyghur bleached V2s in terms of two criteria provided by Wurmbrand (2004) to compare lexical vs. functional heads: availability of internal theta roles to assign and ordering restrictions. On both criteria, Uyghur bleached V2s resembled Japanese aspectual verbs in showing characteristics of functional heads, and did not display the characteristics of lexical heads shown by German and English restructuring verbs. The results are summarized in table 3.5.

Having established that Uyghur bleached V2s are functional rather than lexical heads rules out restructuring analyses involving multiple lexical V heads such as those given in Wurmbrand (2004, 2012, 2015). I discuss the variability of Uyghur functional bleached V2s

Criterion	English/German	Japanese	Uyghur
Internal theta role?	✓	X	X
Flexible ordering?	✓	X	X

Table 3.5: Comparative behavior of English/German restructuring verbs, Japanese aspectual verbs, and Uyghur bleached V2s with respect to tests of lexical vs. functional behavior (‘✓’ indicates lexical behavior, ‘X’ indicates functional behavior)

with regards to passivization in the next section, which will lead to a multiple functional head analysis similar to those of Cinque (2003) and Fukuda (2012).

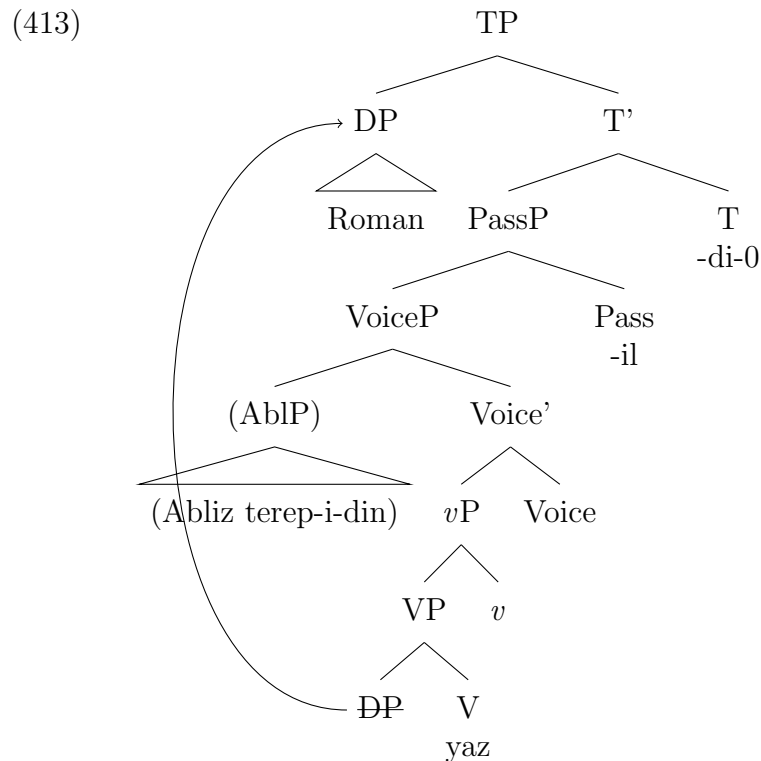
3.6 Passive Data

Section 3.3 established that only a single passive morpheme is allowed in bleached V2 constructions, suggesting that the construction is monoclausal since each clause should contain its own locus of passive morphology. In this section, I explore the passivization facts of bleached V2 constructions at greater length, and argue that they provide compelling evidence for a structure in which bleached V2s can occupy one of two different functional heads.

A typical passive sentence in Uyghur containing only one verb is shown in (412). The passive construction involves adding the suffix *-il/-in* (depending on phonological environment) between a transitive verb stem and tense inflection. The verb’s theme is promoted to subject, and the agent is either omitted or realized in an ablative phrase.

- (412) Roman (Abliz teripidin) yézildi.
Roman (Abliz terep-i-din) yaz-il-di-0
Novel Abliz side-3.POSS-ABL write-PASS-PST-3
“The novel was written (by Abliz).”

I follow Bruening (2013) in considering a Pass(ive) head (realized by *-il* or a phonologically conditioned variant) to select a VoiceP with an empty specifier as its complement. In such a model, VoiceP retains its function of potentially introducing an external argument, while the Pass head provides existential closure for the unsaturated Voice head. In passive derivations, the external argument is either unrealized or merged as an adjunct to VoiceP, and the internal argument moves to subject position to receive nominative case. It is necessary to realize passive morphology in a separate head from Voice so that the *by*-phrase (realized as an ablative phrase in Uyghur) can adjoin to a suitable projection to introduce the external argument. A simple derivation of (412) is sketched in tree (413).



Similar to the Romance and Japanese data seen in section 3.4, there is variation in Uyghur as to whether the passive suffix must attach to V1 or V2 in a bleached V2 construction. In (364a), repeated here as (414a), the V2 *qoy* was passivized. Passivizing V1 is not acceptable, as shown in (414b).

- (414) a. Roman yézip qoyuldi.
 Roman yaz-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 Novel write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was written up.”
- b. *Roman yézilip qoydi.
 Roman yaz-il-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P put-PST-3
 Intended: “A novel was written up.”

In my fieldwork and collected examples, I have consistently found that *qoy* can host passive morphology but cannot select a passivized complement.

In (415), on the other hand, a passive reading is achieved by adding the passive suffix *-il* to V1 *buz* ‘to break’. It is not acceptable to add a passive suffix to the semantically bleached

V2 *qal*.¹¹

- (415) a. Telewizor buzulup qaldi.
Telewizor buz-il-(i)p qal-di-0
TV break-PASS-(i)p remain-PST-3
“The television broke.” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 237)
- b. *Telewizor buzup qélindi.
Telewizor buz-(i)p qal-il-di-0
TV break-(i)p remain-PASS-PST-3
Intended: “The television broke.”

One may object that it should only be possible to passivize *buz* in (415), since *qal* is, lexically, an intransitive verb. However, (416) shows that in the right context, the passive marker may actually be added after lexical *qal*. In this case *qal* retains its lexical meaning of ‘to remain’ and lacks the bleached meaning that an event happened suddenly or unexpectedly. I consider this to be an example of an inner aspect SVC involving adjunction, as discussed in chapter 2. The passivize marker follows *qal* in (416) because the two verbs are adjoined under the same Voice head responsible for external argument selection.

- (416) Bir béliqchi tutup qélindi.
Bir béliqchi tut-(i)p qal-in-di-0
One fisherman catch-(I)P remain-PASS-PST-3
“A fisherman was caught and held.” (abridged from www.uynews.com)

Bleached V2s stand out because they either are capable of being passivized or of selecting a passivized complement, but never both.¹² The following examples show that *baq*, *chiq*, *öt* and *tashla* can all host passive morphology (all (a) examples), but cannot select a passivized complement (all (b) examples). This is the same behavior as *qoy*.

- (417) a. Roman yézip béqildi.
Roman yaz-(i)p baq-il-di-0
Novel write-(I)P raise-PASS-PST-3
“A novel was written up.”

11. *-il* and *-in* are considered phonologically-conditioned variants expressing the same passive meaning (Tömür 2003).

12. One notable exception is *bol*. This verb has recently been analyzed on semantic grounds as having two different bleached meanings (McKenzie et al. 2015, 2018), which may correspond to two different syntactic positions.

- b. *Roman yézilip baqti.
 Roman yaz-il-(i)p baq-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P raise-PST-3
 Intended: “A novel was written up.”
- (418) a. Roman yézip chiqildi.
 Roman yaz-(i)p chiq-il-di-0
 Novel write-(I)P ascend-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was completely written.”
- b. *Roman yézilip chiqti.
 Roman yaz-il-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 Intended: “A novel was completely written.”
- (419) a. Bu ish sözlep ötildi.
 Bu ish sözle-(i)p öt-il-di-0
 DEM matter speak-(I)P traverse-PASS-PST-3
 “This matter was mentioned.”
- b. *Bu ish sözlinip ötti.
 Bu ish sözle-il-(i)p öt-di-0
 DEM matter speak-PASS-(I)P traverse-PST-3
 Intended: “This matter was mentioned.”
- (420) a. Roman yézip tashlandi.
 Roman yaz-(i)p tashla-in-di-0
 Novel write-(I)P throw-PASS-PST-3
 “A novel was written up.”
- b. *Roman yézilip tashlidi.
 Roman yaz-il-(i)p tashla-di-0
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P throw-PST-3
 Intended: “A novel was written up.”

I call these bleached V2s ‘low V2s’ because their ability to be passivized and inability to select a passive complement leads me to conclude that they occur *lower* in a hierarchy of projections than the Pass(ive) head (i.e. as complements to Pass).

The next set of examples shows that in addition to *qal*, V2s *kel*, *ket*, and *tur* also exhibit the opposite behavior from low V2s: they cannot be passivized ((a) examples) but can select a passivized complement ((b) examples). I call these V2s ‘high V2s’, because I will situate them in a functional projection *higher* than the passive head (i.e. whose complement can include Pass(ive voice)).

- (421) a. Bu xarabe bek yaxshi saqlinip keldi.
 Bu xarabe bek yaxshi saqla-in-(i)p kel-di-0
 DEM ruins very well preserve-PASS-(I)P come-PST-3
 “These ruins have been very well preserved.”
- b. *Bu xarabe bek yaxshi saqlap kélindi.
 Bu xarabe bek yaxshi saqla-(i)p kel-in-di-0
 DEM ruins very well preserve-(I)P come-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “These ruins have been very well preserved.”

- (422) a. Télévizor buzulup ketti.
 Télévizor buz-il-(i)p ket-di-0
 TV break-PASS-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “The TV broke.”
- b. *Télévizor buzup ketildi.
 Télévizor buz-(i)p ket-il-di-0
 TV break-(I)P leave-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The TV broke.”

- (423) a. Poyizning awazi anglinip turdi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-il-(i)p tur-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-(I)P keep-PST-3
 “The sound of the train kept being heard.” (Abridged from Isra’il 2016: 62)
- b. *Poyizning awazi anglap turuldi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla(i)p tur-il-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-(I)P keep-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The sound of the train kept being heard.”

Table 3.7 summarizes the passivization behavior of low V2s and high V2s shown in the above data.

Passivized verb	(-i)p (+) V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction
V2 (low V2)	baq	raise	conative, to try
	chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
	öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
	qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
	tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
V1 (high V2)	kel	come	iteration from past to present
	ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
	oltur	sit	iteration while waiting
	qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
	tur	stand, stay	iteration
	yür	walk	iteration over long interval

Table 3.7: Uyghur bleached V2s based on where they and -(i)p appear relative to the passive marker *-il*

3.7 Other Generalizations

There are two more important generalizations that correlate with the above passivization patterns. First, low V2s (those bleached V2s that allow long passivization) require their subject to be agentive in non-passive contexts. This is shown in the contrast between agentive (a) and non-agentive (b) examples in (424-428).

- (424) a. Tursun roman yézip baqti.
Tursun roman yaz-(i)p baq-di-0
Tursun novel write-(I)P raise-PST-3
‘‘Tursun wrote at/trying to write a novel.’’

- b. *Qar yighip baqti.
 Qar yigh-(i)p baq-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P raise-PST-3
 Intended: “The snow had a fall/tried to fall.”

- (425) a. Tursun roman yézip berdi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p ber-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P give-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote a novel (for someone).”

- b. *Qar yighip berdi.
 Qar yigh-(i)p ber-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P give-PST-3
 Intended: “The snow fell (for somebody).”

- (426) a. Tursun roman yézip chiqti.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote a whole novel.”

- b. *Qar yighip chiqti.
 Qar yigh-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 Intended: “The snow fell thoroughly.”

- (427) a. Wekil bu mesilini körsitip ötti.
 Wekil bu mesile-ni körset-(i)p öt-di-0
 Representative DEM problem-ACC point.out-(I)P traverse-PST-3
 “The representative pointed out this problem.”

- b. *Qar yighip ötti.
 Qar yagh-(i)p öt-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P traverse-PST-3
 Intended: “It snowed.”

- (428) a. Tursun roman yézip qoydi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun Novel write-(I)P put-PST-1SG
 “Tursun wrote up a novel (carelessly).”
- b. *Qar yighip qoydi.
 Qar yagh-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P put-PST-3
 Intended: “It snowed up.”

High V2s (those bleached V2s which may select a passivized complement) do not require their subject to be agentive in non-passive contexts. That is, they allow both agentive and non-agentive subjects, as respectively shown in the (a) and (b) examples of (429-433).

- (429) a. Tursun roman yézip boldi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p bol-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P become-PST-1SG
 “Tursun finished wring a novel.”
- b. Qar yighip boldi.
 Qar yagh-(i)p bol-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P become-PST-3
 “It finished snowing.”
- (430) a. Tursun roman yézip keldi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p kel-di-0
 Tursun Novel write-(I)P come-PST-1SG
 “Tursun has been writing novels.”
- b. Qar yighip keldi.
 Qar yagh-(i)p kel-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P come-PST-3
 “It has been snowing.”

- (431) a. Ixtiyarsiz maxtap ketti
 Ixtiyarsiz maxta-(i)p ket-di-0
 Unconsciously praise-(I)P leave-PST-1SG
 “((S)he/they) unconsciously praised” (Qaynam, manuscript of novel)
- b. Qar yighip ketti.
 Qar yagh-(i)p ket-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “It broke out snowing.”
- (432) a. ?Tursun roman yézip qaldi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p qal-di-0
 Tursun Novel write-(I)P remain-PST-1SG
 Intended: “Tursun wound up wring a novel.”
- b. Qar yighip qaldi.
 Qar yagh-(i)p qal-di-0
 Snow fall-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “It ended up snowing.”
- (433) a. Tursun roman yézip turdi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p tur-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P keep-PST-1SG
 “Tursun kept writing a novel.”
- b. Qar yighip turidu.
 Qar yagh-(i)p tur-i-du
 Snow fall-(I)P keep-NPST-3
 “It keeps snowing.”

Combining the generalizations about subject agentivity and passivization patterns gives us table 3.9.

In addition to requiring agentive subjects, bleached V2s that can host passive morphology combine with underlying accomplishment predicates. That is, they combine with a constellation of lexical verb and internal arguments (in the sense of Smith 2013) that bear the features [+ durative] and [+ telic]. Bleached V2s that can select a passivized complement, on the other hand, derive representations that are not accomplishments,

Agentive subject	Passivized verb	(-i)p +) V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
required	V2 (low V2)	baq	raise	conative, to try
		chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
		öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
		qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
		tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
optional	V1 (high V2)	kel	come	iteration from past to present
		ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
		oltur	sit	iteration while waiting
		qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
		tur	stand, stay	iteration
		yür	walk	iteration over long interval
optional	V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction

Table 3.9: Uyghur bleached V2s based on agentivity and where they and -(i)p appear relative to passive morphology

lacking either the [– durative] or [– telic] feature, regardless of the features of the lexical verb and internal argument constellation.

The feature [\pm durative] determines whether a situation is considered to last for some amount of time or happen instantaneously. While even an event as rapid as blinking an eye occupies a measurable duration of time, what matters is that we usually conceive of it as happening in a single instant, and it can therefore be considered [– durative]. Perhaps a better way of understanding the durativity contrast is that for a [– durative] event, there is a single point which most characterizes the event (in the case of blinking an eye, it's the point when the two eyelids come together), while the same cannot be said of a [+ durative] event like cooking a fish.

When a predicate is compatible with an adverbial indicating some duration of time (e.g. *for twenty minutes*), then the predicate must be durative. It is acceptable to say, *I worked on a bicycle for twenty minutes* because *work on a bicycle* describes a process that takes time, but it is not acceptable to say, *I arrived at school for twenty minutes* because arriving is considered to happen at a single point in time.

This same pattern holds in Uyghur (Aihemaiti 2013). For verbs that are durative, placing a bare temporal expression between the definite object and verb (or before an indefinite object and the verb) creates a reading in which the event was carried out for that amount

of time. (434), for example, says that Litip spent an hour cooking the food.

- (434) Litip tamaqni bir sa'et éytti.
 Litip tamaq-ni bir sa'et et-di-0
 Litip food-ACC one hour cook-PST-3
 “Litip cooked the food for an hour.”

Telicity is a matter of whether an event has a natural endpoint or ends arbitrarily. This distinction roughly corresponds to whether an event must be ‘completed’ at a certain point or can be ‘terminated’ at any point in English. The verb constellation *ride a bicycle* is atelic ([– telic]) because after starting to ride a bicycle, the rider can stop at any time and it can be said truthfully that they rode a bicycle. *Ride a bicycle to school*, on the other hand, is telic ([+ telic]) because only once the rider reaches the school can it be true that they rode a bicycle to school.

Among predicates that are dynamic and durative, telicity versus atelicity can be distinguished based on whether the predicate can combine with *in* adverbials (Vendler 1957). As described two paragraphs earlier, when an adverbial specifying an amount of time (e.g. *twenty minutes*) is left as a bare noun, a sentence will have a reading in which the event occurred *for* that amount of time. If the time adverbial has locative case, however, then the reading shifts to the event having occurred *in* that amount of time. Sentences compatible with these *in* adverbial are deemed telic. Thus the constellation *xet yaz* ‘to write a letter’ (435) is telic because the *in* adverbial *bir sa'ette* ‘in one hour’ may be felicitously used, while *yügür* ‘to run’ is atelic because the same *in* adverbial is infelicitous in (436).

- (435) Qudret bir sa'ette ikki parche salam xet yazdi.
 Qudret bir sa'et-da ikki parche salam xet yaz-di-0
 Qudret one hour-LOC two CL greeting letter write-PST-3
 “Qudret wrote two greeting letters in an hour.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 170)

- (436) ??
 Balilar bir sa'ette yügürdi.
 Bala-lar bir sa'et-da yügür-di-0
 Child-PL one hour-LOC run-PST-3
 Intended: “The children ran in an hour.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 106)

Many linguists also take the inability of a predicate to combine with a *for* adverbial as a sign of telicity which goes hand-in-hand with compatibility with an *in* adverbial. However,

I have found it often to be the case in Uyghur that predicates that are compatible with *in* adverbials are also compatible with *for* adverbials, whereas not all predicates compatible with *for* adverbials are also compatible with *in* adverbials. For example, (437), in which an accomplishment predicate is combined with a *for* adverbial, is acceptable to most speakers. In this dissertation, I call any predicates that combine felicitously with *in* adverbials telic and those that do not atelic, setting aside the issue of felicity with *for* adverbials.

- (437) Qudret bir sa'et ikki parche salam xet yazdi.
 Qudret bir sa'et ikki parche salam xet yaz-di-0
 Qudret one hour two CL greeting letter write-PST-3
 "Qudret wrote two greeting letters for an hour."

The following set of examples shows that bleached V2s that require an agentive subject and can host passive morphology combine with accomplishments, as evidenced by their felicity with both *for* and *in* adverbials.

- (438) a. Tursun kitabni bir sa'et oqup baqti.
 Tursun kitab-ni bir sa'et oqu-(i)p baq-di-0
 Tursun book-ACC one hour read-(I)P raise-PST-3
 "Tursun had a read at the book for an hour."
- b. Tursun bir sa'ette kitabni oqup baqti.
 Tursun bir sa'et-da kitab-ni oqu-(i)p baq-di-0
 Tursun one hour-LOC book-ACC read-(I)P raise-PST-3
 "Tursun had a read of the book in an hour."

- (439) a. Tursun kitabni bir sa'et oqup chiqti.
 Tursun kitab-ni bir sa'et oqu-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Tursun book-ACC one hour read-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 "Tursun read through the book for an hour."
- b. Tursun bir sa'ette kitabni oqup chiqti.
 Tursun bir sa'et-da kitab-ni oqu-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Tursun one hour-LOC book-ACC read-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 "Tursun read through the book in an hour."

- (440) a. Tursun romanni bir hepte yézip qoydi.
 Tursun roman-ni bir hepte yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun novel-ACC one week write-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote the novel up for one week.”
- b. Tursun bir heptide romanni yézip qoydi.
 Tursun bir hepte-da roman-ni yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun one week-LOC novel-ACC write-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote the novel up in one week.”

- (441) a. ?Tursun romanni üch sa’et yézip tashlidi.
 Tursun roman-ni üch sa’et yaz-(i)p tashla-di-0
 Tursun novel-ACC one week write-(I)P throw-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote out the novel for one week.”
- b. Tursun bir heptide romanni yézip tashlidi.
 Tursun bir hepte-da roman-ni yaz-(i)p tashla-di-0
 Tursun one week-LOC novel-ACC throw-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote out the novel in one week.”

In terms of aspectual generalizations, there are two types of bleached V2 that do not require an agentive subject. First, there are bleached V2s that are compatible with *for* adverbials but not *in* adverbials. That is, they appear with predicates that are [+ durative] but [– telic]. These bleached V2s derive habitual descriptions of events that iterate with some regularity.

- (442) a. Bu xarabe 500 yildin béri saqlinip kelgen.
 Bu xarabe 500 yil-din béri saqla-in-(i)p kel-gan
 DEM ruins 500 year-ABL since preserve-PASS-(I)P come-PERF
 “These ruins have been preserved for 500 years.”
- b. *Bu xarabe 500 yilda saqlinip kelgen.
 Bu xarabe 500 yil-da saqla-in-(i)p kel-gan
 DEM ruins 500 year-LOC preserve-PASS-(I)P come-PERF
 Intended: “These ruins have been preserved in 500 years.”

- (443) a. Közini bir minut yumup turdi.
 Köz-i-ni bir minut yum-(i)p tur-di-0
 Eye-3.POSS-ACC one minute blink-(I)P stay-PST-3
 “(S)he/they kept blinking their eyes for a minute.” (www.ts.cn)
- b. *Bir minutta közini yumup turdi.
 Bir minut-da köz-i-ni yum-(i)p tur-di-0
 One minute-LOC Eye-3.POSS-ACC blink-(I)P stay-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he/they kept blinking their eyes for a minute.”

The second type of bleached V2 that does not require an agentive subject shows the opposite behavior to the type just described: these V2s are compatible with *in* but not *for* adverbials, indicating that they are [+ telic] but [– durative]. These V2s derive readings in which a change of state comes about suddenly or unexpectedly.

- (444) a. ??
 Men ikki sa’et charchap kettim.
 Men ikki sa’et charcha-(i)p ket-di-m
 1SG two hour become.tired-(I)P leave-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I got tired for two hours.”
- b. ?Men ikki sa’ette charchap kettim.
 Men ikki sa’et-da charcha-(i)p ket-di-m
 1SG two hour-LOC become.tired-(I)P leave-PST-1SG
 “I got tired in two hours.”
- (445) a. ??
 Men ikki sa’et charchap qalдим.
 Men ikki sa’et charcha-(i)p qal-di-m
 1SG two hour become.tired-(I)P remain-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I became tired for two hours.”
- b. Men ikki sa’ette charchap qalдим.
 Men ikki sa’et-da charcha-(i)p qal-di-m
 1SG two hour-LOC become.tired-(I)P remain-PST-1SG
 “I became tired in two hours.”

I do not delve into the differences between the above two aspectual types of bleached V2. For present purposes, I consider there to be two types of bleached V2 in terms of aspect:

those that derive accomplishment readings, and those that derive non-accomplishment readings. The significance of this two-way grouping, which will be elaborated upon in the next section, is that the bleached V2s that select accomplishment verb constellations must co-occur with $-(i)p$ in the InnerAspect telicity-marking position. Bleached V2s that do not derive accomplishments, on the other hand, co-occur with $-(i)p$ merged in an Event head, which does not interact with telicity.

I combine generalizations of passivization behavior, agent requirement, and aspectual adverbial compatibility in table 3.11.

Agentive subject	Derived accomplishment?	Passivized verb	$-(i)p +$ V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
required	✓	V2 (low V2)	baq	raise	conative, to try
			chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
			öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
			qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
			tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
optional	X	V1 (high V2)	kel	come	iteration from past to present
			ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
			oltur	sit	iteration while waiting
			qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
			tur	stand, stay	iteration
			yür	walk	iteration over long interval
optional	X	V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction

Table 3.11: Uyghur bleached V2s based on agentivity, aspectual adverbial compatibility, and passivization pattern

There is a final generalization worth mentioning, although I do not at this time have a good explanation for it. Bleached V2s which require agentive subjects, can be passived and combine with accomplishments also appear to carry a cessation implicature. That is, when they are used in the morphological past tense, there is a strong assertion that the event described by the lexical V1 is not ongoing at utterance time. As indicated by the English translations, each sentence in the next set of examples can only describe a past event, not a currently ongoing event.

- (446) Mustafa tamaqni yep baqti.
 Mustafa tamaq-ni ye-(i)p baq-di-0
 Mustafa food-ACC eat-(I)P raise-PST-3
 “Mustafa took a bite of the food/*is taking a bite of the food.”

- (447) Mustafa maqale yézip chiqti.
 Mustafa maqale yaz-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Mustafa essay write-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “Mustafa wrote/*is writing a whole essay.”

- (448) Tursun kitab oqup qoydi.
 Tursun book oqu-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun book read-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun read up/*is reading up a book.”

- (449) Tursun romanni yézip tashlidi.
 Tursun roman-ni yaz-(i)p tashla-di-0
 Tursun novel-ACC write-(I)P throw-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote out/*is writing out the novel.”

There is no cessation implicature, however, made by bleached V2s that do not require agentive subjects and can select passivized complements. Whether it is the type of bleached V2 that is only compatible with *for* adverbials or only compatible with *in* adverbials, both types of high V2 can be used to make a statement about ongoing actions (a progressive meaning) or presently salient result states despite having past tense inflection. This is indicated by the translations in the next set of examples.

- (450) Xarabe hazirghiche yaxshi saqlinip keldi.
 Xarabe hazir-ghiche yaxshi saqla-in-(i)p kel-di-0
 Ruins now-LIM well preserve-PASS-(I)P come-PST-3
 “These ruins have been well preserved (up through now).”

- (451) Hazir téléwizor buzulup ketti.
 Hazir téléwizor buz-il-(i)p ket-di-0
 Now TV break-PASS-(I)P leave-PST-3
 “The TV broke/is broken.”
- (452) Abliz baya zukam bop qaldi.
 Abliz baya zukam bol-(i)p qal-di-0
 Abliz just.now cold become-(I)P remain-PST-3
 “Abliz got/has a cold.”
- (453) U manga xet yézip turdi.
 U men-ga xet yaz-(i)p tur-di-0
 3SG 1SG-DAT letter write-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “(S)he/they often wrote/write me letters.”

One might argue that the passivization facts reviewed in the previous section fall out from the agentivity restrictions of the V2s discussed in this section. That is, if only predicates with an underlying agentive external argument may be passivized, then it is to be expected that those bleached V2s that select agentive subjects can be passivized, while other bleached V2s cannot. However, it is not the case that some bleached V2s do not combine with agentive subjects; rather some verbs only combine with agentive subjects, while others can combine with both agentive and non-agentive subjects. (454) shows high V2 *tur* combining and agreeing with an agentive subject, yet (455), in which passive morphology follows *tur*, is ungrammatical.

- (454) Tursun roman yézip turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun Novel write-(I)P stay-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps writing novels.”
- (455) *Roman yézip turulidu.
 Roman yaz-(i)p tur-il-i-du
 Novel write-(I)P stand-PASS-NPST-3
 Intended: “The novel keeps being written.”

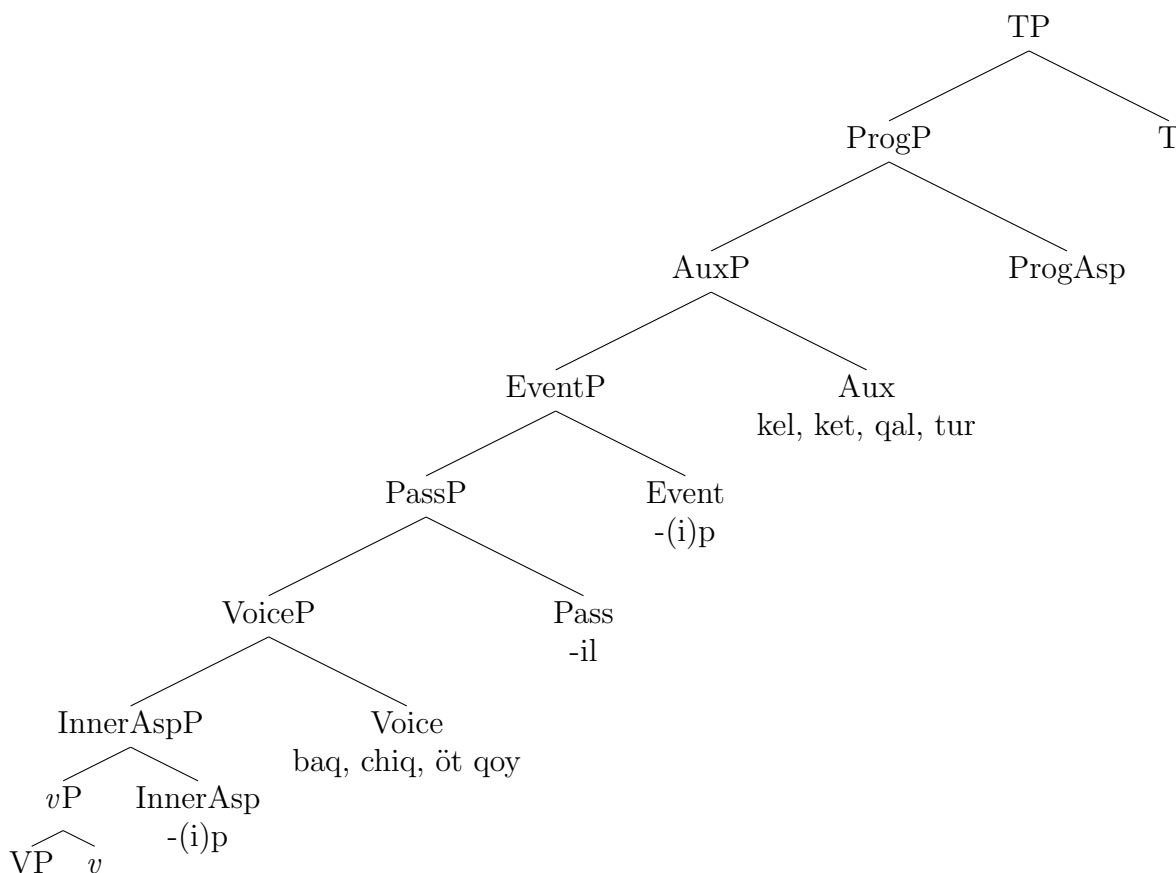
These facts can be accounted for with a structural explanation guided by the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985): if the passive morpheme can only appear between the lexical verb and the high V2 in surface morpheme order, then the syntactic head hosting the passive suffix must be located between the lexical verb and high V2 as well. By the same token, if the passive morpheme can only follow and never precede a low V2, then it must correspond to a syntactic head c-commanding the low V2. I formalize this account in the next section.

3.8 Proposal

Along the line of reasoning developed in the previous two sections, I argue that those V2s whose complements may be passivized (high V2s) are merged in Auxiliary heads higher than Pass in the clausal structure, while V2s which can be passivized (low V2s) are overt realizations of the external argument-selecting head Voice. This proposal will necessitate that *-(i)p* does not appear in one and the same heads in all bleached V2 constructions either. I will argue that *-(i)p* in these constructions may be an overt realization of either an Inner Aspect or Event head, whose properties were reviewed at length in chapter 1.

The clausal spine I argue for is shown in (456).

(456)

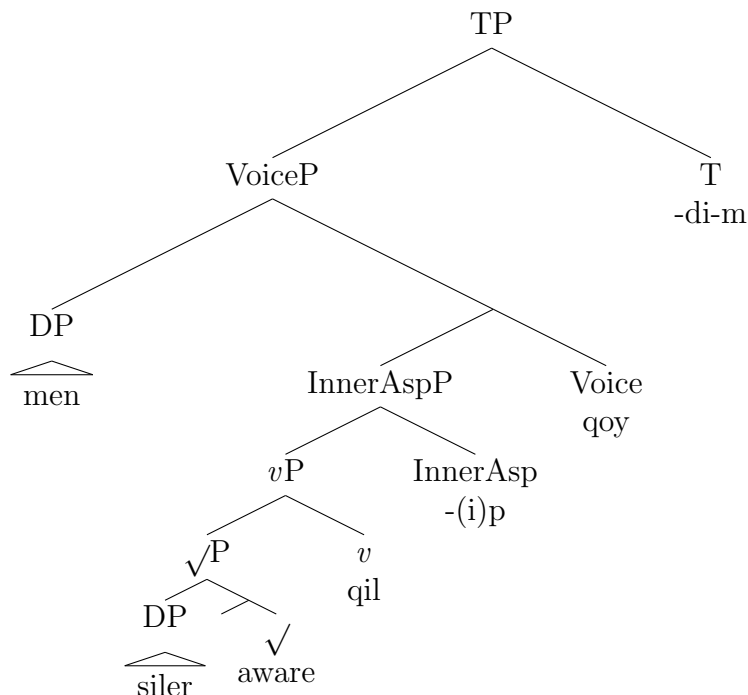


3.8.1 Low V2s and -(i)p: Voice and Inner Aspect

Since Marantz (1981), Larson (1988) and Hale and Keyser (1993), an abundance of cross-linguistic evidence has emerged that external arguments are introduced by a separate verbal projection from the projection introducing internal arguments. Kratzer (1996) makes this proposal explicit and calls the projection introducing the external argument VoiceP. Although this projection has also been labeled *v*P (Chomsky 1995, Coon and Preminger 2011 inter alia), I follow Pytkänen (2008) and Harley (2013) among others in positing a distinction between Voice and *v*. The former head introduces external arguments while the latter serves as a verbalizer of roots. That Uyghur lower V2s must be merged in a higher head than *v* can be seen from the fact that the complement of a low V2 may be headed by *qil* or *bol*, which are argued by Sugar (2017a) to overtly realize *v* light verb heads. In (457a), for example, *qil* verbalizes and accommodates the Persian loan *aware* ‘trouble’ into Uyghur grammar, serving as the host of tense and person inflection required for Uyghur verbs. (457b) shows that the low V2 *qoy* may follow this light verb construction. Tree 458 shows the base positions in which heads and arguments are introduced to derive (457b).

- (457) a. Men silerni aware qildim.
 Men siler-ni aware qil-di-m
 1SG 2PL-ACC trouble do-PST-1SG
 “I gave you trouble.”
- b. Men silerni aware qilip qoydum.
 Men siler-ni aware qil-(i)p qoy-di-m
 1SG 2PL-ACC trouble do-(I)P put-PST-1SG
 “I gave you a lot of trouble.” (Engesæth 2000: 101)

(458)



Having situated low V2s in the Voice head, I will now argue that *-(i)p* fills an Inner Aspect head in the presence of a low V2. Recall the basic pattern of bleached V2 constructions: *-(i)p* is suffixed to V1 and immediately precedes V2. Across Uyghur grammar, *-(i)p* only appears on verbs or verb phrases that are followed by other verbs or verb phrases, and it cannot cooccur with finite inflection (459).

- (459) *Tursun kitab oqu(idu).
Tusun kitab oqu-(i)p-(i-du)
Tursun book read-(I)P-(NPST-3)
Intended: “Tursun read(s) a book.”

-(i)p also does not coordinate non-verbal items.

- (460) *Tursun almap qoghun yeydu.
Tursun alma-(i)p qoghun ye-i-du
Tursun apple-(I)P melon eat-NPST-3
Intended: “Tursun eats apples and melons.”

As discussed in chapter 1, Uyghur verbs may not be used in their bare, uninflected form except for some imperative contexts.¹³

13. Even in the imperative form, the verb can take one of a variety of inflected forms, and the uninflected

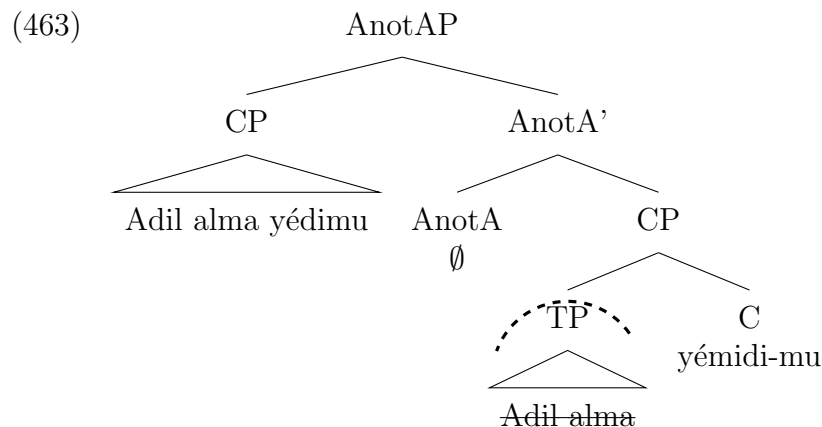
- (461) *Tursun alma ye.
 Tursun apple eat
 Intended: “Tursun eats/ate apples.”

The intuition, then, is that $-(i)p$ ’s presence is conditioned by the inflectional needs of verbs. $-(i)p$ is inserted in a functional head when V1 is unable to move to T to meet its inflectional needs.

As discussed in the two previous chapters, Uyghur verbs require morphological inflection, and usually receive inflection by moving to the T(ense) head. Uyghur’s rich agreement system makes it a likely candidate to be a language with V-to-T movement (Koenenman and Zeijlstra 2014). Further evidence that the verb moves to T comes from Major and Yakup’s (2015) analysis of A-not-A questions. In an A-not-A question in Uyghur, the verb appears first in affirmative and then in negative form, with the question marker *-mu* attached to both occurrences. Other clausal material like objects may not appear before the 2nd verb.

- (462) Adil alma yédimu (*alma) yémidimu?
 Adil alma ye-di-0-mu (*alma) ye-ma-di-0-mu
 Adil apple eat-PST-3-Q (*apple) eat-NEG-PST-3-Q
 “Did Adil eat an apple?” (Major and Yakup 2015: 10)

Major and Yakup (2015) analyze this construction as two CPs coordinated under what they call an ‘AnotAP’. An AnotAP is essentially a projection coordinating two CPs for the purpose of forming a yes-no question. The TP is elided in the second conjunct, but the verb has moved first to T and then to C.¹⁴



form is only one option (Tuohuti 2017). Given the cross-linguistic prevalence of bare imperative verb forms (WALS), I consider the availability of a null inflection to be a likely special characteristic of the imperative.

14. A question arises as to how one TP can be elided if it is not identical with the non-elided TP by virtue of having negation. While Major and Yakup (2015) do not address this issue themselves, ellipsis is presumably allowed because the negation marker, which makes the second TP different from the first, moves out of the TP and escapes deletion.

There is one circumstance, however, in which the lexical verb may also be elided: when a bleached V2 acts as the conjunct instead.

- (464) Adil alma yep baqtimu (yep) baqmidimu?
 Adil alma ye-(i)p baq-di-mu (ye-(i)p) baq-ma-di-mu
 Adil apple eat-(I)P raise-PST-Q (eat-(I)P) raise-NEG-PST-Q
 "Did Adil try to eat the apple?" (Major and Yakup 2015: 15)

Major and Yakup suggest that in such cases the bleached V2 blocks V1 from raising to T.

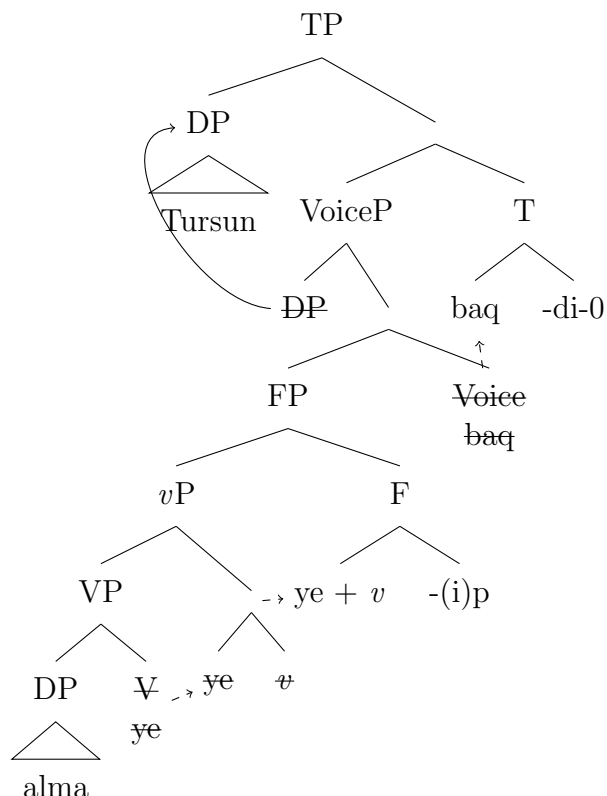
A-not-A constructions thus provide evidence that the presence of a higher verbal category in the same clause always blocks movement of V-to-T. Further evidence comes from the fact, seen throughout this chapter, that only V2 receives tense inflection, which can be explained by V-to-T movement of V2. The blocking of V1 from moving to T is due to locality restrictions first formalized by Rizzi (1990) as Relativized Minimality. Harizanov and Gribanova (2018) summarize the idea behind Relativized Minimality as follows: "the locality of Internal Merge is robustly governed by relativized minimality, whereby syntactic movement involves movement of a goal that is closest to the probe in terms of c-command and that matches the feature(s) the probe is searching for" (14). In the case of bleached V2 constructions, Relativized Minimality ensures that V1 cannot move past V2 to reach T. If T has a feature attracting a verbal category, its probe will find the closest verbal category in its c-command, V2, and become inactive upon satisfying this feature.

Uyghur verbs, however, require inflection for morphological wellformedness, as suggested for other Turkic languages by Meral (2012). I assume that movement from V to T proceeds from head to head in accordance with the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), resulting in rich inflection of the verb. Head movement will proceed through all functional heads present (including negation, causatives and passive markers), resulting in agglutinative morphology following the verb. When V1 is unable to move all the way to T for inflection because it is blocked by V2, it remains in an intermediate landing site, where *-(i)p* is inserted to satisfy V1's inflectional needs.

The derivation just described is sketched in (466) for sentence (465). In this case, low V2 *baq* is an overt Voice head that moves to T for finite inflection. V1 *ye* moves, unable to move past *baq* moves to a functional head below Voice where *-(i)p* is inserted.

- (465) Tursun alma yep baqti.
 Tursun alma ye-(i)p baq-di-0
 Tursun apple eat-(I)P raise-PST-3
 "Tursun tried eating an apple."

(466)



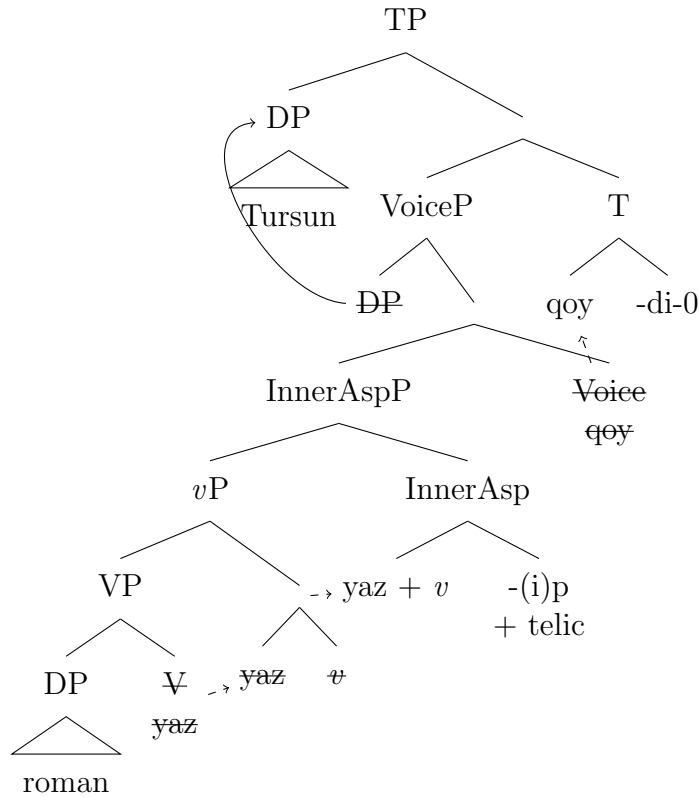
I propose that InnerAsp(ect) is the head at which movement of lexical V1 stops and $-(i)p$ is merged in the presence of a low V2 in Voice. Chapter 1 reviewed a variety of proposals for a functional sandwiched between an external argument-introducing verbal head (Voice in my terms) and the lexical verb. This head has been proposed to host derived objects for agreement purposes (Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Koizumi 1995, Bowers 2002, Collins 2003, Baker and Collins 2006 inter alia). Travis (1991, 2010) and MacDonald (2008) argue that a head in this position can encode telicity, hence the name ‘Inner Aspect’. Chapter 2 argued that this same head is realized by $-(i)p$, absent the [+ telic] feature, in inner aspect SVCs.

When $-(i)p$ realizes InnerAsp in a low V2 construction, it bears a [+ telic] feature. Recall from section 3.7 that Uyghur V2s that can host passive morphology are, like the accomplishments discussed by Fukuda, able to pick out the endpoints of events. That is, low V2s always select as complements telic predicates that are compatible with *in*-adverbials.

- (467) Tursun bir heptide roman yézip qoydi.
 Tursun bir hepte-da roman yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun one week-LOC novel write-(I)P up-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote up a novel in one week.”

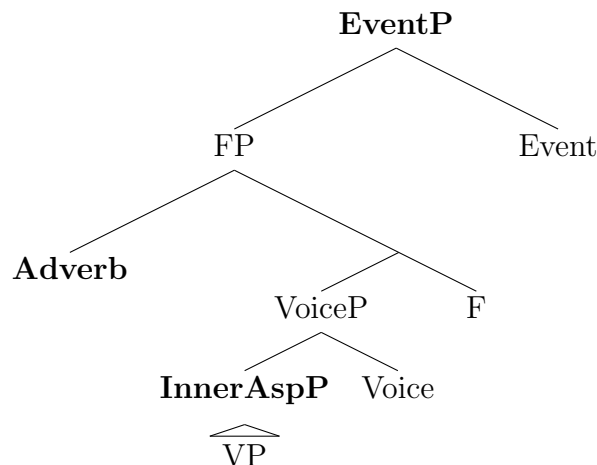
An InnerAspect head is present in Uyghur between Voice (the low V2) and *v/V* (lexical V1), and this head is endowed with the [+ telic] feature when selected by a low V2. A derivation of (467) should thus proceed as in (468).

(468)



My analysis predicts that the complement of a low V2 should contain the same amount of structural material as is found when *-(i)p* heads an InnerAspect Phrase adjoining to the projection of V2 in an IASVC. One difference between an Event Phrase and InnerAspect Phrase that I described in chapter 1 is that the former but not the latter includes the functional projection at which manner adverbs can be merged.

(469)



Recall from chapter 2 that V1 in an IASVC may not be modified by a manner adverb to the exclusion of V2.

- (470) Ahmat mitalni téz urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni téz uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC quickly pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3

“Ahmat quickly pounded the metal flat.” (*“quickly pounded the metal and flattened it”)

If the complement of a low V2 is InnerAspectP, then it should not be possible for a manner adverb to scope under a low V2. Indeed, *tézla* ‘quickly’ can modify both lexical V1 and low V2 *baq* in (471), but it cannot scope under *baq*.

- (471) Tursun tamaqni tézla yep baqti.
Tursun tamaq-ni téz-la ye-(i)p baq-di-0
Tursun food-ACC quickly-FOC eat-(I)P raise-PST-3

“Tursun quickly tried the food.” (*baq* > *téz*)

*“Tursun tried to quickly eat the food.” (**téz* > *baq*)

The obligatorily high scope of the adverb relative to *baq* is due to the fact that there is no position for the adverb to merge within *baq*’s complement. Manner adverbs instead are merged in a functional projection above VoiceP, as schematized in (469).

3.8.2 High V2s and -(i)p: Auxiliary and Event

In contrast with low V2s, high V2s never require an agentive subject (although they allow agentive subjects). This fact is easily explained if high V2s merge in an auxiliary head

higher than the Voice head which introduces the external arguments. In addition to being outside the domain in which arguments are merged, auxiliaries are also outside the domain of aspectual calculation. These properties are in accordance with previous definitions of auxiliaries as distinct elements from so-called light verbs (Seiss et al. 2009, Butt 2010).

Continuing with the discussion in the previous subsection, an Auxiliary head blocks movement of a lower verb (either a lexical V1 or a low V2, to be illustrated in section 3.9.2) to T. I propose that in such cases, verb movement stops in an Event head, where *-(i)p* is inserted to satisfy the verb’s need for inflection. Chapter 1 provided an extensive review of proposals for a functional projection just above the voice and verbal domain. Authors have proposed that derived objects move to the specifier of a mid-clausal functional projection (Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Mahajan 1990, Chomsky 1991, Johnson 1991, Runner 1993, Aygen 2007 and Kahnemuyipour 2009), and I proposed in chapter 1 that derived objects in Uyghur, suffixed with the accusative case marker *-ni*, also move to this position. Travis (2010) (followed by Stewart 2013 and Cole 2016) claims that this position marks the boundary of a syntactic event, binding an event variable in the sense of Higginbotham (1985). In chapter 1, I claimed that the Event head in Uyghur marks the point at which a verb and all its arguments have been merged.

The definition of this head as an event binder is suitable for the role played by *-(i)p* in the presence of high V2s. Recall from the discussion in section 3.6 that high V2s do not play a role in selecting external (or internal) arguments: they may combine with predicates whose subject is agentive or non-agentive.

- (472) Tursun roman yézip turdi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p tur-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P keep-PST-1SG
 “Tursun kept writing a novel.”

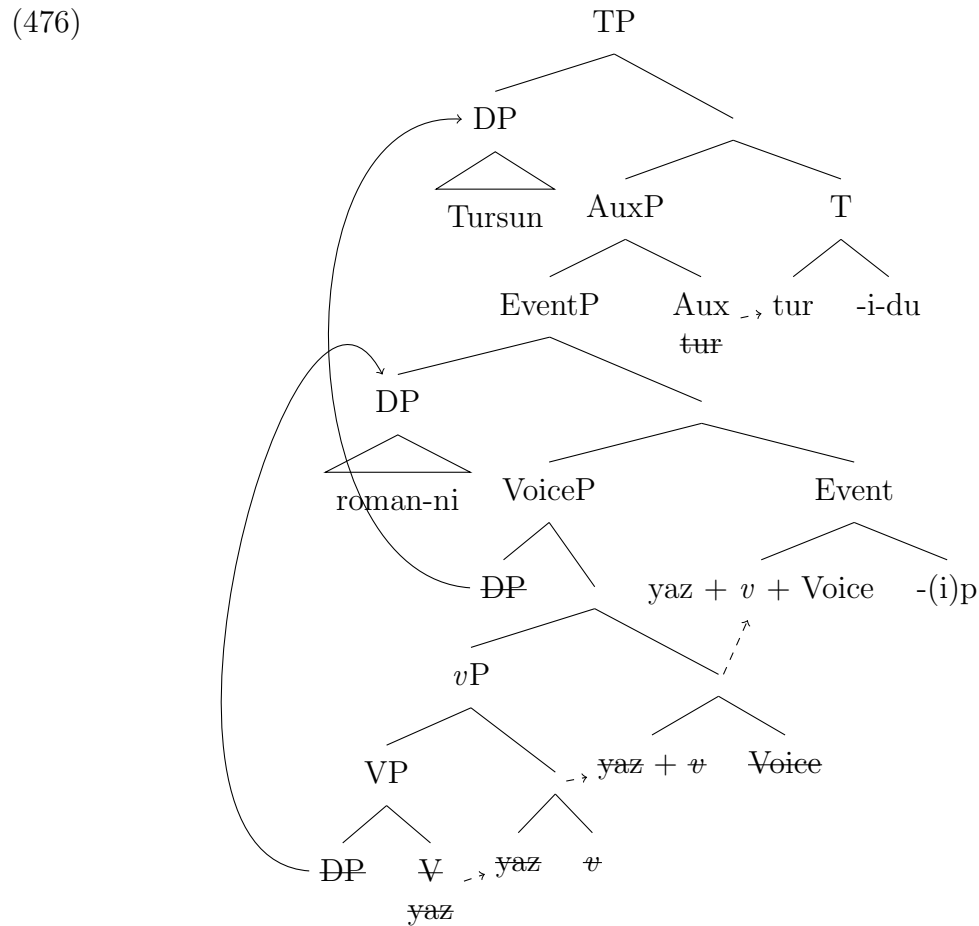
- (473) Qar yighip turidu.
 Qar yagh-(i)p tur-i-du
 Snow fall-(I)P keep-NPST-3
 “It keeps snowing.”

The complement of a high V2 may also take overt voice morphology.

- (474) Poyizning awazi anglinip turdi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-il-(i)p tur-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-(I)P keep-PST-3
 “The sound of the train kept being heard.” (Abridged from Isra’il 2016: 62)

Given that its argument structure is saturated and voice morphology has already attached, the complement of high V2s can be considered a well-formed syntactic event as defined in chapter 1. Additionally, the function of high V2s like *tur* is to express iteration of a whole event, rather than add an endpoint. I thus propose that, in the presence of a high V2, $-(i)p$ heads the Event projection delimiting a syntactic event. The Event projection is also the landing site and licensing position of marked specific objects as discussed in chapter 1. Putting the above discussion together, a derivation of (475) will look like (476). The Aux *tur* moves to T for finite inflection, forcing V1 *yaz* to stop its head movement at Event, where $-(i)p$ is inserted.

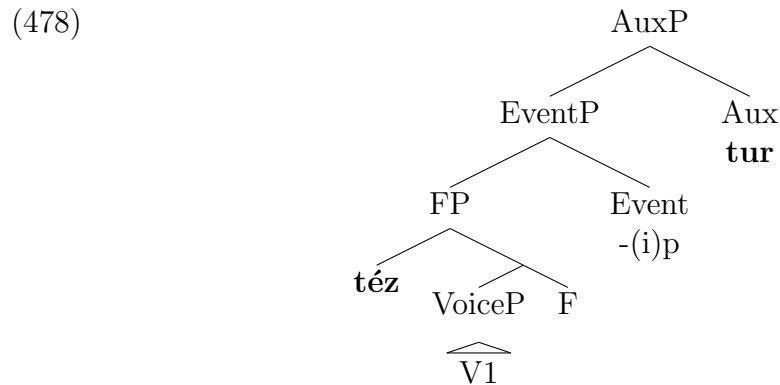
- (475) Tursun romanni yézip turidu.
 Tursun roman-ni yaz-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun novel-ACC write-(1)P keep-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps writing the novel.”



My analysis predicts that the complement of a high V2, being an EventPhrase, can include a manner adverb that will scope under the high V2. (477) shows that it is possible for the manner adverb *téz* ‘quickly’ to scope under high V2 *tur*, but it is not possible for *téz* to modify *tur*.

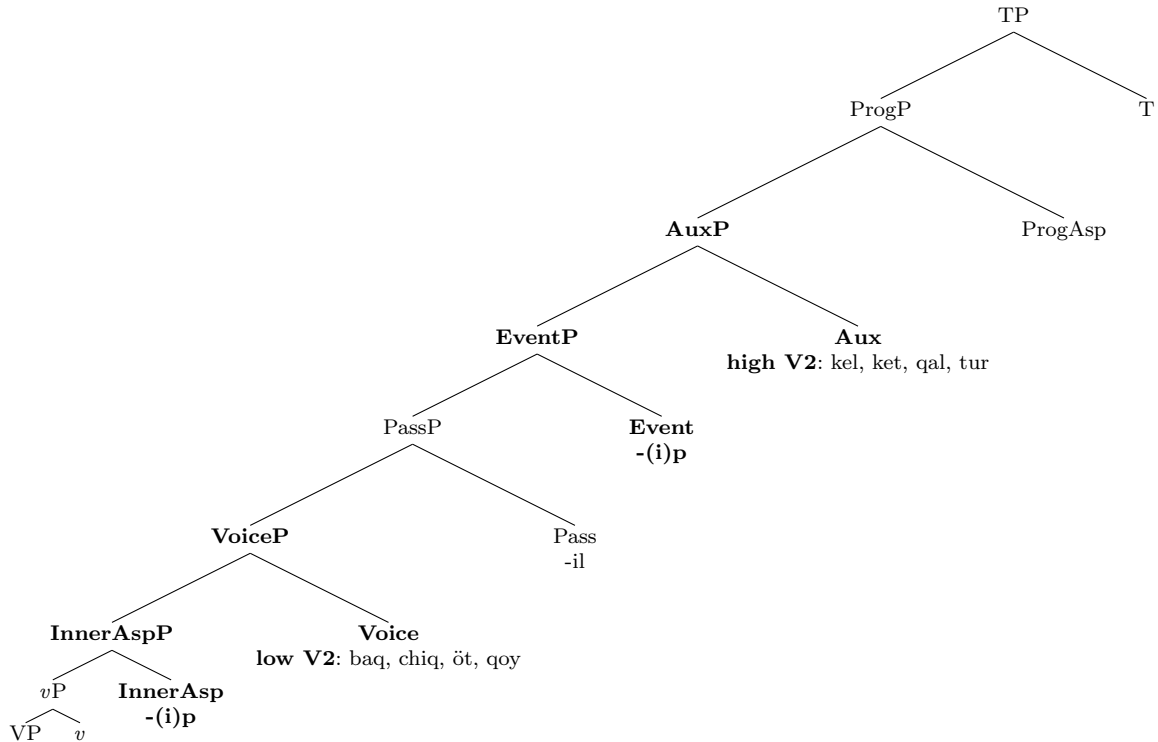
- (477) Tursun romanni téz oqup turidu.
 Tursun roman-ni téz oqu-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun novel-ACC quickly read-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps reading the novel quickly.” (tur > téz)
 * “Tursun quickly keeps reading the novel.” (*téz > tur)

The scope facts exemplified in (477) are consistent with an analysis in which EventP, the complement of a high V2, can include a functional projection introducing manner adverbs.



3.8.3 Summary

In this section I have proposed that low V2s are Voice heads while high V2s are Auxiliary heads, and that *-(i)p* is an overtly realized InnerAspect of Event head when a respective bleached V2 is present. *-(i)p* is inserted whenever a verb is unable to move past one of these event-related heads to receive inflection from T. The clausal spine I have motivated is repeated in (479).



The situation found in Uyghur *-(i)p* constructions is in a sense the inverse of English *do*-support (Chomsky 1975, Pollock 1989, Embick and Noyer 2001), in which *do* is merged to spell out features on T when another item (such as negation) blocks movement of the verb to T at LF. Rather than inserting a verbal element to agree with T as in English, in Uyghur an element must be inserted because a verbal element is unable to agree with T.

The analysis I proposed situates high V2s in an Aux head asymmetrically c-commanding Voice, which can be realized by a low V2. This makes the prediction that if both a high and low V2 are present in one sentence, it should be possible for *-(i)p* to be suffixed after a low V2 as well. The next section will show that this prediction, among others made by the analysis, is indeed borne out.

3.9 Predictions Made by the Analysis

In this chapter, I have been motivating an analysis in which bleached V2s are either base-merged as Voice or Aux heads, and *-(i)p* overtly realizes an InnerAsp or Event head. This analysis makes clear predictions about what functional categories may be found in bleached V2 constructions, and in what order. It predicts that it should be possible for two, and no more than two, bleached V2s to appear in one clause, and that it should be possible for material to take scope between the two available positions. The structure also predicts that the base position of an agentive subject c-commands *-(i)p* in low V2 constructions, but not in high V2 positions. In this section, I will provide further motivation for the

structure I have proposed based on the ability to add causative morphology to bleached V2s, co-occurrence of high and low V2s, scope of mid-clausal markers, licensing of n-word subjects, and the addition of bleached V2s to the lexical *-(i)p* constructions analyzed in chapter 2.

3.9.1 Causatives

Assuming that voice morphology is realized by heads appearing around the upper periphery of the verbal domain, an obvious prediction for an analysis which places functional heads in fixed positions relative to passive voice morphology is that the same functional heads should show strict behavior regarding causative morphology (Cinque 2003). The highest possible position usually posited for a causative head is one in which it selects the projection introducing the external argument (Pylkkänen 2008), Voice in my terminology. My analysis of Uyghur thus predicts that the same low V2s which can be passivized can also be causativized, while high V2s that cannot be passivized also cannot be causativized. This is indeed the case: (480) shows that *qoy*, which I consider a Voice head, may be followed by the causative morpheme *-dur*, while (481) shows that *tur*, which I consider an auxiliary, may not be causativized, even though the meaning is not difficult to imagine.¹⁵ Native speakers point out that *tur* can only be causativized when it retains its lexical meaning, which would result in an odd reading of (481): “(S)he prepared the meeting room and made it stand.”

- (480) U mejlisxanini teyyarlap qoydurdi.
 U mejlisxana-ni teyyarla-(i)p qoy-dur-di-0
 3SG meeting.room-ACC prepare-(I)P put-CAUS-PST-3
 “(S)he had (someone) prepare the conference room.”

- (481) *U mejlisxanini teyyarlap turghuzdi.
 U mejlisxana-ni teyyarla-(i)p tur-guz-di-0
 3SG meeting.room-ACC prepare-(I)P stand-CAUS-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he had someone keep preparing the conference room.”

Whether on the assumption that the causative morpheme appears in a dedicated head which may select VoiceP as a complement (Pylkkänen 2008) or that it is the spellout of a *v* head whose complement may be a VoiceP (Harley 2013), the pattern in (480-481) falls out naturally if low V2s are Voice heads below the locus of voice morphology and high V2s are auxiliaries structurally superior to the locus of voice morphology.

15. The *-ghuz* suffix and its allophonic variants exist in complementary distribution with causative suffixes *-dur* and *-t* (and their allophones), conditioned by the phonological characteristics of the verb root.

3.9.2 Multiple Semantically Bleached V2s

Since my analysis allows two positions for V2s to appear (Voice and Aux), it also predicts that two bleached V2s should be able to appear in the same sentence, as long as they appear in low V2-high V2 order. In fact, both Bridges (2008) and Tuohuti (2012) have already pointed out, albeit with different analyses in mind, that this is indeed the case.

Examples (482-484) show that *baq*, *chiq* and *qoy* all may at least marginally be ordered before *tur*, but that none can follow *tur* in its bleached meaning.

- (482) a. Men téléwisorni ongshap béqip turdum.
 Men télévisor-ni ongsha-(i)p baq-(i)p tur-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P raise-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
 “I kept trying to fix the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 73)
- b. *Men téléwisorni ongshap turup baqtim.
 Men télévisor-ni ongsha-(i)p tur-(i)p baq-di-m
 1SG television-ACC repair-(I)P stand-(I)P raise-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I tried to keep fixing the TV.” (Bridges 2008: 76)
- (483) a. ?U gézitni oqup chiqip turdi.
 U gézit-ni oqu-(i)p chiq-(i)p tur-di-0
 3SG newspaper-ACC read-(I)P ascend-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “(S)he kept completely reading through the paper.” (Bridges 2008: 76)
- b. *U gézitni oqup turup chiqti.
 U gézit-ni oqu-p tur-p chiq-di-0
 3SG newspaper-ACC read-(I)P stand-(I)P ascend-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he really kept reading the newspaper.” (Bridges 2008: 76)
- (484) a. Men bu romanni oqup qoyup turuwatimen.
 Men bu roman-ni oqu-(i)p qoy-(i)p tur-iwat-y-men
 1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(i)p put-(i)p stand-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I am continuing to read up this novel.” (Tuohuti 2012: 355)
- b. *Men bu romanni oqup turup qoyuwatimen .
 Men bu roman-ni oqu-(i)p tur-(i)p qoy-iwat-y-men
 1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(i)p stand-(i)p put-PROG-NPST-1SG
 Intended: “I am continuing to read this novel (possibly as a favor).”

One may wonder if the (a) examples are still monoclausal. Though speakers say they are unlikely to say such a sentence, they show a clear preference for passivizing the low V2 rather than the lexical verb in sentences like (484), as shown in (485). That V1 may not be passivized, a single passivization instead occurring on the low V2, is a sign that sentences with two bleached V2s still comprise a single clause.

- (485) ?Roman oq(*ul)up qoyulup turuwatidu.
 Roman oqu-(*il)-(i)p qoy-il-p tur-iwat-y-du
 Novel read-(*PASS)-(I)P put-PASS-(I)P stand-PROG-NPST-3
 “The novel keeps being read up.”

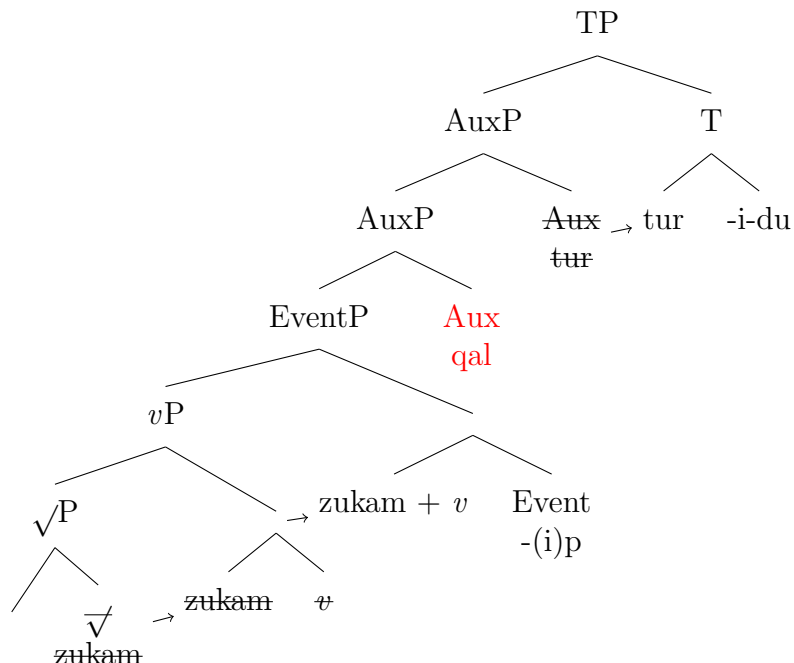
The prediction made by the analysis that two bleached V2s can occur in a rigid order is borne out, since *V/v*, Voice and Aux occupy fixed positions in the clause. It is natural to ask why multiple V2s, being auxiliaries, cannot co-occur or stack upon one another in a clause. That is, why shouldn’t a sentence like (486) with two high V2s, whose meaning is entirely plausible, be ungrammatical?¹⁶

- (486) *Abliz da’im késel bop qap turidu.
 Abliz da’im késel bol-(i)p qal-(i)p tur-i-du
 Abliz always sickness become-(I)P remain-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 Intended: “Abliz is always getting sick.”

I believe the number of verbal categories that may be merged in a Uyghur sentence is constrained by the availability of inflectional heads. I have analyzed *-(i)p* as occupying specific positions along a clausal spine (the Event head when an Aux is present), and this predicts that high V2s should not co-occur because there is only one Event head available per clause to satisfy the morphological requirement of V1. If two high V2s were present in a sentence like (486), there would be no position for *-(i)p* to merge between the two Aux heads, leaving one Aux unable to find a source of inflection. Only one Event head is available per clause because only one syntactic event is assembled in each clause, and the limit on the number of event heads limits the number of high V2s that can be merged in a clause. Tree (487) shows an attempted derivation of (486).

16. *Bol* in (486) is not a bleached V2, but a light verb verbalizing an Arabic loan. See Sugar (2017a) for discussion.

(487)



While the higher Aux *tur* moves to T for finite inflection and the V/*v* complex *zukam bol* moves to Event for *-(i)p*, there is no position to which the lower Aux *qal* can move to satisfy its inflectional requirement. I believe this is the cause of the sentence's ungrammaticality.

3.9.3 Scope of Focused Object

My analysis also predicts that it should be possible for a functional head to take scope between the low and high V2 positions.

Erlewine (2017) uses scope tests to show that while many (Mandarin) Chinese sentence-final particles appear in the high periphery of a clause, there are a number of sentence-final particles that instead appear in a clause medial position. One example of the latter type is the focus-sensitive particle *éryǐ* ‘only’. (488) shows that *éryǐ* takes scope above the verbal negation marker *bù* but below the metalinguistic negator *búshì*.

- (488) a. Wǒ **bù** hē [chá] **éryǐ**.
 1SG NEG drink tea ONLY
 “I only don’t drink [tea]_F (I drink everything else).” (Only > NEG)
 *“I don’t only drink [tea]_F (I also drink other things).” (*NEG > only) (cmn)
 (Erlewine 2017: 56)

- b. Wǒ **búshì** hē [chá] **éryǐ**.
 1SG NEG drink tea ONLY
 *‘‘I only don’t drink [tea]_F (I drink everything else).’’ (*Only > NEG)
 ‘‘I don’t only drink [tea]_F (I also drink other things).’’ (NEG > only) (cmn)
 (Erlewine 2017: 56)

The metalinguistic negator *búshì* must be merged in a high enough clausal position to select an entire clause as its complement. Leaving the issue of how to interpret the Chinese data aside, I will suggest that a focused definite object interacting with ‘only’ has a clause-medial scope position between the position of low and high bleached V2s in Uyghur as well.

As I will elaborate upon in further depth in chapter 4, *peqet* ‘only’ in combination with a focused definite object in Uyghur indicates the same type of meaning as Chinese *éryǐ*. The *-la* marker attached to the object indicates focus. Recalling discussion in chapter 1, overtly accusative case-marked objects move to Spec, EventP in Uyghur, and I consider focused objects suffixed with *-la* to appear in this same surface position. I take the optionality of the adverbial *peqet* as an indication that it is the focused object that truly expresses the meaning of ‘only’.

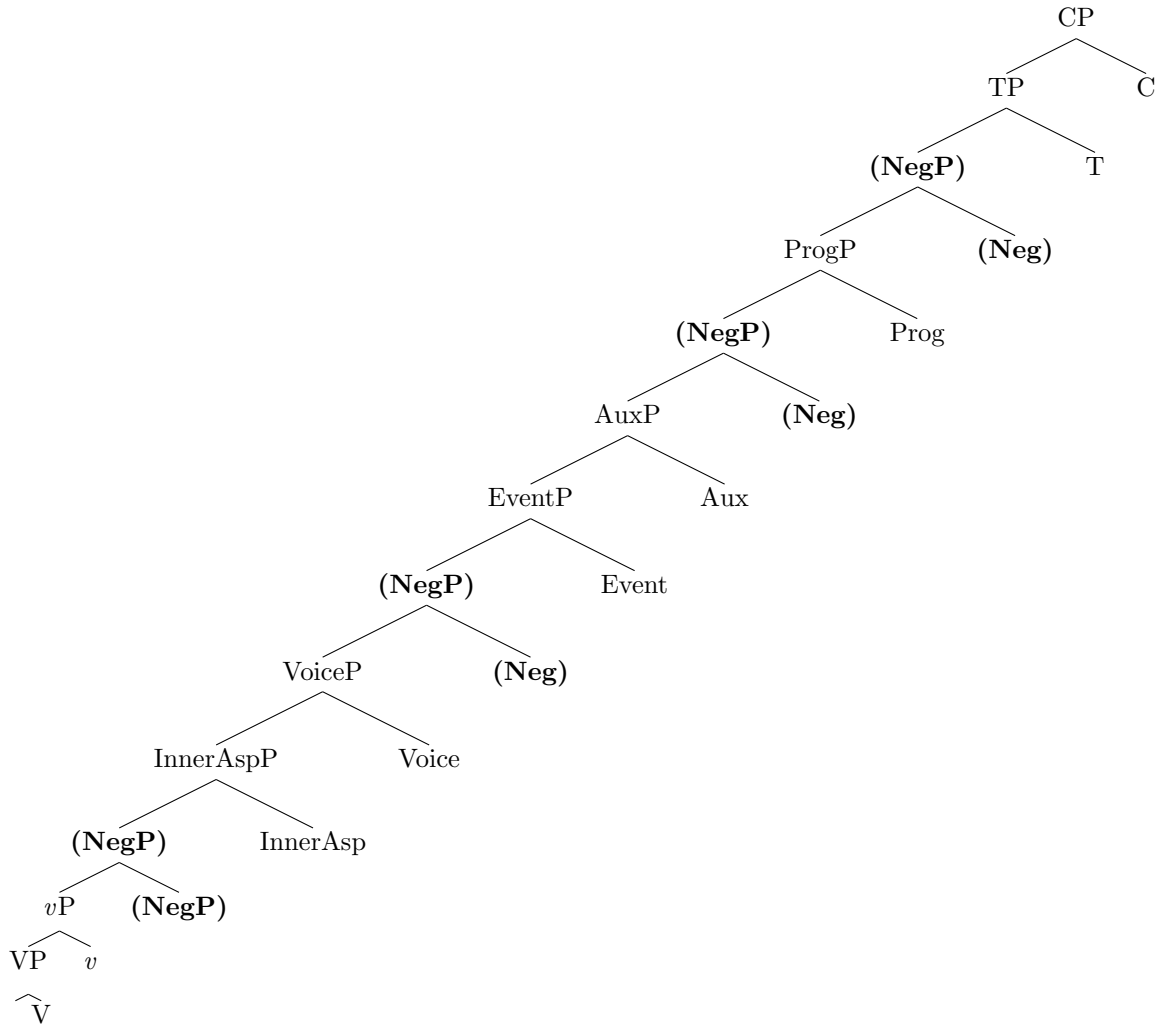
- (489) Men (peqet) chaynila ichimen.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-i-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NPST-1SG
 ‘‘I will only drink tea.’’

When the verb *ich* ‘to drink’ is negated, as in (490), two scope readings are possible. On one reading, negation has higher scope than the focused object (or ‘only’); on the other reading, negation has lower scope than the focused object (or ‘only’).

- (490) Men peqet chaynila ichmaymen.
 Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-ma-y-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-NPST-1SG
 ‘‘I only don’t drink tea (I drink everything else).’’ (FOC > NEG)
 ‘‘I don’t only drink tea (I also drink other things).’’ (NEG > FOC)

Prima facie, the scope variability in (490) could be due to either negation or the focused object occupying different positions. The next chapter will argue at length that negation can appear in multiple positions in the clause, accounting for the scope ambiguity in (490). Specifically, I will argue at length in the next chapter that a Neg head can select a *v*P, VoiceP, AuxP or ProgP as complement, as schematized in tree (491).

(491)

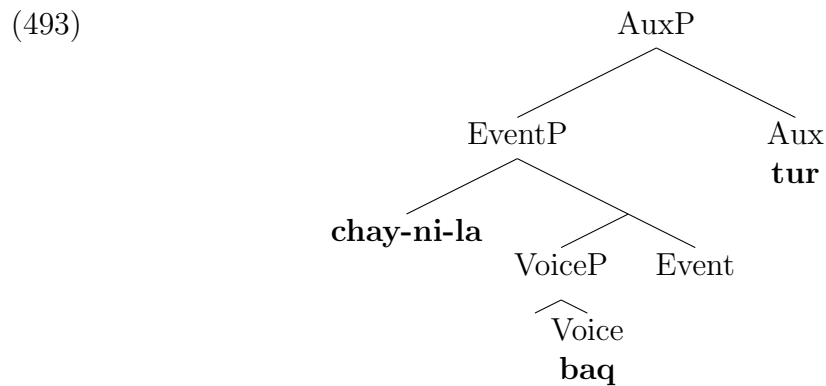


If the focused object in (490) were able to take scope at either its base position in VP or its derived position in Spec, EventP, then we would predict scope ambiguity between the focused object and (low) bleached V2s as well, contrary to fact. (492) shows that the focused object has a fixed scope position in relation to bleached V2s, and this is predicted by the analysis developed in this chapter. The focused definite object is interpreted with wider scope than the low V2 *baq* ‘raise’ in (492a), and narrower scope than the high V2 *tur* ‘stand’ in (492b).

- (492) a. Men peqet chaynila ichip baqtim.
 Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-(i)p baq-di-m
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P raise-PST-1SG
 “I only tried to drink tea.” (FOC > try)
 * “I tried to only drink tea.” (*try > FOC)

- b. Men peqet chaynila ichip turdum.
 Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-(i)p tur-di-m
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
 *‘‘I only kept drinking tea.’’ (*FOC > keep)
 ‘‘I kept only drinking tea.’’ (keep > FOC)

If both *baq* and *tur* occupied the same syntactic positions, the clear difference in scope position would be unexpected. The scope facts of (492) are explained by an analysis in which the focused object appears in the specifier of EventP, c-commanded by the high V2 Aux head and c-commanding the low V2 Voice head.



3.9.4 Licensing of Negative Subjects

A final prediction made by my analysis concerns the licensing of negative subjects. Recalling discussion in the previous chapter, an n-word is a word that expresses a negative meaning but requires the presence of a negative marker to be licensed (see Giannakidou 2006 and Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017 for overviews). A negative marker generally can only license n-words that it c-commands, and the negative marker and n-word must appear in the same clause (Oyakawa 1975, Muraki 1978, Kato 1985, Choe 1988, Progovac 1988, 1993, Longobardi 1991, Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2000, Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2000, 2006, Przepiórkowski and Kupsc 1999, Corblin and Tovenia 2001, Weiß 2002 inter alia).

The contrast in (494) shows that the n-word *héchkim* ‘nobody’ is not licit unless the verb *kel* ‘to come’ is negated.

- (494) a. *Héchkim keldi.
 Héchkim kel-di-0
 Nobody come-PST-3
 Intended: ‘‘Nobody came.’’

- b. Héchkim kelmidi.
 Héchkim kel-ma-di-0
 Nobody come-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody came.”

As I also demonstrated in the previous chapter, negation of an embedding verb will not license an n-word in the embedded clause, as (495) shows.

- (495) *Tursun [héchkimni körgenliqini] démidi.
 Tursun [héchkim-ni kör-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Tursun [nobody-ACC see-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “Tursun didn’t say that he saw anybody.”

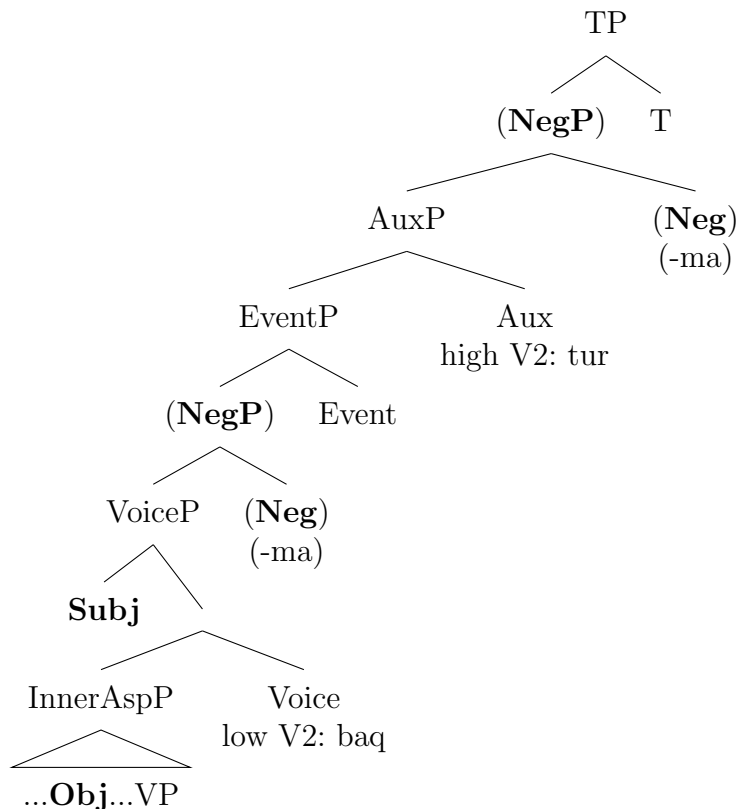
Negation on V2, whether it is a low V2 (496a) or a high V2 (496b), licenses an n-word subject.

- (496) a. Héchkim kélip qoymidi.
 Héchkim kel-(i)p qoy-ma-di-0
 Nobody come-(I)P put-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody even bothered to come.”
- b. Héchkim kélip turmidi.
 Héchkim kel-(i)p tur-ma-di-0
 Nobody come-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody kept coming.”

The facts in (496) are unsurprising: if the subject is merged in Spec, VoiceP and negation appears in a position where it can select a verbal complement,¹⁷ then negation will always c-command the subject’s base position.

17. The positions in which negation can be merged will be discussed in much greater detail in the following chapter.

(497)



As I will elaborate upon in the next chapter, it is also possible to negate the lexical V1 in a bleached V2 construction by adding the negative morpheme *-ma* before *-(i)p*.¹⁸

- (498) Mu'ellim yoqlima qilmay qoydi.
 Mu'ellim yoqlima qil-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Teacher attendance do-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3

“The teacher didn’t even take attendance.” (5000 common words, ANKI file)

18. It is an open question whether what is realized on the surface as *-may* is a single morpheme occupying the same head as *-(i)p*, or is a combination of *-ma* + *-(i)p* (as assumed but not explained by Uyghur authors Muzaipai'er 2014 and Tuohuti 2017). I opt for the latter choice in this dissertation because it allows for uniform accounts of the appearance of both *-(i)p* and negation. Positing two morpheme allows for a uniform analysis of *-(i)p* because there are then no exceptions to the requirement that V1 takes the *-(i)p* suffix. It will also allow for a uniform analysis of negation in the next chapter, where I will argue that negation merges anywhere it can select a verbal category as its complement. It is not implausible that the coda stop of *-(i)p* is weakened to a glide in the combination of *-ma* + *-(i)p*, given that a similar process is said to have happened to form the progressive suffix *-iwat* from the combination of *-(i)p* + *-yat* ‘to lie down’.

- (499) Tursun roman yazmay turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun novel write-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3

“Tursun is continuing not to write a novel.”

An interesting contrast emerges when we try to license an n-word subject by negating V1. (500) shows that negating V1 licenses an n-word subject when V2 is a high V2, but not when V2 is a low V2. This pattern is robustly attested for all high and low V2s.

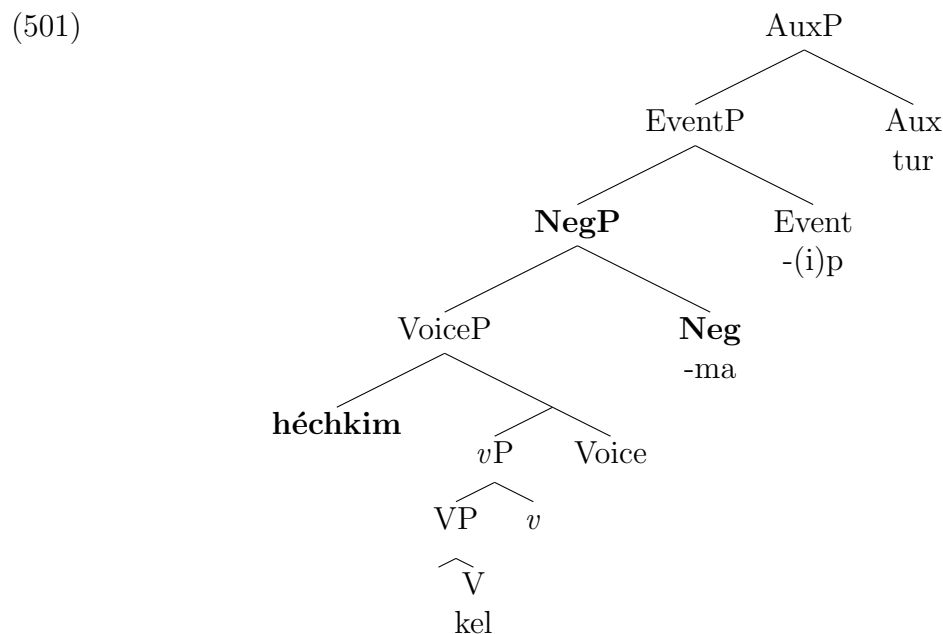
- (500) a. Héchkim derske kélelmey turdighu!
 Héchkim ders-ga kel-ala-ma-(i)p tur-di-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-ABIL-NEG-(I)P keep-PST-EMPH

“Nobody’s been coming to class!”

- b. *Héchkim derske kelmey qoydighu!
 Héchkim ders-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-di-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-PST-EMPH

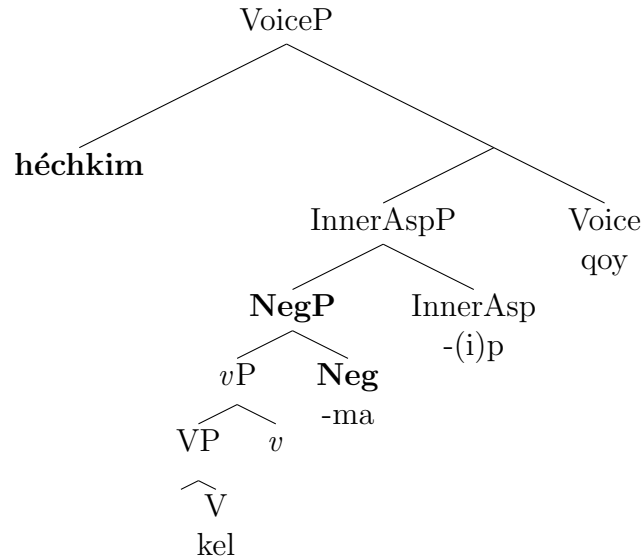
Intended: “Nobody showed up to class!”

I will demonstrate in the next chapter that verbal negation can appear at more than one point within a Uyghur clause. If the high V2 in (499) is an auxiliary outside the verbal domain, then it is possible for the negative head suffixed to V1 to be merged above Voice but below Aux, with the subject’s base position in its c-command domain.



However, I have analyzed low V2s as Voice heads, and argued that when an overt Voice head is present in the form of a low V2, V1 can only move as high as the InnerAsp head selected by Voice. Therefore, negation of the V1 followed by a low V2 must appear in a position between *v* and Voice from which it cannot possibly c-command the subject in Spec, VoiceP.

(502)



The asymmetry of n-word subject licensing by V1 negation is then another piece of evidence that low V2s and high V2s appear at two different locations in the clause.

3.9.5 Interaction with Lexical *-(i)p* Constructions

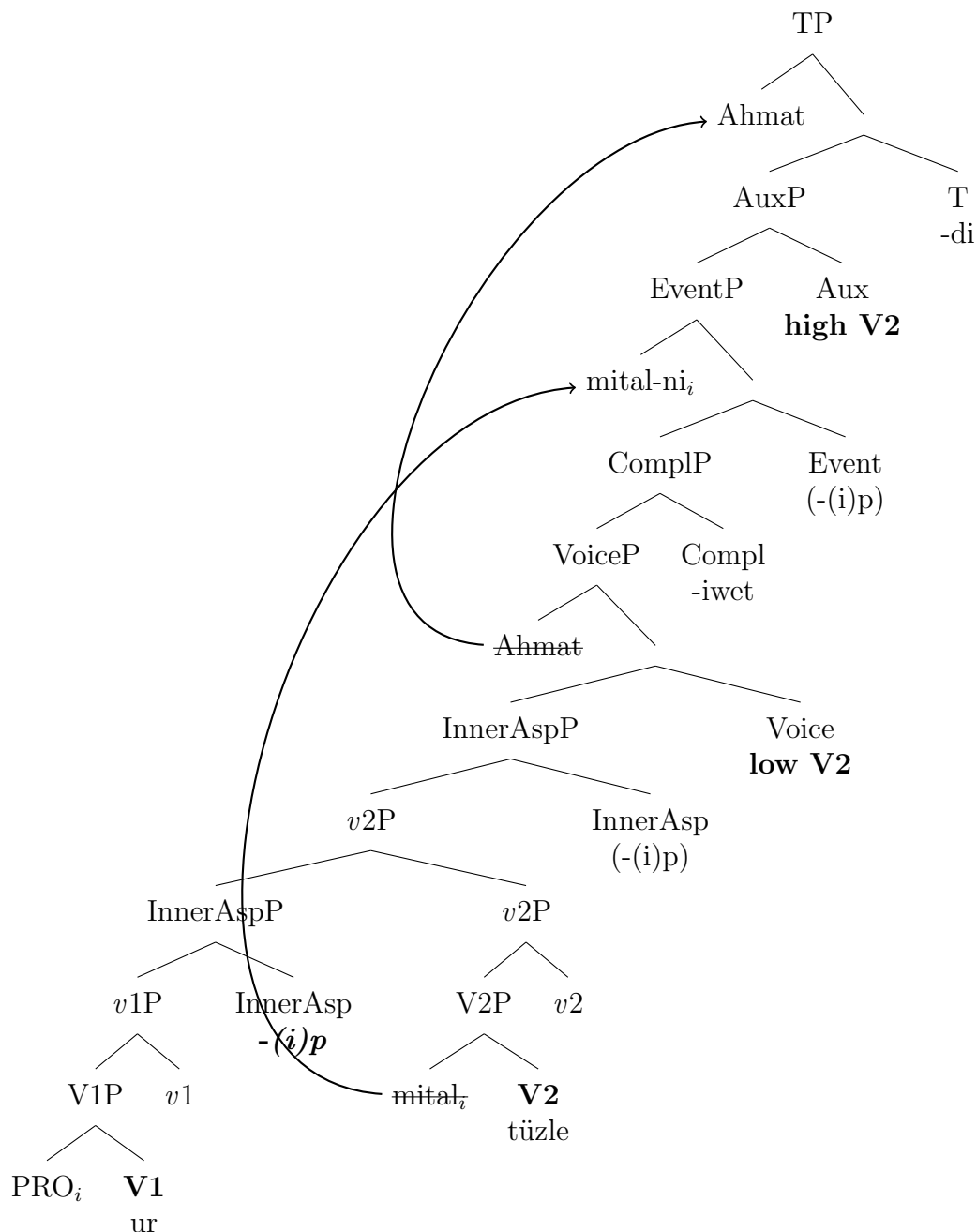
The previous chapter analyzed constructions in which both verbs are lexical as involving adjunction or coordination of InnerAspect or Event Phrases. That the same event-related projections are headed by *-(i)p* in both lexical and bleached V2 constructions makes clear predictions about the interactions between two type of constructions. Neither low V2s (Voice heads) nor high V2s (Auxiliaries) should be allowed within an InnerAspect Phrase headed by *-(i)p*, while the former but not the latter should be allowed within an Event Phrase headed by *-(i)p*. Additionally, both final low V2s and high V2s should be interpreted as providing grammatical information about both verbs when lexical V1 is adjoined under the Voice head of the main clausal spine, but only final high V2s can be related to both verbs when two EventPs are coordinated. In this section, I show that each of these predictions is empirically correct.

In chapter 2, I analyzed inner aspect SVCs (IASVCs), in which two lexical verbs obligatorily share an object as in (503), as adjunction of an InnerAspect Phrase containing V1 to *v*2P in the main clausal spine.

- (503) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

Tree (504) shows the interaction of my analysis of IASVCs with my analysis of bleached V2 constructions. The key points are that: 1) an IASVC can be included in the complement of either a low or high V2; and 2) neither a low nor high V2 may be included within an IASVC, since InnerAspP includes neither Voice nor Aux heads.

(504)



There is not enough functional structure to introduce either type of bleached V2 in the adjunct. While it is possible to add a bleached V2 after V1 in (503), the resulting reading reflected in the translations is one in which the act of pounding the metal was not the means of flattening the metal. Adding a bleached V2 after lexical V1 thus turns the construction into a multiple event construction rather than an IASVC, since the reading is of two coordinated events rather than one verb describing the manner in which an event denoted by the other verb is performed.

- (505) a. Ahmat mitalni urup qoyup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p qoy-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P put-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “Ahmat gave the metal a pound and then flattened it.”
- b. Ahmat mitalni urup turup tüzliwetti.
 Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tur-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
 Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P stand-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
 “While pounding the metal, Ahmat flattened it.”

The analysis in (504) also predicts that when a bleached V2 follows the lexical V2 of an IASVC, it will provide grammatical information about the entire construction as opposed to only about the final lexical verb since the entire IASVC is c-commanded by the bleached V2. (506) shows that this prediction is borne out.

- (506) a. Iskender mitalni urup tüzlep qoydi.
 Iskender mital-ni ur-(i)p tüzle-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Iskender metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Iskender flattened up the metal by pounding.”
- b. Iskender mitalni urup tüzlep turdi.
 Iskender mital-ni ur-(i)p tüzle-(i)p tur-di-0
 Iskender metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “Iskender kept pounding the metal flat.”

Another lexical construction discussed in chapter 2 was the event SVC. This construction looks similar to the IASVC except that V1 selects its own object, and the object of V2 precedes V2 and its object in linear order.

- (507) Shox bala derizini qolidiki tashni étip
 Shox bala derize-ni qol-i-diki tash-ni at-(i)p
 Naughty child window-ACC hand-3.POSS-REL stone-ACC throw-(I)P
 chiqiwetti.
 chaq-iwet-di-0
 break-COMPL-PST-3
 “The naughty child broke the window by throwing the stone in their/her/his hand.”

The pair of examples in (508) show that V1 of an event SVC can contain a low V2 (as in (a)), but not a high V2 (as in (b)).

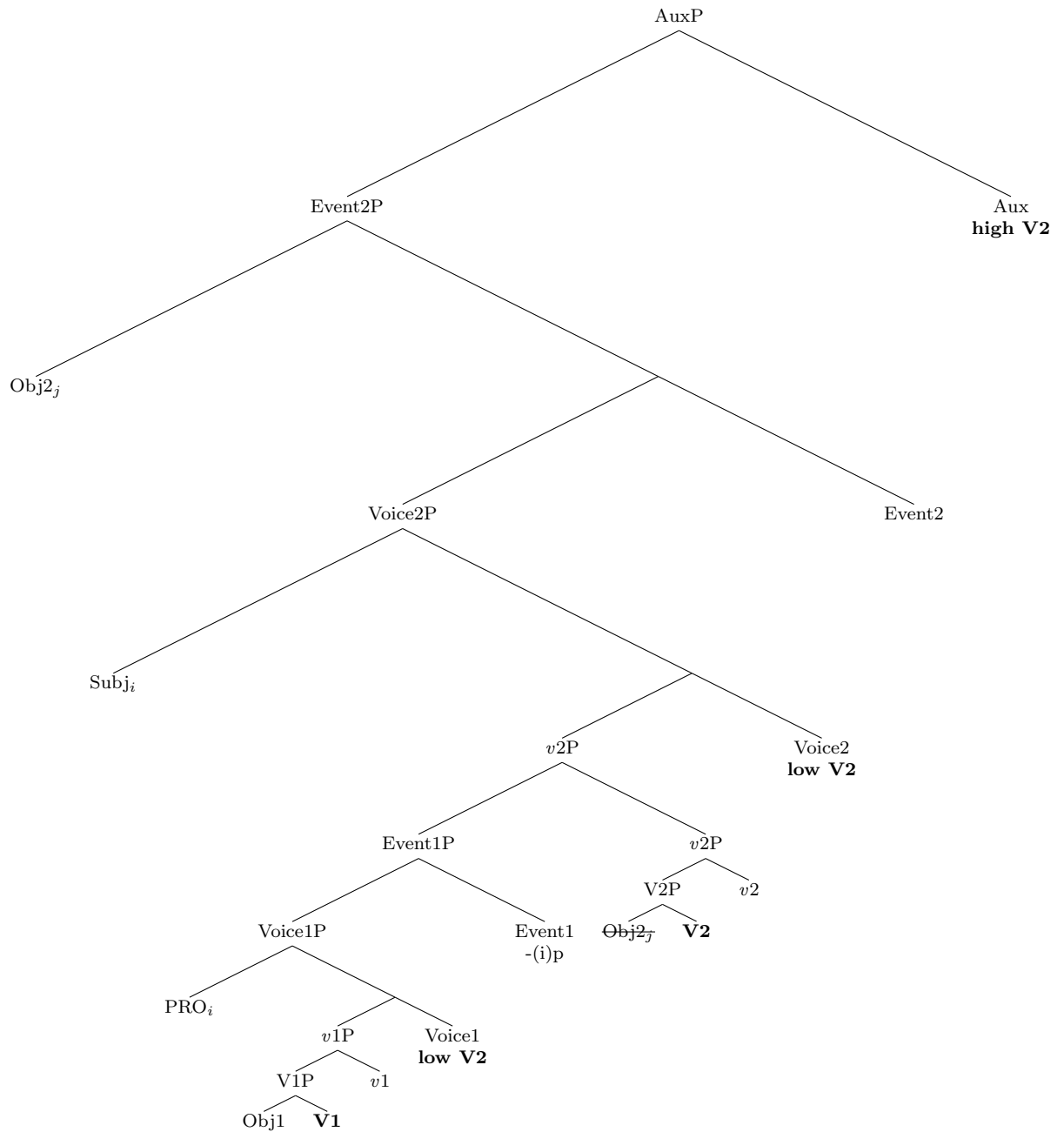
- (508) a. Kepsiz bala derizini tash étip qoyup chéqiwetti.
 Kepsiz bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p qoy-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P put-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 “The naughty child broke the window by carelessly throwing a stone.”
- b. *Kepsiz bala derizini tash étip turup chéqiwetti.
 Kepsiz bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p tur-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P stand-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3
 Intended: “The naughty child broke the window by continuing to throw stones.”

The pair of examples in (509) show that either a low V2 (509a) or a high V2 (509b) following lexical V2 in an event SVC is interpreted as modifying the entire event SVC.

- (509) a. Kiyim-kécheklerni kiralgahu ishlitip tazilap
 Kiyim-kéchek-lar-ni kiralgahu ishle-t-(i)p tazila-(i)p
 Clothing-clothing-PL-ACC washing.machine work-CAUS-(I)P clean-(I)P
 qoydi.
 qoy-di-0
 put-PST-3
 “They cleaned up the clothing by using the washing machine.”
- b. Kiyim-kécheklerni kiralgahu ishlitip tazilap
 Kiyim-kéchek-lar-ni kiralgahu ishle-t-(i)p tazila-(i)p
 Clothing-clothing-PL-ACC washing.machine work-CAUS-(I)P clean-(I)P
 turidu.
 tur-i-du
 stand-NPST-3
 “They keep cleaning the clothing by using the washing machine.”

The data in (508) and (509) are both predicted by the analyses I proposed in this and the previous chapter. In chapter 2, I analyzed V1P of event SVCs as an Event Phrase rather than just an InnerAspect Phrase adjoining to *v*2P. Because an Event Phrase includes a Voice projection, V1 of an event SVC can include a low V2 Voice head but not a high V2. As was the case with IASVC’s, any bleached V2 following lexical V2 of an event SVC will provide grammatical information about both verbs because it c-commands the entire construction.

(510)

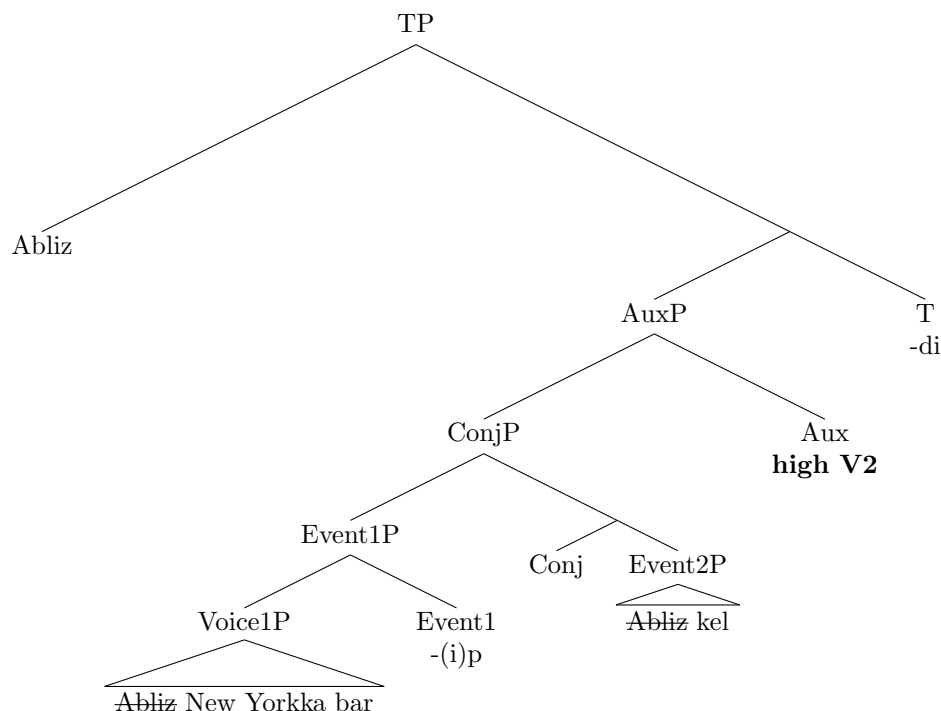


Chapter 2 also discussed multiple event constructions, which take the form [Obj1 V1 (Obj2) V2] and describe a sequence of events. I analyzed multiple event constructions like (511) in which both verbs share a subject as coordination of two Event Phrases.

- (511) Abliz New Yorkka béríp keldi.
 Abliz New York-ga bar-(i)p kel-di-0
 Abliz New York-DAT go-(I)P come-PST-3

“Abliz went to New York and came back.”

(512)



Because the conjuncts in this construction are EventPs, my analysis predicts that a high V2 but not a low V2 can be interpreted as modifying both coordinated verbs. The contrast in (513) shows that this prediction is also borne out.

- (513) a. *Dostum New Yorkka béríp kélíp baqti.
 Dost-im New York-ga bar-(i)p kel-(ip) baq-di-0
 Friend-1SG.POSS New York-DAT go-(I)P come-(I)P raise-PST-3
 Intended: “My friend had a go to New York and back.”

- b. Dostum New Yorkka béríp kélíp turdi.
 Dost-im New York-ga bar-(i)p kel-(ip) tur-di-0
 Friend-1SG.POSS New York-DAT go-(I)P come-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “My friend has always been going to New York and coming back.”

The combinatory possibilities of bleached V2 constructions and the lexical *-(i)p* constructions discussed in the previous chapter are thus correctly predicted by the analyses proposed in this chapter.

3.9.6 Summary

This section has shown that an analysis separating bleached V2s into two different structural positions makes correct predictions regarding interaction with voice heads, co-occurrence of multiple bleached V2s, scope of clause medial items, licensing of n-word subjects, and interaction with lexical *-(i)p* constructions.

3.10 The Verb *ber*, Lexical After All

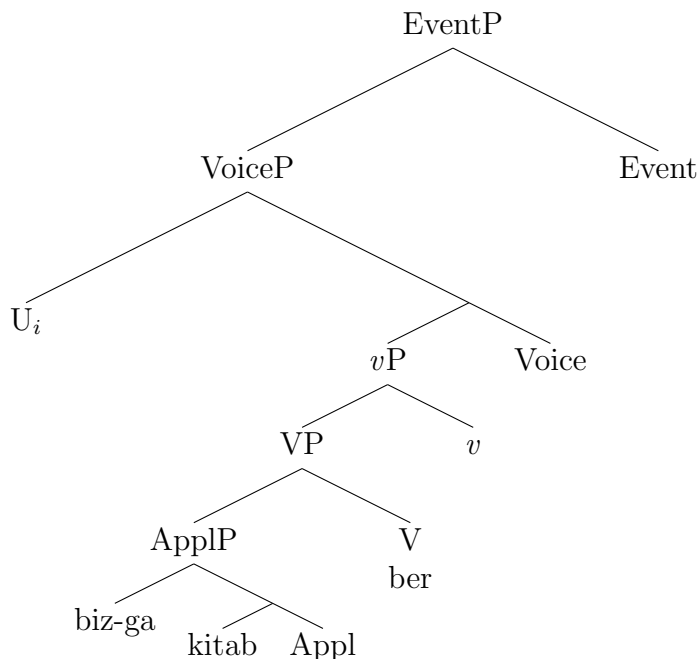
Uyghur grammars often list the verb *ber* ‘to give’ as an auxiliary verb or a verb that can be semantically bleached in certain contexts (Hahn 1991, Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003, Tuohuti 2012). In this section, I follow Bridges (2008) in arguing that *ber* does not belong in the bleached verb category.

As a standalone verb, *ber* ‘to give’ expresses a transfer of possession. The theme takes accusative case, while the recipient takes dative case.

- (514) U bizge kitab(ni) berdi.
 U biz-ga kitab(-ni) ber-di-0
 3SG 1PL-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3
 “(S)he/they gave us a/the book.”

I assume with Cuervo (2003), Pylkkänen (2008) and McGinnis (2008) that dative recipients are merged in the specifier of a low applicative projection whose complement is the theme of the transfer of possession. The low ApplP is the complement of the verb *ber*.

(515)



The usage of *ber* sometimes cited as a bleached verb occurs when *ber* follows an $-(i)p$ -marked lexical verb and indicates that an action was performed for another party's benefit. For example, *ber* in (516) states that the subject read a story for the speaker's party, but not that the subject physically transferred a story to their possession. The beneficiary is optionally realized as a dative argument.

- (516) U (bizge) hikaye oqup berdi.
U (biz-ga) hikaye oqu-(i)p ber-di-0
3SG 1PL-DAT story read-(I)P give-PST-3
“(S)he/they read a story (for us).”

This allegedly bleached *ber* does pattern with low V2s in a few ways. First, the subject of a construction with $-(i)p$ *ber* must be agentive.

- (517) a. Tursun roman yézip berdi.
Tursun roman yaz-(i)p ber-di-0
Tursun novel write-(I)P give-PST-3
“Tursun wrote a novel (for someone).”

b. *Qar yighip berdi.
Qar yigh-(i)p ber-di-0
Snow fall-(I)P give-PST-3
Intended: “The snow fell (for somebody).”

Unsurprisingly given the above the generalization, *-(i)p ber* can be passivized, but is unable to select a passivized complement.

- (518) a. Hikaye (bizge) oqup bérildi.
 Hikaye (biz-ga) oqu-(i)p ber-il-di-0
 Story 1PL-DAT read-(I)P give-PASS-PST-3
 “The story was read (for us).”
- b. *Hikaye (bizge) oqulup bérdi.
 Hikaye (biz-ga) oqu-il-(i)p ber-di-0
 Story 1PL-DAT read-PASS-(I)P give-PST-3
 Intended: “The story was read (for us).”

While the above facts show that *-(i)p ber* resembles low V2s more than high V2, they are still compatible with *ber* heading a lexical projection whose meaning requires an agent argument to be present. The ability of *-(i)p ber* to add an internal (dative) argument to a construction is the first argument cited by Bridges (2008) against considering it to be an auxiliary.

- (519) U (bizge) hikaye oqup berdi.
 U (biz-ga) hikaye oqu-(i)p ber-di-0
 3SG 1PL-DAT story read-(I)P give-PST-3
 “(S)he read a story (for us).”

A second property that differentiates *-(i)p ber* from bleached V2s, also observed by Bridges (2008), is that *-(i)p ber* can occur with all types of bleached V2s. In this chapter I delineated two groups of bleached V2s: the ‘high V2’ variety appears in an Aux(iliary) head outside the voice domain, while the ‘low V2’ variety are overt realizations of the external argument-introducing Voice head. In contrast with data presented in the previous section, (520) shows that *ber*—itself suffixed by *-(i)p*—may precede the high V2 *tur*, while (521) and (522) show that it may also precede the low V2s *baq* and *chiq*.

- (520) Adil apisigha gézitni oqup béríp turdi.
 Adil apa-si-ga gézit-ni oqu-(i)p ber-(i)p tur-di-0
 Adil mother-3.POSS-DAT newspaper-ACC read-(I)P give-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “Adil continued to read the paper for his mother.” (Bridges 2008: 83)

- (521) Adil gézitni apisigha oqup béríp baqti.
 Adil gézit-ni apa-i-ga oqu-(i)p ber-(i)p baq-di-0
 Adil paper-ACC mother-3.POSS-DAT read-(I)P give-(I)P raise-PST-3

“Adil tried to read the paper for his mother.” (Bridges 2008: 84)

- (522) Adil apisigha gézitni oqup béríp chiqti.
 Adil apa-si-ga gézit-ni oqu-(i)p ber-(i)p chiq-di-0
 Adil mother-3.POSS-DAT newspaper-ACC read-(I)P give-(I)P ascend-PST-3

“Adil completely read the paper for his mother.” (Bridges 2008: 84)

A particularly convincing argument, not mentioned by Bridges (2008), that *ber* is a lexical verb rather than a bleached verb is that only one instance of *ber* may ever occur in a clause. A key characteristic of verbs that are truly semantically bleached (and occupy a functional head instead of merging as lexical verbs) is that they may co-occur with their own lexical counterparts. In (523), only V1 *qoy* has the lexical meaning ‘to put’, while V2 *qoy* indicates that the action was done to create some desired result. In (524), only V1 *tur* has the lexical meaning ‘to stand’, while V2 *tur* indicates that the act of standing continued for some time.

- (523) Bir ésil mashina béliq idishigha qoyup qoyuldi.
 Bir ésil mashina béliq idish-i-ga qoy-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 One fancy car fish tank-3.POSS-DAT put-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3

“A fancy car was put into a fish tank.”

(<http://m.nur.cn/news/2016/02/279177.shtml>)

- (524) Köräsh talada turup turdi.
 Köräsh tala-da tur-(i)p tur-di-0
 Koresh outside-LOC stand-(I)P stand-PST-3

“Koresh kept standing outside.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 128)

If *ber* in its benefactive use were a bleached verb like *qoy* or *tur* can be, one would expect it to be possible for bleached *ber* to follow lexical (‘give’) *ber* if both a beneficiary and goal argument are present. (525) and (526) show that this is not possible.

- (525) *Men apam üchün singlimgha kitab béríp
 Men apa-m üchün singil-m-ga kitab ber-(i)p
 1SG mother-1SG.POSS for younger.sister-1SG.POSS-DAT book give-(I)P
 berdim.
 ber-di-m
 give-PST-1SG

Intended: “I gave him my sister a book as a favor to my mother.”

- (526) *Kesipdishim üchün dersini oqughuchilargha béríp
 Kesipdash-im üchün ders-i-ni oqughuchi-lar-ga ber-(i)p
 Colleague-1SG.POSS for class-3.POSS-ACC student-PL-DAT give-(I)P
 berdim.
 ber-di-m
 give-PST-1SG

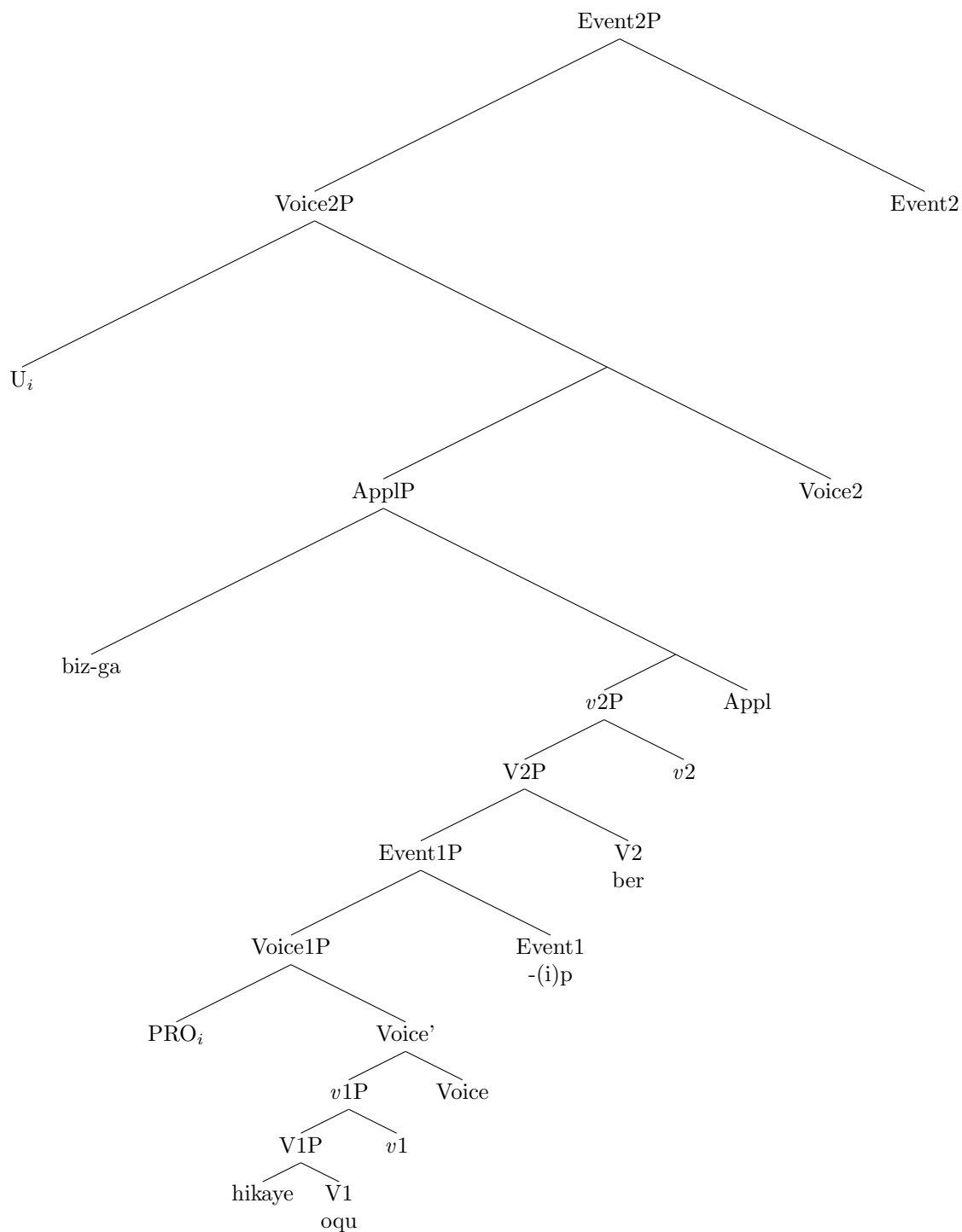
Intended: “I gave (taught) my colleague’s class to the students for her/him/them.”

The three crucial differences between constructions with *-(i)p ber* and bleached V2/auxiliary constructions are thus that: 1) *-(i)p ber* can introduce a dative argument to the construction; 2) *-(i)p ber* may precede all types of bleached V2s; and 3) *ber* cannot appear twice in one clause.

While Bridges (2008) notes in passing that *ber* is “very likely a light verb” (84), I conclude that *ber* as used in benefactive constructions is the same *ber* that lexically means ‘to give’. The only apparent differences between this usage of *ber* and the *ber* that selects a nominal theme argument are that: 1) when preceded by an *-(i)p*-headed phrase, *ber* expresses a more abstract meaning of ‘to do something for somebody’s benefit’ as opposed to the transfer of possession meaning ‘to give’; and 2) while the lexical use of *ber* selects a nominal theme argument under normal circumstances, *ber* is also capable of selecting an Event (Phrase) including V1 as its theme. My analysis of constructions with *-(i)p ber* as the lexical *ber* selecting an EventP theme and an applied dative argument in the specifier of a high applicative projection is shown in (528). The high applicative projection whose complement is *vP* relates the dative to an event, rather than to another DP (Cuervo 2003, Pylkkänen 2008, McGinnis 2008).

- (527) U (bizge) hikaye oqup berdi.
 U (biz-ga) hikaye oqu-(i)p ber-di-0
 3SG 1PL-DAT story read-(I)P give-PST-3
 “(S)he read a story (for us).”

(528)



On the surface, constructions like (527) look very similar to the event SVCs discussed in chapter 2. The key differences are that: 1) EventP is the complement of *ber* whereas it was an adjunct in event SVCs; and 2) *v1P* is selected by an Appl head, and a dative benefactee is merged in its specifier. The dative benefactee precedes V1 and its theme in linear order

because it is merged in the specifier of a projection higher than *ber* and its complement.

The presence of a second Event head as the complement of ‘give’ correctly predicts that V1 may be modified by adverbs that cannot target V2 ‘give’. For example, the inability of the adverb *pes awazda* ‘in a low voice’ to modify *ber* in (529c) shows that it is V1 *éyt* ‘to tell’ that the adverb is modifying in (529a).

- (529) a. U bizge pes awazda hikaye éytip berdi.
 U biz-ga pes awaz-da hikaye éyt-(i)p ber-di-0
 3 1PL-DAT low voice-LOC story tell-(I)P give-PST-3
 “(S)he told us a story quietly.”
- b. U bizge pes awazda hikaye éytti.
 U biz-ga pes awaz-da hikaye éytdi-0
 3 1PL-DAT low voice-LOC story tell-PST-3
 “(S)he told us a story quietly.”
- c. ??
 U bizge pes awazda hikaye berdi.
 U biz-ga pes awaz-da hikaye ber-di-0
 3 1PL-DAT low voice-LOC story give-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he gave us a story quietly.”

Case marking patterns in this construction also confirm that the object is selected by V1 rather than by *ber*. (530) shows that the verb *qara* ‘to look after’ selects a dative argument than a theme that takes accusative case, while (531) shows that the object of *baq* ‘to raise’ surfaces with accusative rather than dative case.

- (530) U balimizge/*ni qariwatidu.
 U bala-imiz-ga/*ni qara-iwat-i-du
 3SG child-1PL.POSS-DAT/*ACC look.after-PROG-NPST-3
 “(S)he is looking after our child.”

- (531) Balimizni/*ge chonglar béqiwatidu.
 Bala-imiz-ni/*ga chong-lar baq-iwat-i-du
 Child-1PL.POSS-ACC/DAT elderly-PL raise-PROG-NPST-3
 “Our parents (the older generation) are raising our child.”

(532) shows that when *qara* is followed by *ber*, its internal argument can still be realized in dative case, indicating that it is still *qara* selecting the argument. (533) makes the same point using the verb *baq*; when followed by *ber*, its argument is still accusative.

- (532) Men dostunning balisigha qarap bériwatimen.
 Men dost-im-ning bala-(s)i-ga qara-(i)p ber-iwat-i-men
 1SG friend-1SG.POSS-GEN child-3.POSS-DAT look.after-(I)P give-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “I’m looking after my friend’s child (for them).”

- (533) Balimizni/*ge chonglar béqip bériwatidu.
 Bala-imiz-ni/*ga chong-lar baq-(i)p ber-iwat-i-du
 Child-1PL.POSS-ACC/DAT elderly-PL raise-(I)P give-PROG-NPST-3
 “Our parents (the older generation) are raising our child.” (based on 5000 Common Words, ANKI File)

Understanding V1 to be inside the theme of ‘give’ explains the requirement that it precede ‘give’. The requirement I refer to is the fact that reversing the order of verbs in an example like (527) alters the meaning of the sentence. For example, (534) no longer asserts that the subject read the story for the speaker’s party; it is compatible with a situation where the subject gives the book as a present and then quietly reads it to themselves. In other words, it is a multiple event construction involving coordination as analyzed in the previous chapter.

- (534) U bizge hikaye bérip oqudi.
 U biz-ga hikaye ber-(i)p oqu-di-0
 3SG 1PL-DAT story give-(I)P read-PST-3
 “(S)he/they gave us a story and read it.”

That *ber* follows a verb phrase in order for the other verb phrase, in fact an EventP in my analysis, to be interpreted as its theme falls out from the argument structure of *ber* and the word order facts of Uyghur: *ber* selects a theme and a goal or benefactee as arguments, and theme complements precede the head that selects them in Uyghur. The goal precedes both the theme verb and its argument because it is merged in the specifier of an Appl head selecting *vP*.

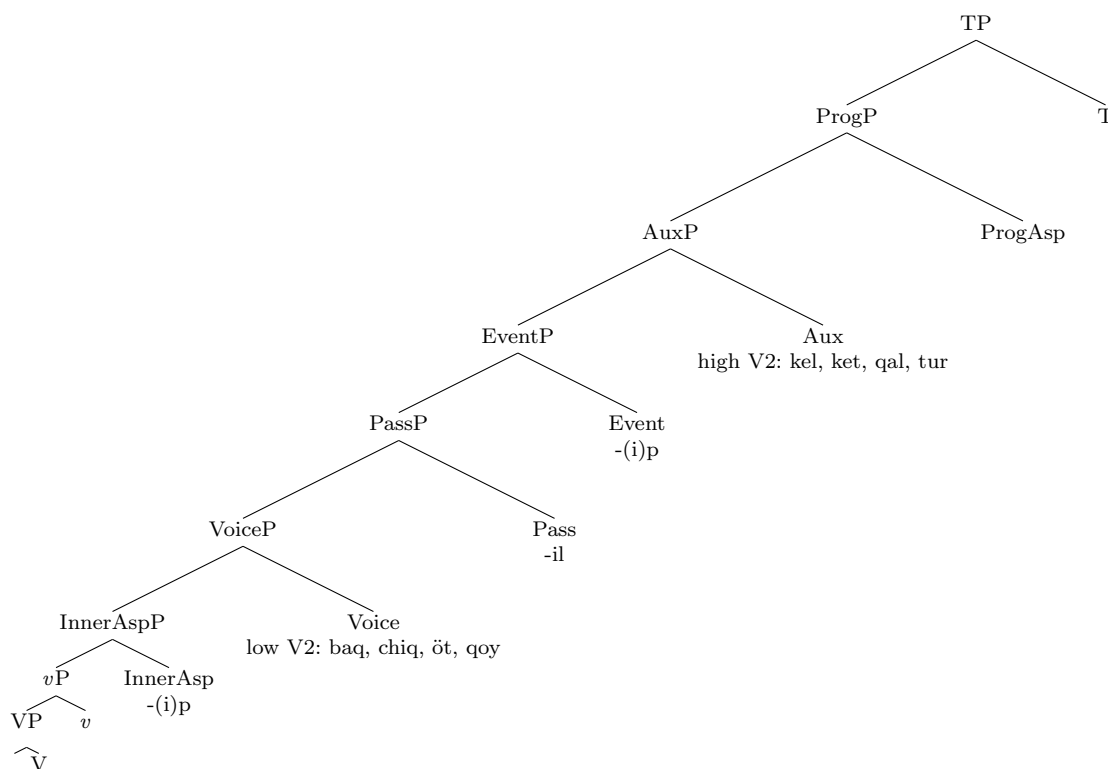
I suspect that the apparent need of *ber* to be V2 in order to achieve the applied reading of V1 is the reason why this verb has been classified as a bleached verb or auxiliary in other grammars. This section has shown that unlike truly bleached verbs, *ber* adds a benefactive argument, can cooccur with both varieties of bleached verbs, but cannot cooccur with its hypothesized lexical counterpart. The latter restriction, I argue, is due to the fact that the *ber* seen in V2 position is still a lexical verb, selecting an EventP as its theme. Thus *ber*

preceded by $-(i)p$ does not belong among the bleached V2s discussed in the rest of this chapter.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a syntactic analysis of Uyghur $-(i)p$ constructions in which V2 is semantically bleached. I split bleached V2s into two classes: those that can be passivized and those whose complement can be passivized. I proposed that the former type of V2 is actually an overt Voice head, while the latter is a high Auxiliary. I also proposed that $-(i)p$ may overtly realize one of two different functional heads: an InnerAspect head between Voice and v , and an Event head selecting VoiceP. I proposed that $-(i)p$ is merged when a verbal item is unable to have its inflectional features valued by tense because a structurally superior verb intervenes. The structure argued for is repeated in (535).

(535)



I also discussed a few correct predictions made by the analysis regarding suffixation, scope and c-command relations, negative concord and the combination of bleached V2 constructions and lexical $-(i)p$ constructions. Finally, I demonstrated that the verb *ber* ‘to give’ should not be considered a bleached V2 when preceded by $-(i)p$.

This dissertation has thus far outlined structures for $-(i)p$ constructions involving lexical verbs and bleached verbs, both of which involve $-(i)p$ realizing the same Event or

InnerAspect heads. One issue left unaddressed in this chapter is the apparent possibility of merging negation markers at multiple points within a single clause. I motivate this possibility in the next chapter, demonstrating how multiple negation is possible within a single clause in Uyghur.

Chapter 4

Multiple Negation in Uyghur

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses negation in Uyghur, taking as a starting point the facts about negation in bleached V2 constructions which I introduced in chapter 3. Either or both verbs in a bleached V2 construction may be negated, but I argue that these facts are not inconsistent with the monoclausal analysis of the construction developed in the previous chapter. I show that rather than only occupying one fixed position in the clausal spine, the negative morpheme *-ma* is merged wherever it can select a verbal category as a complement. The flexible merge position of negation in Uyghur is due to the ability of functional layers to appear between verbs, as demonstrated in both of the previous chapters. When two verbs are negated in the same clause in Uyghur, double negation results in an affirmative reading: one negative morpheme marks constituent negation, and the other marks sentential negation, and each bears an interpretable negation feature. Negative concord is the result of agreement between an uninterpretable negative feature and the interpretable negation feature carried by a negation marker. I provide evidence that negation can be merged in positions where one of four different verbal categories can serve as its complement: *v*P, VoiceP, AuxP or ProgP. The significance of this finding is that the availability of negation should not be used as a cross-linguistic diagnostic of biclausality, since a variety of complements that appear at different clausal positions can condition its appearance, and structural configurations can block a lower negation marker from taking sentential scope.

4.1.1 Background: Negation in Bleached V2 Constructions

Recall from the previous chapter that a bleached V2 construction is one in which V2, the final verb in surface order immediately preceded by the verb-linking suffix *-(i)p*, is bleached of its lexical meaning and instead provides aspectual information (whether an event is completed, iterated etc.) and/or information about how an actor performed the event (whether an action was performed thoroughly, carelessly etc.). The previous chapter found

that there are two types of bleached V2s: low V2s, which require an agentive subject and combine with predicates that yield bounded readings; and high V2s, which place no restrictions on their subject and yield either iterative or change-of-state readings. (536a) is an example of the low V2 *qoy*, while (536b) is an example of the high V2 *tur*.

- (536) a. Tursun bizning öyge kélip qoydi.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun made a visit to our house.”
- b. Tursun bizning öyge kélip turidu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-(i)p tur-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps visiting our house.”

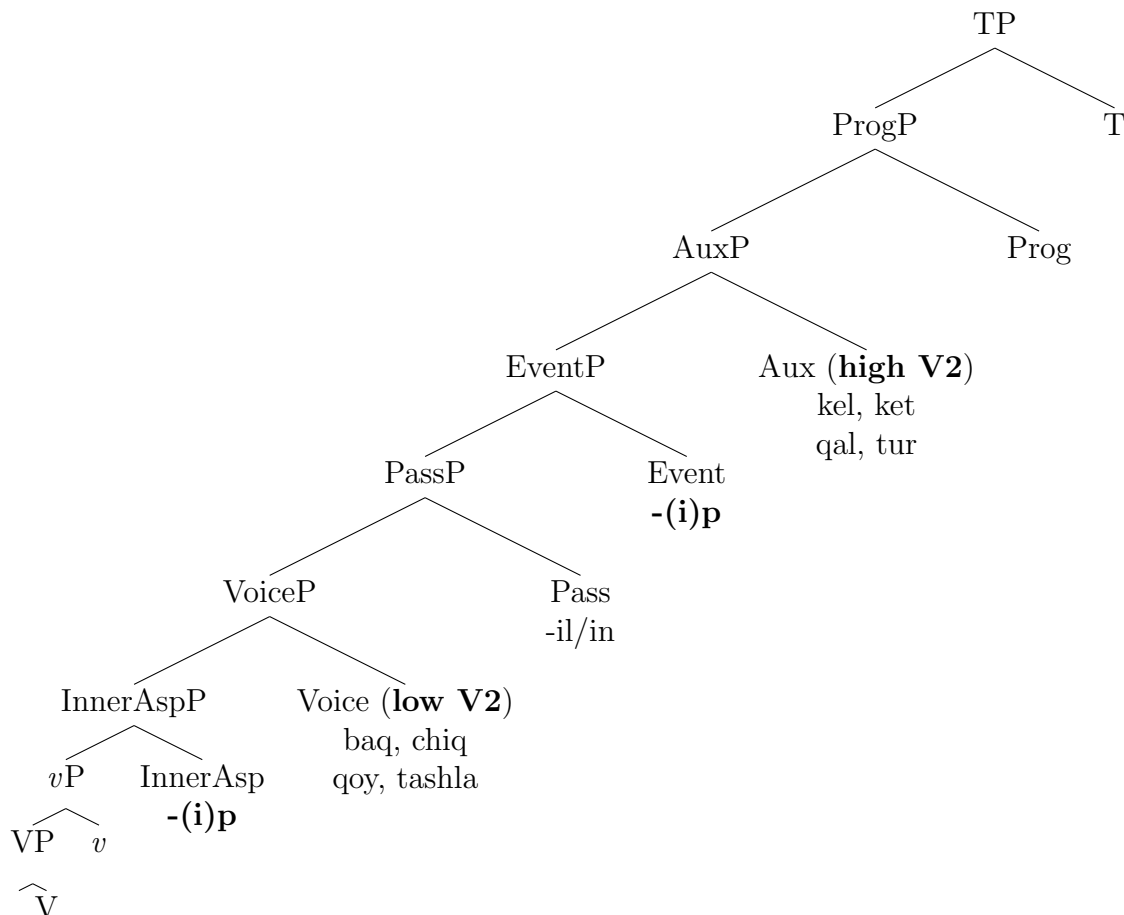
Table 4.2 is a reminder of the bleached V2s discussed in the previous chapter, including their lexical and bleached meanings and how I classified them. The reader is referred back to chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of these classifications.

I have analyzed low V2s as Voice heads (responsible for introducing external arguments) and high V2s as Auxiliary heads. When a low V2 is merged, it blocks (lexical) V1 from moving to T for inflection. V1 stops at InnerAsp(ect), where *-(i)p* is merged for morphological well-formedness. By a similar token, the presence of a high V2 stops V1’s movement at Event, where *-(i)p* may also be merged. The clausal spine I argued for in the previous chapter is shown in (537).

V2 type	Agentive subject	Event type	Passivizable verb	Bleached V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
low	required	accomplishment	V2	baq	raise	conative, to try
				chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
				öt	traverse	perform action among a string of related actions
				qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance, trivial action
				tashla	throw	thorough, decisive completion
high	optional	non-accomplishment	V1	kel	come	iteration from past to present
				ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
				qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
				tur	stand, stay	iteration
un-clear	optional	non-accomplishment	V1/V2	bol	be(come)	completion, content satisfaction

Table 4.2: Uyghur bleached V2s

(537)



As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, either V1 or V2, or both verbs, may be negated in bleached V2 constructions. This pattern is shown for both low V2 and high V2 constructions in (538) and (539), respectively. The (a) examples show negation of V2, the (b) examples show negation of V1, and the (c) examples show negation of both verbs. As presented in chapter 3, *qoy* expresses a variety of meanings when semantically bleached, including completion of an action, carelessness in performing an action, a deliberately performed but trivial action, or even daring to perform an action. Negating *qoy* in (538a) implies that coming to the speaker's house would not have been a difficult action to perform, but Tursun did not bother to do it. Negating V1 without negating *qoy* in (538b) creates a reading in which not coming was a trivial but deliberate act on the part of Tursun. Finally, negating both verbs in (538c) results in double negation or emphatic affirmation. This double negation in Uyghur can be achieved through negating any lexical verb and negating a bleached V2 in Uyghur. The affirmative reading of (538c) can be understood as “Tursun will not dare (*qoy*) to not come”, or “wouldn't allow himself to not come.”

- (538) a. Tursun bizning öyge kélip qoymidi.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kal-(i)p qoy-ma-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P put-NEG-PST-3
 “Tursun didn’t even come to our house.”
- b. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoydi.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun chose not to come to our house.”
- c. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoymaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun will definitely come to our house (he wouldn’t dare not to come).”

The verb *tur* indicates iteration of an action or continuation of a state. Negating *tur* in (539a) means that the act of coming to the speaker’s house does not happen frequently. Negating V1 without negating *tur* in (539b) means that it is continuing to be the case that the subject is not coming. As with (538c), negating both V1 and V2 in (539c) yields a strong affirmative reading.

- (539) a. Tursun bizning öyge kélip turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun doesn’t keep coming to our house.”
- b. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turidu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun isn’t coming to our house for now.”
- c. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun will not stop coming to our house.”

Much literature on serial verb constructions has treated the inability of negation to intervene between two verbs or separately target one verb as a hallmark of monoclausality ergo serial verb status (Bamgbose 1973, 1986, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Bohnemeyer et al. 2007, Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008, Haspelmath 2016 inter alia). This criterion assumes a syntactic model in which a Neg(ation)P(hrase) occupies one and only one fixed position

per clause (Pollock 1989), or in which negation adjoins to one specific type of projection. If such a syntactic model were universally consistent, then the data in (538) and (539) would seem to suggest that Uyghur bleached V2 constructions are actually multiclausal. My goals in this chapter, then, are to disprove the claim that only one negation projection is allowed per clause, and to show that bleached V2 constructions display monoclausal behavior despite the negation facts just seen. By evaluating the properties of negation at four different clausal positions, I show that double negation is achieved in sentences like (538c) or (539c) when one negation marker marks constituent negation and the other sentential negation.

4.1.2 Proposal

In this chapter, I will defend the claim made in the previous chapter that bleached V2 constructions are monoclausal despite the availability of multiple negation positions for one construction. That is, bleached V2s occupy functional heads whose complement includes a lexical verb, rather than serving as main predicates of a clause themselves. Defending this claim will require a rigorous examination of how negation works in Uyghur grammar more broadly. I will ultimately follow a growing body of literature which claims that the base position of negation is subject to parameterization or variation (Laka 1990, Ouhalla 1993, Zanuttini 1997, Cinque 1999, Hagstrom 2000, Visonyanggoon 2001, Hsieh 2014 *inter alia*). My claim is that negation in Uyghur may be merged anywhere it can select a verbal complement. The fact that negation can project in different places within a clause means that the number of negative morphemes in a sentence does not necessarily represent the number of clauses contained in that sentence, since only one negative morpheme in a clause can mark sentential negation.

In the course of analyzing Uyghur negation, I also discuss the availability of double negation within a clause (as exhibited by the (c) examples in (538) and (539)) alongside the possibility of negative concord when an *n*-word (defined and analyzed in section 4.4) obligatorily cooccurs with a negation marker. Both negative concord and double negation happen in Uyghur grammar because negation markers and *n*-words do not carry the same information. Negation markers are semantically negative and merged directly as Neg heads with an interpretable Neg feature, while *n*-words introduce an uninterpretable Neg feature that must agree with an interpretable Neg feature on a negation marker head. The agreement relationship between interpretable and uninterpretable Neg features can only take place when the latter is in the *c*-command domain of the former, and I use the ability of negation to license *n*-words merged in different positions as evidence of the availability of multiple NegP positions in Uyghur grammar.

I make the following claims in this chapter, the first two being more novel than the latter two:

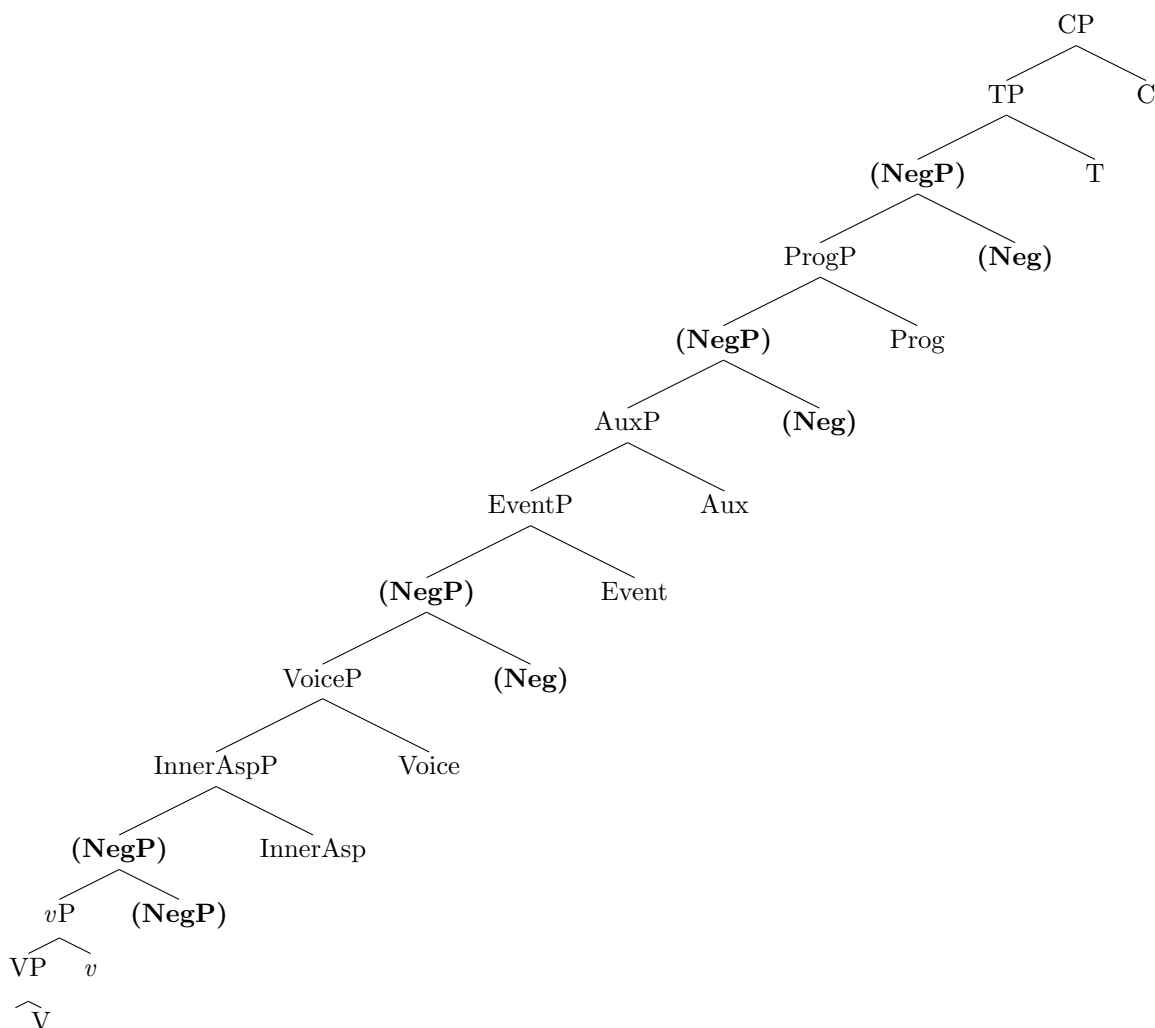
1. A Neg head may be merged anywhere it is able to select a verbal category as its complement. In this chapter, I will give evidence for a (verbal) Neg head merging in each of the following four positions. Negation of *v*P (which I consider to be the

verbalized root and its complement prior to introduction of a potential external argument) negates the main predicate but not any grammatical meaning supplied by functional morphemes. Negation of VoiceP or AuxP negates not only the predicate but also the grammatical meaning supplied by a bleached V2. Negation selecting Progressive Aspect asserts that the reference time (in the sense of Reichenbach 1947) cannot be situated in the interval in which the main predicate event is unfolding.

- Neg can select *v*P as its complement
 - Neg can select VoiceP as its complement
 - Neg can select AuxP as its complement
 - Neg can select a Progressive Aspect phrase as its complement¹
2. Sentential negation is negation that is able to move to a position c-commanding other scope-taking elements. Negation merged in a head that is unable to head-move past a higher verb is unable to take sentential scope and thus is constituent negation rather than sentential negation.
 3. Double negation arises in Uyghur when interpretable Neg features borne directly by negative markers reverse the polarity of one another.
 4. Negative concord arises in Uyghur from agreement between the uninterpretable Neg feature of an *n*-word and the interpretable Neg feature of a Neg head following Zeijlstra (2004, 2008).

The above claims are compatible with the monoclausal analysis of bleached V2 constructions I gave in chapter 3. I focus explicitly on the topic of monoclausality in section 4.6. A fully articulated clausal structure indicating the positions in which verbal negation may be merged relative to available verbal categories is shown in (540).

1. Progressive aspect in Uyghur is itself a grammaticalization of a bleached V2 (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003).



4.1.3 Roadmap

This chapter will proceed as follows. Section 4.2 gives a selected brief review of some proposals that negation is not confined to a single clausal position in a typologically diverse range of languages. In section 4.3, I introduce the three forms of negation markers available in Uyghur: verbal, copular/metalinguistic and existential negation. This chapter focuses primarily on verbal negation. Section 4.4 discusses the behavior of *n*-words in Uyghur negative concord. I present the basic facts in 4.4.1 before adopting an agreement-based analysis in 4.4.2. I then motivate four different positions at which negation can be merged in a Uyghur clause in section 4.5, using diagnostics from negation and scope relations with other functional elements. Finally, I show in section 4.6 that bleached V2 constructions remain monoclausal in the presence of negation, consistent with the analyses given in the previous chapter.

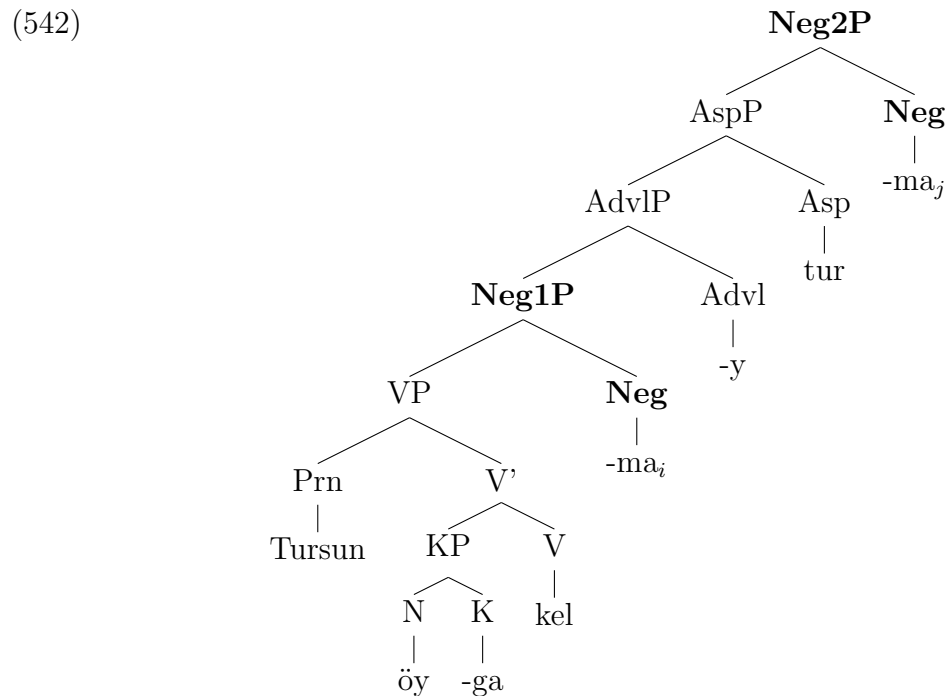
4.2 Multiple Negation Cross-linguistically

This section will briefly review proposals that negation can be merged at multiple clausal positions in Korean, Chinese, Thai and Romance varieties. I propose in this chapter that Uyghur is another language in which the position of negation is flexible.

The idea that negation merges at more than one position in Uyghur is actually not entirely original, although it has never been previously motivated at any length to my knowledge. Uyghur linguist Tuohuti (2017) assumes that when both V1 and V2 are negated in a bleached V2 construction like (541), both negated verbs appear in the same clause, with negation merging above each verbal projection. Despite different labeling conventions, (542) is close the same analysis that I adopt in this chapter. The crucial differences are that *tur* heads an AspP in Tuohuti’s analysis but an AuxP in mine, and *-(i)p* (surfacing here as *-y*) heads an AdvP in Tuohuti’s analysis but an EventP in mine. I motivated both choices in the previous chapter.

- (541) Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3

“Tursun will not stop coming to our house (will not continue without coming).”



Muzaipai’er (2014) and Tuohuti (2017) consider *-may* to be the pronunciation of *-ma* fused with *-(i)p*. I too adopt this assumption here. Without the presence of *-(i)p*, it would be

unclear how negation alone serves the function of licensing a second verb in the absence of $-(i)p$, while other morphology like the passive marker does not. Consider the paradigm in (543), for example. (543a) is not a grammatical affirmative sentence without $-(i)p$ following V1. If $-may$ were a non-decomposable negative morpheme (as I indicate in the gloss of (543b)), then (543b) shows that when a negative morpheme follows V1, it is not necessary to attach $-(i)p$. However, negation would be unique in appearing in complementary distribution with $-(i)p$; (543c) shows that when a passive morpheme follows V1, $-(i)p$ is still necessary for a well-formed sentence.²

- (543) a. Tursun roman yéz*(ip) turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz*(-(i)p) tur-i-du
 Tursun novel write-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps writing novels.”
- b. Tursun roman yazmay turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz-may tur-i-du
 Tursun novel write-NEG stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun continues not to write novels.”
- c. Roman yézil*(ip) turidu.
 Roman yaz-il*(-(i)p) tur-i-du
 Novel write-PASS-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “The novel keeps being written.”

Additionally, the coda of $-(i)p$ is posited to undergo similar phonological changes elsewhere in Uyghur grammar.³ For example, the progressive suffix $-iwat$, briefly discussed later in this chapter, is believed to have grammaticalized from $-(i)p + yat$ ‘to lie down’ (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003).

Turning to the cross-linguistic picture, it has been posited that there is more than one merge position for negation within a clause in the typologically-similar language Korean. Hagstrom (2000) posits separate positions for what he calls the ‘short form’ and ‘long form’

2. Recall from example (539) in section 4.1.1 that it is also possible to negate *tur* ‘to stand’. Negating *tur* in example (543a), for example, would mean that the subject does not keep writing novels.

3. Forms visibly preserving some variety of $-ma + -(i)p$ can be seen in negated “converb clauses” (in Johanson’s 1995 terms) in other Turkic language. The following Turkish example is from Johanson (1995).

(i) Selam ver-me-yip oda-dan chiq-t-im.
 Greeting give-NEG-CVB room-ABL go.out-TRM.PST-1SG
 “I did not greet, but left the room.” (tur) (Johanson 1995: 338)

Johanson (1995) also reports attestations of $-mathip$ in Karakhanid, $-mayib$ in Azerbaijani and $-ma-b$ in Uzbek (the latter from Kononov 1960). It is possible that in these cases $-(i)p$ has dropped off from $-mayip$, the $-y$ glide being inserted as a buffer between two vowels, leaving only $-may$ in modern Uyghur. Another possibility is that only the $/p/$ coda was lost, while the $-i$ was retained.

of Korean negation, shown in (544) and (545) respectively. Short form negation precedes the lexical verb, while long form negation comes between the lexical verb and a light verb, which Hagstrom considers ‘do’ support.

- (544) Chelswu-ka ppang-ul an-mek-ess-ta
 Chelswu-NOM bread-ACC NEG-eat-PST-DECL
 “Chelswu didn’t eat the bread.” (kor) (Hagstrom 2000: 1)

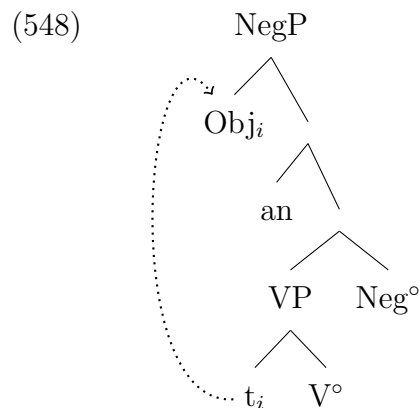
- (545) Chelswu-ka ppang-ul mek-ci ani hay-ss-ta
 Chelswu-NOM bread-ACC eat-CI NEG do-PST-DECL
 “Chelswu didn’t eat the bread.” (kor) (Hagstrom 2000: 1)

The different surface positions of negation in Korean correspond to some differences in interpretive effects. For example, the short form of negation is unable to take wide scope over a quantifier in (546), while the long form of negation is able to do so in (547).

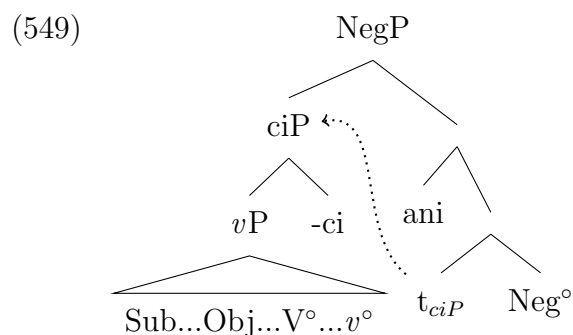
- (546) John-i motun chayk-ul an ilkessta.
 J-NOM every book-ACC NEG read
 “Every book, John didn’t read.” (every > NEG)
 * “John didn’t read every book.” *(NEG > every) (kor) (Hagstrom 2000: 8)

- (547) John-i motun chayk-ul ilk-ci ani hayssta.
 J-NOM every book-ACC read-CI NEG did
 “Every book, John didn’t read.” (every > NEG)
 “John didn’t read every book.” (NEG > every) (kor) (Hagstrom 2000: 8)

Hagstrom attributes the difference between these two forms of negation to two hierarchical positions for NegP, both of which trigger leftward movement of a nominal item in their complement. In the short form of negation seen in (546), Neg selects VP, and the object moves from spec, VP to spec, NegP, as shown in (548). In a left-branching structure in which negator *an* is in the specifier rather than the head of a Neg projection, this movement yields Object-Neg-V surface order.



In the long form of negation seen in (547), Neg selects ciP, a nominalization of *v*P, as its complement, and the entire ciP moves to the outer specifier of NegP, as shown in (549).⁴



The import of Hagstrom's proposal for my purposes is that a Neg head can select either a (arguably nominalized) *v*P or VP as a complement. I will argue in this chapter that in Uyghur, a NegP can be merged to select any verbal projection as its complement, including the equivalents of Hagstrom's *v*P and VP.

Hagstrom's analysis is, of course, not the only analysis purporting to capture the facts of Korean negation. Whitman (2005) proposes an antisymmetric analysis along the lines of Kayne (1994) that, he claims, captures parallels between negation in Korean and Japanese and negation in French. Whitman respectively refers to short negation and long negation as preverbal and postverbal negation, and does not gloss 'do' as a separate morpheme from the verb in long negation like Hagstrom does. (550) and (551) show examples from Whitman (2005) of Korean preverbal and postverbal negation,.

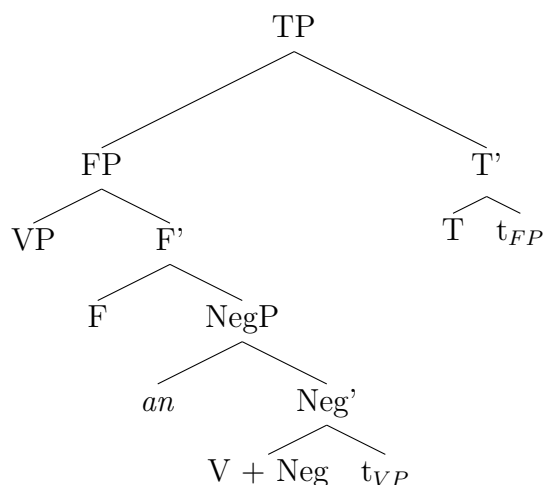
4. Movement of a complement to the specifier of the phrase selecting it is a clear violation of anti-locality. Within minimalist theory, such movement within a projection is generally considered superfluous because it does not check any new features among other reasons (Murasugi and Saito 1994, Bobaljik 2000, Abels 2003, Grohmann 2003, Kayne 2005, Boeckx 2009 inter alia). I do not endorse the details of the analyses reviewed here, but intend only to show that multiple positions for negation within a clause have been argued to exist in a wide variety of languages.

- (550) Mica ka hakkyo ey *an* ka-ss-ta.
 Mica NOM school to NEG go-PST-IND
 “Mica didn’t go to school.” (kor) (Whitman 2005: 2)

- (551) Mica ka hakkyo ey ka-ci *anh*-ass-ta.
 Mica NOM school to go-SUSP NEG-PST-IND
 “Mica didn’t go to school.” (kor) (Whitman 2005: 4)

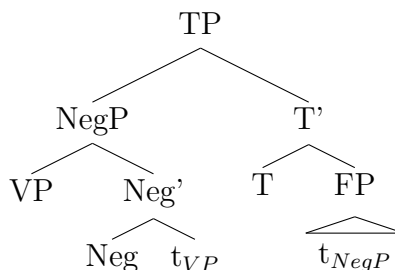
Whitman notes that while postverbal negation in (551) can be analyzed straightforwardly as a negative head selecting VP, it is difficult to analyze preverbal negation in (550) by claiming that it is the specifier of a projection because it intervenes linearly between the verb and its preverbal (goal) argument ‘school to’. Instead, he accounts for this preverbal negation with a right-branching analysis. The negation marker *an* occupies the specifier of NegP, and the verb head-raises only as far as the Neg head. The remnant VP containing the object moves to the specifier of a higher projection, labeled FP, which in turn moves to the specifier of TP as shown in (552).

- (552) (Whitman 2005: 13)



Whitman accounts for the SOVNeg pattern in (551) by claiming that negation marker *anh-* is the head of NegP. Its VP complement moves past Neg before the entire NegP moves to into TP’s specifier as shown in (553).

(553) (based on Whitman 2005: 15)

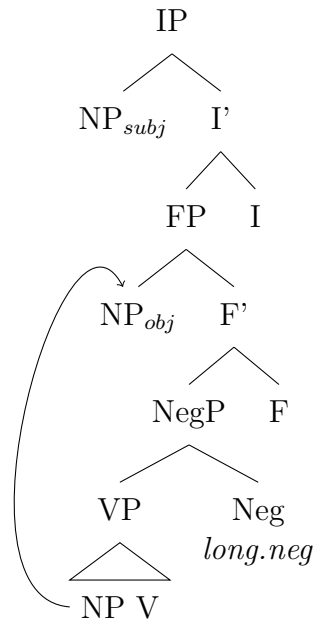


It is not clear to me why the verb does not continue its head movement past Neg when the specifier, but not the head, of NegP is filled in the case of SONegV order (i.e. short negation) in (552). As mentioned regarding Hagstrom’s analysis in footnote 5, movement of VP from the complement to the specifier of the same projection also violates minimalist definitions of anti-locality (Murasugi and Saito 1994, Bobaljik 2000, Abels 2003, Grohmann 2003, Kayne 2005, Boeckx 2009 *inter alia*). Additionally, linear intervention of preverbal negation between a dative goal and the verb is not an issue if dative arguments are believed to be introduced by an applicative projection rather than the verb, as in Cuervo (2003).

Han et al. (2007) offer a more straightforward solution to the variable position of negation than either Hagstrom (2000) or Whitman (2005) that does not require positing a right-branching structure for a head-final language. Long or post-verbal negation is a head selecting VP as its rightward complement, and the object moves to the specifier of a higher functional projection (which I would label EventP).

- (554) Toli-ka ttena-ci ani ha-yess-ta.
 Toli-NOM leave-CI NEG do-PST-DECL
 “Toli didn’t leave.” (kor) (Han et al. 2007: 13)

(555) (Han et al. 2007: 20)

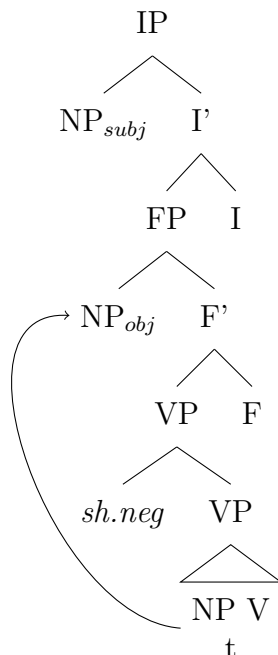


Rather than being a specifier, preverbal or short negation adjoins to VP. Positing that this negative marker is an adjunct obviates the issue of negation being preceded by the verb's object.

(556) Toli-ka an ttena-ss-ta.
 Toli-NOM NEG leave-PST-DECL

“Toli didn’t leave.” (kor) (Han et al. 2007: 14)

(557) (Han et al. 2007: 21)



While Hagstrom (2000), Whitman (2005) and Han et al. (2007) offer three different analyses of the same data, they all agree that negation in Korean (as well as Japanese in the case of Whitman) is not limited to just one form of negation appearing in one clausal position.

The above authors consider there to be two fundamental types of negation in SOV languages: preverbal negation and post-verbal negation. However, negative markers cannot appear as prefixes to verbs in Uyghur.

- (558) *Tamaq mayédim.
 Tamaq ma-ye-di-m
 Food NEG-eat-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I didn’t eat food.”

Although all verbs are negated by suffixes in Uyghur, the aforementioned authors do not consider the same type of post-verbal negation data as I consider in this dissertation.⁵ My focus in this chapter is on the variability in the position of negation aside from whether it precedes or follows the lexical verb. In the rest of this section, I survey analyses arguing that preverbal negation in SVO languages is not restricted to one clausal position. I will then demonstrate that post-verbal negation shows a similar variability in SOV Uyghur.

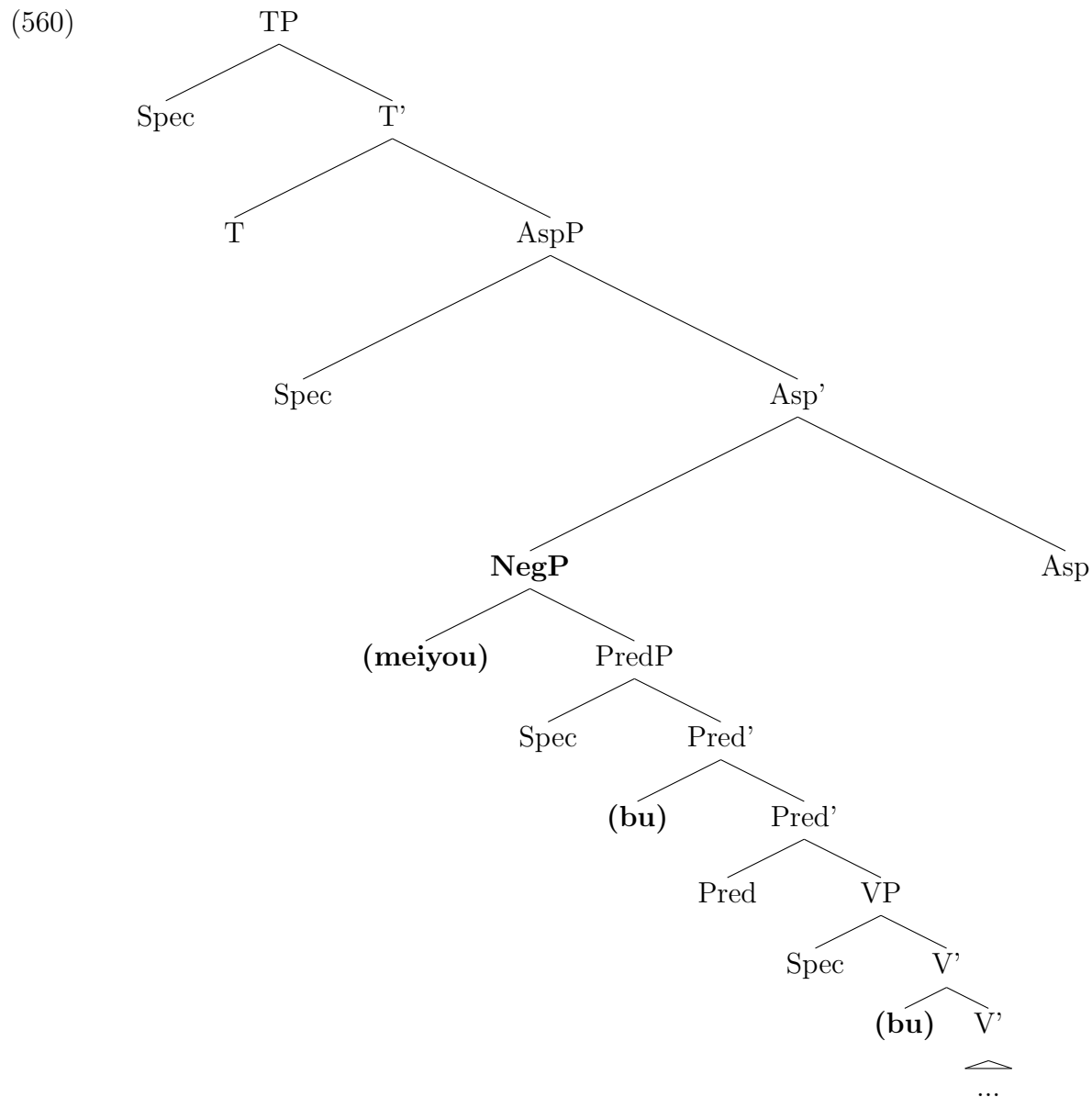
5. While Whitman (2005) does analyze negation in the presence of preverbal auxiliaries in Old Japanese, he does not consider negation of post-verbal auxiliaries or bleached aspectual verbs as I do here.

Evidence for multiple positions for negation can be found in many non-Altaic languages as well. Mandarin Chinese uses both *méiyǒu* and *bù* to negate verbs as shown in (559a) and (559b), respectively.

- (559) a. 他 没(有) 说 任何 话.
 Tā méi(-yǒu) shuō rènhē huà
 3SG.MASC NEG-have say any word
 “He didn’t say anything.”
- b. 他 不 说 任何 话.
 Tā bù shuō rènhē huà
 3SG.MASC NEG say any word
 “He does/will not (want to) say anything.” (cmn) (Hsieh 2014: 62)

The two negation markers appear in differing syntactic and semantic contexts, and each has received a number of different analyses, many of which involve their ability to select different types of complements or attach to different projections. *Bù*, for example, has been analyzed as a bound clitic generated in Infl (Huang 1988), or as a negation of VPs, S/Infl projections, or even other types of constituents (Teng 1974, Cheng and Li 1991). Some authors propose that the appearance of *bù* and *méi* are constrained aspectually rather than syntactically (Ernst 1995, Po-Lun and Pan 2001, Lin et al. 2003). For my purpose of showcasing how negation has not been confined to a single syntactic position cross-linguistically, I briefly review a tripartite analysis given by Hsieh (2014).

Hsieh (2014) argues that Chinese negation is realized in at least three syntactic positions between *méi* and *bù*. She suggests that the negative marker *mei(you)*, which is characterized as negating dynamic situations as shown in (559a), heads a NegP selecting PredP, while the stative negator *bù* (shown in (559b)) can adjoin to a PredP and/or VP. All three positions are sketched in (560).



If *bù* adjoins to both PredP and VP, the result is double negation, as shown in (561).

- (561) 他 从 不 这么 晚 还 不 回 家。
 Tā cóng bù zhème wǎn hái bù huí jiā
 3SG never NEG so late still NEG return home
 “It is never the case that he still does not come home when it is so late.” (cmn)
 (Hsieh 2014: 90)

Thai constitutes another case in which there is visible evidence of multiple negative morphemes merging in a single clause. Visonyangoon (2001) reports that the availability

of negation marker *may* ‘not’ is used as a diagnostic of verbhood in Thai. In other words, *may* has the same distribution as I argue Uyghur *-ma* does: it appears anywhere it can negate a verbal category.

- (562) khaw₅ may₃ ʔaan₁ naŋ₅sii₅
 he not read book

“He does not read [a] book.” (tha) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 165)

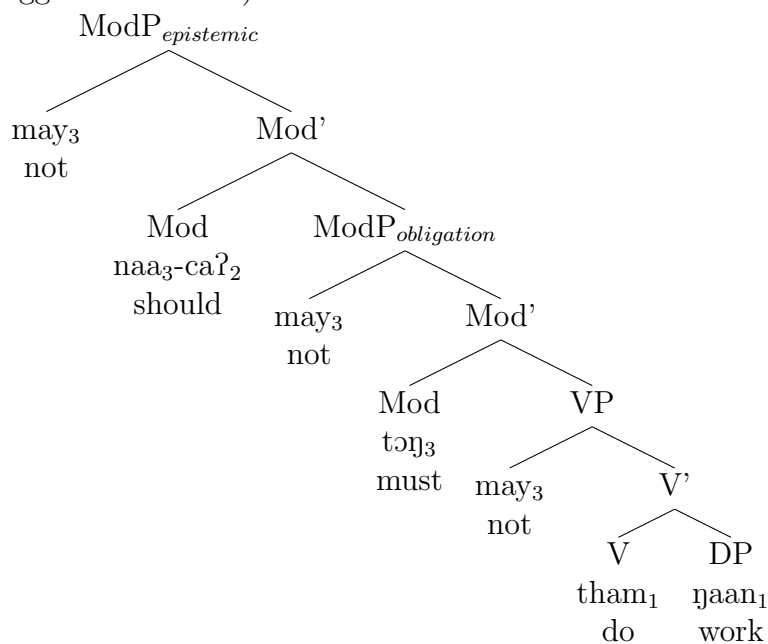
When multiple verbal items are negated within the same clause, the negations cancel each other out, yielding an affirmative reading when the number of negative morphemes is even. In (563), two modals are negated as well as the lexical verb, yielding an overall negative polarity.

- (563) khaw₅ may₃ naa₃-caʔ₂ may₃ tɔŋ₃ may₃ tham₁ŋaan₁
 he not should not must not work

“It is unlikely that he does not have to not work.” (tha) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 166)

Visonyanggoon (2001) considers *may* to merge in the specifier of any verbal XP, as shown in (564).

- (564) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 170)



Visonyanggoon analyzes these negations as specifiers of verbal projections, rather than heading their own projections, because of their necessary adjacency to verbs, and because

it is possible for them to negate only one of two coordinated verb phrases. For example, negative *may* in (565) can either negate both verb phrases or just the first coordinated verb phrase.

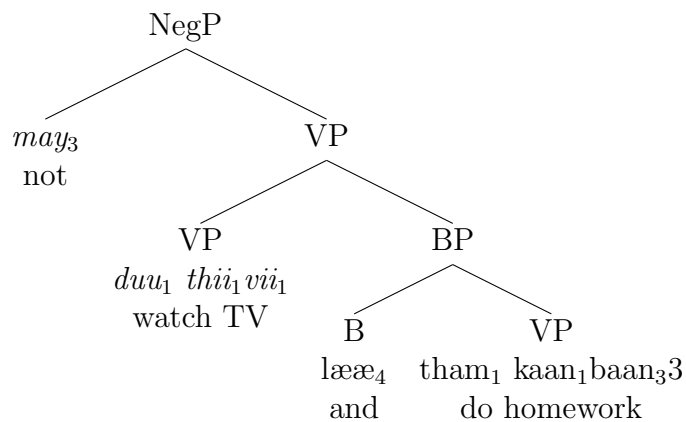
- (565) khaw₅ may₃ duu₁ thii₁vii₁ lææ₄ tham₁ kaan₁baan₃
 he not watch TV and do homework

“He will neither watch TV nor do his homework.”

“He will not watch TV and will do his homework.” (tha) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 171)

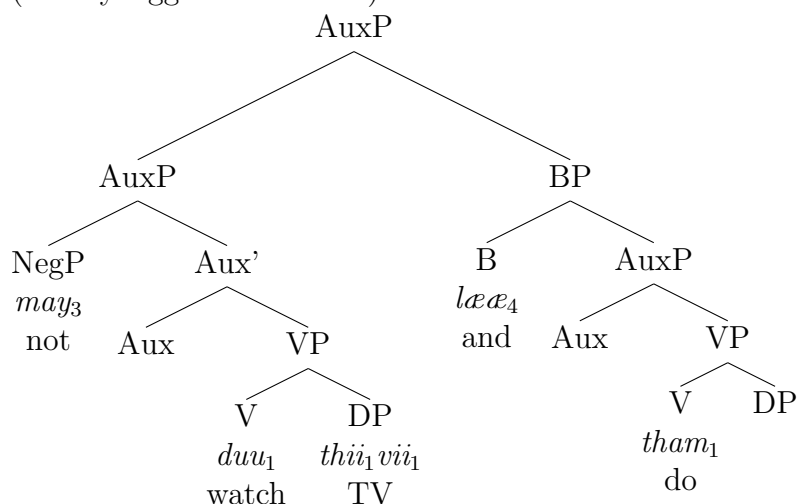
The second reading provided in the translation is what interests Visonyanggoon. Under the assumption that what is coordinated in (565) are only two VPs, then a Neg head selecting the coordinated phrase should have scope via c-command over both conjuncts, as schematized in tree (566).

- (566) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 171)



The configuration in (566) explains the first reading of (565) in which negation has scope over both conjuncts, but not the second reading in which negation does not have scope over the second conjunct. Instead, Visonyanggoon proposes that negation appears in the specifier of an auxiliary, and the difference between the two readings of (565) depends on whether the conjoined elements are VPs (in which case negation scopes over both verbs) or AuxPs (in which case negation only scopes over the VP it c-commands). The latter configuration is sketched in tree (567).

(567) (Visonyanggoon 2001: 172)



It is not clear to me why the ambiguity of (565) could not be analyzed as negation in the specifier of VP rather than AuxP. In any case, the ambiguity of (565) does not arise in finite coordination in Uyghur. That is, (568) can only mean that the subject finished their homework but did not eat. It is only marginally acceptable to use *hem* ‘and’ as the coordinator rather than *lékin* ‘but’ when the second conjunct is negated. The lack of ambiguity here is simply due to the fact that only finite clauses (at least the size of a TP, and containing a NegP in the case of (568)) but not VPs can be coordinated in Uyghur.

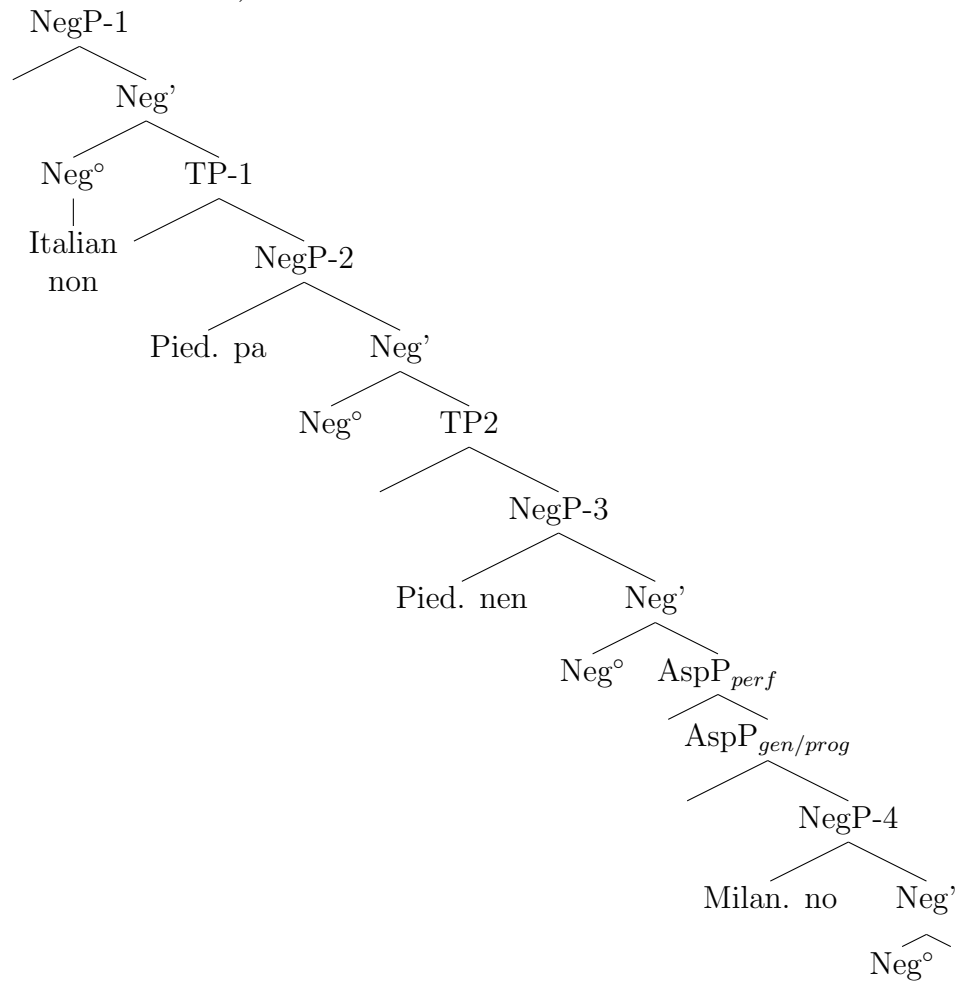
- (568) Tapshuruq ishlep boldum ?hem/lékin tamaq yémidim.
 Tapshuruq ishle-(i)p bol-di-m ?hem/lékin tamaq ye-ma-di-m
 Homework do-(I)P be-PST-1SG and/but food eat-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I finished my homework and/but didn’t eat.”
 * “I didn’t finish my homework or eat.”

In this chapter, I analyze negation in Uyghur as heading its own projection, both because other morphemes may appear between the verb and negation, and because negation behaves like other functional heads with regards to verbal head movement. The important similarity between Uyghur and Thai, however, is that in both cases negation is free to merge as many times in one clause as verbal projections are merged, and any two verbal negations within a clause interact to yield an affirmative meaning.

It has also been argued convincingly that multiple negation positions must be available in Romance languages. Zanuttini (1997) suggests that there are at least four structural positions for negation in Romance varieties, shown with example morphemes from different Romance varieties in tree (569). It should be noted that negation in Romance varieties and Uyghur is not a perfectly parallel comparison: in Uyghur, I argue that four positions are available in the same (standard) dialect; in Romance, it is not the case that every variety makes use of all four positions. However, the Romance facts at least serve to demonstrate

that it is possible for negation to appear in any number of positions within a clause, and every Romance variety discussed by Zanuttini makes use of more than one of these positions. Below I walk through each of the four positions shown using Zanuttini's (1997) examples.

(569) (Zanuttini 1997: 237)



The position Italian *non* occupies above TP can be seen in large part from its ability to precede a verb in the imperative form. Ability to select a true imperative in Romance languages patterns with occurrence to the left of pronominal clitics, including raised clitics as in (570a).

(570) a. Non lo mangiare!
NEG it to-eat

b. Non mangiarelo!
NEG to-eat-it

“Don’t eat it!” (ita) (Zanuttini 1997: 218)

(571) shows that *non* precedes other auxiliaries, negation markers and adverbials.⁶

- (571) Gianni non ha mica comprato una macchina nuova.
 Gianni NEG has NEG bought a car new
 “Gianna hasn’t bought a new car.” (ita) (Zanuttini 1997: 226)

Piedmontese *pa* occupies a lower position between two potential TP projections. When only a simple finite verb is present, *pa* appears between the verb and its complements. The fact that verbs can raise past it suggests that *pa* is not a head, given the Head Movement Constraint of Travis (1984).

- (572) Gianni a capis pa tut.
 Gianni S.CL capis NEG everything
 “Gianni doesn’t understand everything.” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 228)

Pa also follows auxiliaries, but it precedes the participle and its complements.

- (573) Gianni a l’ha pa capì tut.
 Gianni S.CL CL’has NEG understood everything
 “Gianni didn’t understand everything.” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 229)

Pa always precedes *gia* ‘already’.

- (574) A l’ha pa gia ciamà, che mi i sapia.
 S.CL S.CL’has NEG already called, that I C.CL know
 “He hasn’t already called, that I know.” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 229)

Finally, *pa* also precedes *pi* ‘no more’ and *sempre* ‘always’.

- (575) Da ntlura, a l’ha pa pi sempre acetà i nost invit.
 Since then, S.CL S.CL’has NEG no.more always accepted the our invitations
 “Since then, he hasn’t any longer always accepted our invitations.” (pms)
 (Zanuttini 1997: 229)

6. A noticeable difference between Italian and Uyghur is that the negative markers *non* and *mica* in (571) show negative concord. As stated in section 4.1.1, multiple negation markers in Uyghur results in double negation rather than concord. My interest in showing this data is to motivate negation being merged in multiple positions cross-linguistically, despite other differences between negation in Romance varieties and Uyghur.

In a similar fashion, Zanuttini locates Piedmontese *nen* by its linear position relative to other functional morphemes. In the first place, *nen* can only follow rather than precede *gia* ‘already’ (see (576a), the opposite behavior of *pa* as shown in (576b).

- (576) a. *A l’e nen gia andait a ca’.
 S.CL S.CL’is NEG already gone to home
- b. A l’e pa gia andait a ca’.
 “He hasn’t already gone home.” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 230)

However, *nen* must precede *sempre* ‘always’, whether *sempre* precedes or follows a participle.

- (577) a. A l’ha nen dine sempre tut.
 S.CL S.CL’has NEG told-us always everything
- b. A l’ha nen sempre dine tut.
- c. *A l’ha sempre nen dine tut.
 “He hasn’t always told us everything.” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 232)

Final confirmation that *nen* occupies a lower position than *pa* comes from the fact that *pa* can linearly precede *nen* but *nen* cannot linearly precede *pa*.

- (578) a. Fa pa nen suli!
 do NEG NEG that
 “Don’t do that!” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 233)
- b. *Fa nen pa suli!
 do NEG NEG that
 Intended: “Don’t do that!” (pms) (Zanuttini 1997: 233)

Placing Milanese *no* in the lowest possible negation head relies on its ordering relative to participles. Zanuttini first observes that Milanese participles must surface to the left of a verb’s complements, but can appear to the right of the adverb *sempre* ‘always’.

- (579) a. L'a semper di tüscòs.
 S.CL'has always said everything
 “He has always said everything.” (Milanese) (Zanuttini 1997: 235)
- b. *L'a semper tüscòs di
 S.CL'has always everything said
 “He has always said everything.” (Milanese) (Zanuttini 1997: 235)

Recall from (575) and (577a) that Piedmontese *pa* and *nen* must both precede ‘always’, respectively.

Participles may not appear to the left of *minga*, which is the Milanese equivalent of Piedmontese *pa* discussed above.

- (580) a. L'u minga truà.
 it-have NEG found
- b. *L'u truà minga.
 “I haven’t found it.” (Milanese) (Zanuttini 1997: 235)

However, participles must occur to the left of Milanese *no*.

- (581) a. El l'ha scrivuu no.
 S.CL S.CL'has written NEG
- b. *El l'ha no scrivuu.
 “He hasn’t written.” (Milanese) (Zanuttini 1997: 236)

Given that *no* obligatorily follows the past participle, which can follow ‘always’, it stands to reason that *no* occupies the lowest Neg projection among the Romance negators.

This section has provided some evidence that negation is not limited to a single clausal position in languages as diverse as Korean, Mandarin Chinese, Thai and Romance varieties. This chapter will show in a more thorough fashion that this is also the case for Uyghur. I begin with a general discussion of Uyghur’s negation system in the following section.

4.3 General Discussion of Negation in Uyghur

Negation may be expressed in three primary ways in Uyghur: through verbal negation (*-ma*), existential negation (*yoq*), and copular or metalinguistic negation (*emes*). I briefly introduce each form in turn.

4.3.1 Verbal Negation: *-ma*

The negative suffix *-ma* is used to negate a non-existential, inflecting verb. *-ma* always follows the verbal stem and precedes tense and person inflection.

- (582) Tursun tamaq yémidi.
Tursun tamaq ye-ma-di-0
Tursun food eat-NEG-PST-3
“Tursun didn’t eat food.”

A number of morphemes may appear between the lexical verb stem and *-ma*. One class are voice suffixes like passive *-il/in*.⁷

- (583) Tamaq yéyilmidi.
Tamaq ye-il-ma-di-0
Food eat-PASS-NEG-PST-3
“The food wasn’t eaten.”

There are also a handful of grammatical suffixes believed to have once been bleached V2s preceded by *-(i)p* (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003) that may appear between the lexical verb and negation. One is the abilitative suffix *-ala*, which is a grammaticalization of the verb *al* ‘to take’.

- (584) Tapalmaymiz
Tap-ala-ma-i-miz
Find-ABIL-NEG-NPST-1PL
“We cannot find (it)” (Engesæth et al. 2009: 181)

A second such example is the completive suffix *-iwet*, which is reported to be a grammaticalization of the verb *ewet* ‘to send’ (Tömür 2003).

- (585) Men chong bir ishni qiliwetmidim.
Men chong bir ish-ni qil-iwet-ma-di-m
1SG big one matter-ACC do-COMPL-NEG-PST-1SG
“There’s a big thing I didn’t finish.”

7. As mentioned in previous chapters, *-il* and *-in* appear in phonologically conditioned complementary distribution (Tömür 2003).

The progressive marker *-iwat*, a grammaticalization of the verb *yat* ‘to lie down’ (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003), can either precede or follow negation. In fact, it can even be both preceded and followed by negation, as in (587). Although verbal negation can follow the progressive morpheme as in (586a), it is more common for it to follow the lexical verb stem and proceed *-iwat*, as in (586b) (Engesæth et al. 2009). I will discuss the distribution of negative *-ma* vis-a-vis *-iwat* at greater length in sections 4.5.3 and 4.5.4.

- (586) a. Kéliwatmaydu.
 Kel-wat-ma-i-du
 Come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he isn’t coming.”

- b. Kelmeywatidu.
 Kel-may-wat-i-du.
 Come-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 “(S)he isn’t coming.”

- (587) Men sizni tonumaywatmaymen.
 Men siz-ni tonu-may-wat-ma-i-men
 1SG 2SG.FORM-ACC know-NEG-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I DO know you (it’s not that I don’t know you).” (Tömür 1987: 396 in Aihemaiti 2013)

While many authors in the previous section situated negation in the specifier of the Neg projection, I consider Uyghur negation to always occupy the head of a Neg projection based on morphosyntactic evidence. One reason negation must head its own projection is linear order: negation in a specifier should at least sometimes be able to precede a verb, given that specifiers universally appear to the left of their heads (Kayne 1994). This is never the case in Uyghur. ree (588) shows the Uyghur negator *-ma* in a hypothetical specifier position, which should allow the ungrammatical morpheme order in (589).⁸

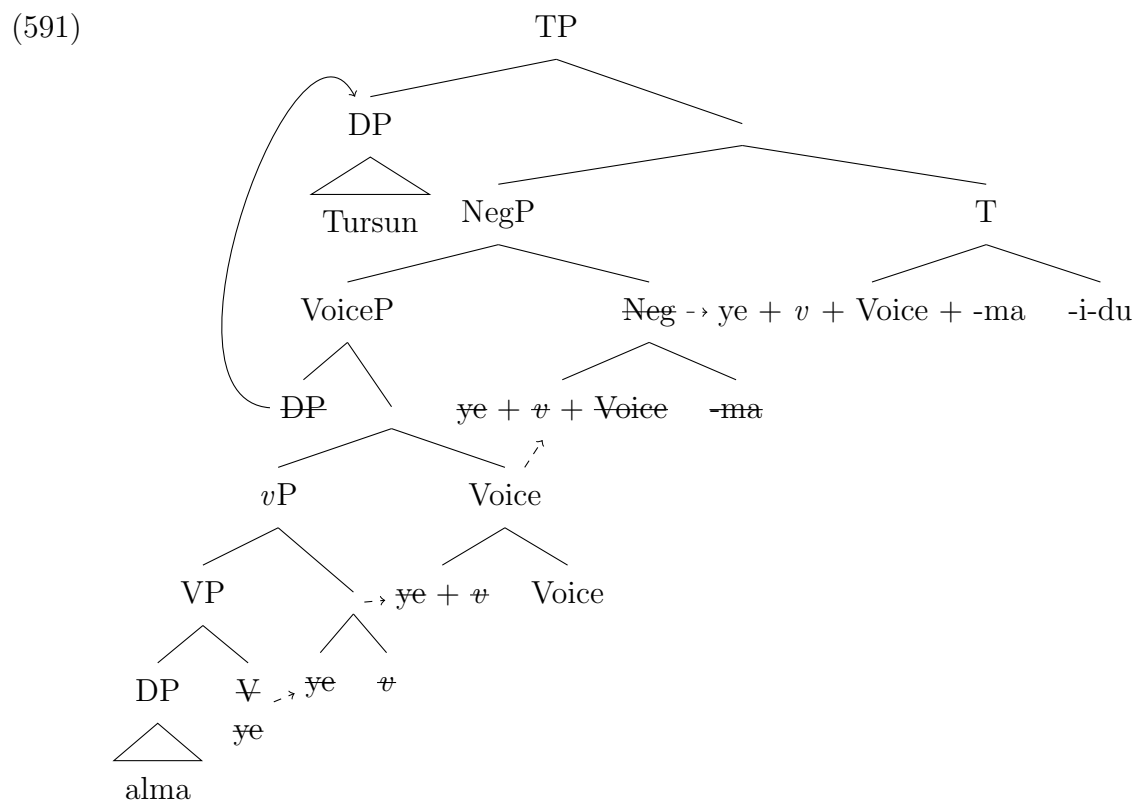
- (588)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{NegP} \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \text{ma} \quad \text{Neg}' \\
 \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \quad vP \quad \text{Neg} \\
 \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \quad \text{kel} \quad \emptyset
 \end{array}$$

8. It is also possible to derive an order in which the verb precedes negation in a specifier if the verb raises leftward past NegP in analyses like Whitman (2005) which I discussed in section 4.2. However, I consider an analysis which derives all head-final order in Uyghur from underlying head-initial order undesirable as long as the facts of the language can be accounted for without extra movement.

- (589) *Makélidu.
 Ma-kel-i-du
 NEG-come-NPST-3
 Intended: “(S)he won’t come.”

The second reason I propose that Uyghur negation occupies a head rather than a specifier is that verbal negation behaves like a syntactic head with regards to verbal head movement. Verbal negation is always treated as part of the same prosodic word as the verb it attaches to in terms of lexical stress assignment, for example (Yakup 2013, Özçelik 2015). For this reason, I assume that verbal head movement proceeds through negation, heading a NegP, among other functional heads on its way to T or C. This movement, which results in the formation of one morphologically complex word, is sketched in (591).⁹

- (590) Tursun tamaq yémidi.
 Tursun tamaq ye-ma-di-0
 Tursun food eat-NEG-PST-3
 “Tursun ate food.”



9. See Harizanov and Gribanova (2018) for arguments that head movement of the type shown in (ii) is actually a postsyntactic word formation process.

I have used the term ‘verbal negation’ rather than ‘sentential negation’ to describe the function of the *-ma* suffix in this section until now. In section 4.5, I will show that *-ma* can either mark sentential negation or constituent negation depending on the environment in which it is merged. Sentential negation is generally defined as negation that scopes above a sentence’s main predicate or takes the widest scope within a matrix clause (Klima 1964, Stockwell et al. 1973, Acquaviva 1997, Payne 1985, Horn 1989, Tubau 2008, Penka 2015, Collins and Postal 2017 inter alia). More generally, sentential negation negates the main proposition of a sentence, while constituent negation does not; constituent negation only negates some part of a sentence. Sentential negation and constituent negation may combine to yield an affirmative reading in English in a sentence like (592).

(592) Kim didn’t keep not coming (=Kim did come). (eng)

Negation of the main auxiliary *keep* in the form of *n’t* is sentential negation, while negation of the participle *coming* in the form of *not* is constituent negation.

Klima (1964) proposes a battery of tests that identify sentential negation in English, but most fail to pick out negation in Uyghur. For example, Klima observes that a positive confirmation tag can only follow a sentence with sentential negation, while a negative confirmation tag follows sentences without sentential negation. For this reason, the positive confirmation tag can be used after (593b), but the negative confirmation tag must be used after (593a).

- (593) a. Warren criticized his manager didn’t he/*did he?
 b. Warren didn’t criticize his manager, *didn’t he/did he? (Klima 1964 in Collins and Postal 2017: 7)

In Uyghur, however, I have found positive and negative confirmation tags to be equally acceptable for both negative and non-negative sentences. The negative confirmation tag used in (594) is formed by the copular negation form *emes*, to be introduced in section 4.3.3. Using confirmation tags to test for sentential negation thus seems to rely on a (English) language-specific idiosyncrasy rather than a cross-linguistic generalization.

- (594) a. Tursun keldi, shundaqmu/shundaq emesmu?
 Tursun kel-di-0 shundaq-mu/shundaq emes-mu
 Tursun come-PST-3 right-Q/right NEG-Q
 “Tursun came, did/didn’t he?”
 b. Tursun kelmidi, shundaqmu/shundaq emesmu?
 Tursun kel-ma-di-0 shundaq-mu/shundaq emes-mu
 Tursun come-NEG-PST-3 right-Q/right NEG-Q
 “Tursun didn’t come, did/didn’t he?”

In this chapter, I will take sentential negation to be negation that can take scope over any other scope-taking element in a sentence. If sentential negation takes wide scope in a clause, then sentential negation should license Uyghur n-words in subject as well as object position. Uyghur n-words appear to express a negative meaning, but obligatorily co-occur with a negation marker to express a single negation. I establish an analysis of negative concord in section 4.4; the key idea is that n-words are licensed when c-commanded by clausemate negation. Anticipating this analysis, (595) and (596) show that verbal negation following a single verb in a clause licenses, and thus must be able to c-command, an n-word in either subject or object position.

- (595) Héchkim tamaq yémidi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-ma-di-0
 Nobody food eat-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody ate food.”

- (596) Héchnéme yémidim.
 Héchnéme ye-ma-di-m
 Nothing eat-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t eat anything.”

If negation in its default context can license an n-word subject, then negation at any position in the clause should also be able to do so if it marks sentential negation. By a similar token, negation with sentential scope should also be able to take wide scope over adverbials and focused objects that appear in a mid-clausal position. I apply these diagnostics to negation in bleached V2 constructions in section 4.5. What I will find in section 4.5 is that negation can take sentential scope if and only if it is able to head-move to a position where it can c-command other scope taking elements. I state this generalization in (597).

- (597) **Sentential Negation Movement Generalization:**
 Negation that is unable to head-move to T is unable to take sentential scope.

Most of this chapter will focus on verbal negation and its base-merge positions. Before establishing an analysis of negative concord and proceeding to discuss specific positions where verbal negation can be merged, I will discuss two other forms of negation used in the absence of an inflecting verb in the interest of completeness.

4.3.2 Existential Negation: *yoq*

The existential negator *yoq* is the negative counterpart of the existential verb *bar*. Both *yoq* and *bar* are one-place predicates taking a nominal argument. They do not inflect for tense or person.

- (598) a. Bu yerde adem yoq.
Bu yer-da adem yoq
DEM place-LOC person NEG

“There are no people here.”

- b. Bu yerde adem bar.
Bu yer-da adem bar
DEM place-LOC person exist

“There are people here.”

A verb must be nominalized in order to be an argument of *yoq*. Only (599b) is acceptable because the suffix *-ghu* is a nominalizer expressing a sense of volition (Muzaipai'er 2014).

- (599) a. *Bügünki kinogha barimen yoq.
Bügün-ki kino-ga bar-i-men yoq
Today-REL movie-DAT go-NPST-1SG NEG

Intended: “I’m not going to the movie today.”

- b. Bügünki kinogha barghum yoq.
Bügün-ki kino-ga bar-ghu-m yoq
Today-REL movie-DAT go-NMLZ-1SG.POSS NEG

“I don’t want to go to the movie today (lit. My desire to go is absent).”

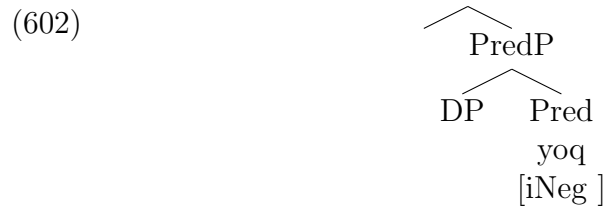
The presence of a Neg head licenses an n-word argument for *yoq*, but not *bar*. The way in which n-words are licensed in Uyghur will be explored in section 4.4.

- (600) a. Bu yerde héchkim yoq.
Bu yer-da héchkim yoq
DEM place-LOC nobody NEG

“There’s nobody here.”

- b. *Bu yerde héchkim bar.
 Bu yer-da héchkim bar
 DEM place-LOC nobody exist
 Intended: “There’s nobody here.”

I tentatively analyze existential predicates as PredP heads which do not require verbal inflection and take a DP argument in their specifier. The difference between *bar* and *yoq*, shown in (601) and (602), is that the latter is semantically negative, endowed with a [iNeg] feature, while the former does not carry such a feature.



I have presented the basic facts about existential negation here for the sake of exposition, but will not discuss existential negation any further in this dissertation.

4.3.3 Copular and Metalinguistic Negation: *emes*

The most common function of *emes* is to negate copular predicates—including nominal predicates (603), locative predicates (604) and adjectival predicates like *yéngi* ‘new’ in (605)—when no overt inflecting verb is present.¹⁰

10. The optionally present morpheme *-dur* is considered a copular verb, but it is usually dropped in spoken Uyghur (Tuohuti 2004, 2012, 2017). Another possible analysis of *dur*, given its complementary distribution with the copular negator *emes*, is that it is the affirmative counterpart of *emes* occupying the same Polarity head.

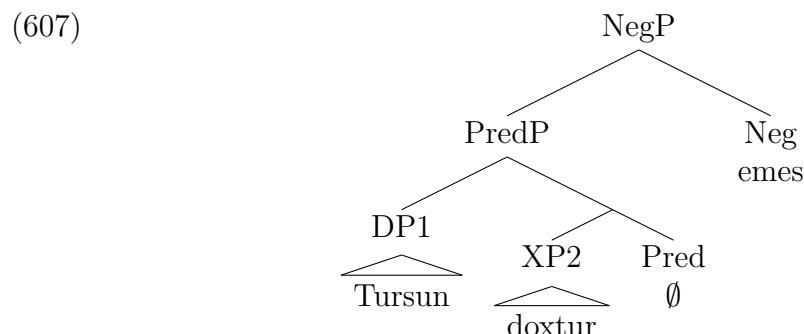
- (603) a. Tursun doxtur(-dur).
 Tursun doctor(-COP)
 “Tursun is a doctor.”
- b. Tursun doxtur emes.
 Tursun doctor NEG
 “Tursun is not a doctor.”
- (604) a. Tursun öyde(dür).
 Tursun öy-da(-dur)
 Tursun house-LOC(-COP)
 “Tursun is at home.”
- b. Tursun öyde emes.
 Tursun öy-da emes
 Tursun house-LOC NEG
 “Tursun isn’t home.”
- (605) a. Bu kitab yéngi.
 DEM book new
 “This book is new.”
- b. Bu kitab yéngi emes.
 DEM book new NEG
 “This book isn’t new.”

One piece of evidence that *emes* itself is not a verb is that, unlike any other verb I know of in Uyghur, *emes* shows no obligatory person agreement. It surfaces with the same form regardless of the subject’s phi features (compare (606) to (603b)).

- (606) Men doxtur emes.
 1SG doctor NEG
 “I’m not a doctor.”

I tentatively consider copular constructions to be mediated by a silent Pred head, which may be selected by a Neg projection headed by *emes*. Though the rest of this chapter does

not hinge on this analysis, my reason for analyzing *emes* as a Neg head but *yoq* as a Pred head is that the latter appears in complementary distribution with an overt predicative form, while the former does not.



Emes also serves as a metalinguistic negator when it follows an inflected finite verb. As a metalinguistic negator, *emes* reverses the polarity of the finite clause and is most naturally followed by a correcting statement.

- (608) U bizning öyge keldi emes(, kelmidi).
 U biz-ning öy-ga kel-di-0 emes (kel-ma-di-0)
 3SG 1PL-GEN house-DAT come-PST-3 NEG come-NEG-PST-3
 “It’s not the case that (s)he came to our house ((s)he didn’t come).”

Notice that *emes* in (608) is negating a fully finite, non-nominalized clause. Indeed, (608) becomes ungrammatical if the verb is nominalized rather than inflected for finite tense.¹¹

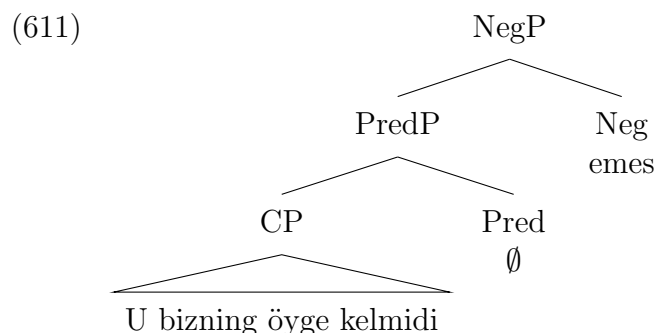
- (609) *U bizning öyge kelish emes(, kelmidi).
 U biz-ning öy-ga kel-ish emes (kel-ma-di-0)
 3SG 1PL-GEN house-DAT come-NMLZ NEG come-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “It’s not the case that (s)he came to our house ((s)he didn’t come).”

When *emes* reverses the polarity of a clause with verbal negation, a double negative reading is produced.

- (610) U bizning öyge kelmidi emes(, keldi).
 U biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-di-0 emes (kel-di-0)
 3SG 1PL-GEN house-DAT come-NEG-PST-3 NEG come-PST-3
 “It’s not the case that (s)he didn’t come to our house ((s)he did come).”

11. A number of nominalization strategies exist for verbs in Uyghur (see Muzaipai’er 2014 and my summary in chapter 1), all of which are ungrammatical if substituted into (609).

In keeping with my analyze of *emes* as a copular negator, I tentatively analyze examples like (609) and (610) as the Pred head selecting a CP.



The rest of this chapter will focus solely on use of the verbal negator *-ma*. The existential negator *yoq* and copular/metalinguistic negator *emes* are not discussed further.

4.4 Negative Concord in Uyghur

Negative concord refers to “situations where negation is interpreted just once although it seems to be expressed more than once in the clause” (Giannakidou 2000: 458). This phenomenon, identified using different terminology by Jespersen (1917), Klima (1964) and Labov (1972) among other early works, can be seen in examples like (612) from Spanish.

- (612) No dije nada.
 NEG say.PST.1SG nothing
 “I didn’t say anything.” (spa)

In (612), negation was expressed by the negation marker *no* and also (at least seemingly) by the word *nada* ‘nothing’, yet the sentence can be translated using only one negative morpheme (*n’t*) in English. Because *nada* seems to express negation but does not add a second negative meaning in combination with a negation marker, and because *nada* can be used as a fragment answer to mean ‘nothing’, it can be considered an ‘n-word’ (Laka 1990).

In this section, I illustrate negative concord in Uyghur. I introduce Uyghur n-words in section 4.4.1 and then give a working analysis of their licensing conditions in section 4.4.2. Negative concord and the conditions of n-word licensing will play a crucial role in motivating different positions where negation markers can be merged in section 4.5.

4.4.1 Introducing Uyghur n-words

The term n-word for negation-sensitive items was first coined by Laka (1990) and can be defined as in (613).

(613) *N-word* (Giannakidou 2006: 2)

An expression α is an n-word iff:

- a. α can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another α -expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and
- b. α can provide a negative fragment answer.

If ‘sentential negation’ is interpreted as ‘negation marker’ (anticipating the findings of section 4.5), then words beginning with the *héch-* prefix in Uyghur fit both terms of Giannakidou’s definition. In non-fragment sentences, words beginning with the prefix not only can but must be used in sentences containing a negation marker, as illustrated by the contrast between (614a) and (614b).

- (614) a. Héchnéme yémidim.
Héchnéme ye-ma-di-m
Nothing eat-NEG-PST-1SG
“I didn’t eat anything.”
- b. *Héchnéme yédim.
Héchnéme ye-di-m
Nothing eat-PST-1SG
Intended: “I ate nothing.”

Words like *héchnéme* ‘nothing’ do not satisfy the second disjunctive condition of (613a) because the presence of another *héch-* word is not sufficient to license them. I return to this issue momentarily.

- (615) *Héchkim héchnéme yédi.
Héchkim héchnéme ye-di-0
Nobody nothing eat-PST-3
Intended: “Nobody ate anything.”

Words with the *héch-* prefix also satisfy condition (b) of the Giannakidou’s definition of n-words because they can be used as negative fragment answers expressing a negative meaning. For example, (616b) is an appropriate answer to (616a).

- (616) a. Q:
 Néme yédingiz?
 Néme ye-di-ngiz
 What eat-PST-2SG.FORM
 “What did you eat?”
- b. A:
 Héchnéme.
 Nothing

Table 4.3 gives a non-exhaustive list of common Uyghur n-words.

Stem	Translation	n-word	Translation
adem	person	héchadem	nobody
bir	one	héchbir	not (even) one...
kim	who	héchkim	nobody
néme	what	héchnéme	nothing
ne	where	héchne	nowhere
nerse	thing	héchnerse	nothing
qachan	when	héchqachan	never
qandaq	how	héchqandaq	no kind of
qanche	how many	héchqanche	no amount of
qaysi	which	héchqaysi	none of
qeyer	where	héchqeyer	nowhere
waqit	time	héchwaqit	no time
yer	place	héchyer	no place
zaman	time	héchzaman	no time

Table 4.3: n-words in Uygur

Giannakidou (1997) distinguishes two types of negative concord languages depending on how strictly they enforce negative concord. Languages like Italian, in which n-words need not (in fact can not on a negative concord reading) co-occur with a negation marker if they appear preverbally (e.g. in subject position), are non-strict negative concord languages.

- (617) Nessuno (*non) ha telefonato.
 N-body NEG has called
 “Nobody called.” (ita) (Zeijlstra 2008: 3)

Non-strict negative concord languages exhibit a phenomenon called negative spread, where a preverbal n-word licenses the presence of a postverbal n-word without any negation marker (Den Besten 1986). (618a) shows that a postverbal n-word is usually not licensed in

Italian when the verb is not negated, but (618b) shows that a preverbal n-word subject makes the postverbal n-word licit.

- (618) a. *Ha telefonato nessuno.
 Has called nobody
- b. Nessuno ha telefonato a nessuno.
 Nobody has called to nobody
- “Nobody has called anybody.” (ita) (Giannakidou and Zeijlstra 2017: 10)

Languages like Czech (shown in (619)), in which n-words must co-occur with a negation marker regardless of their surface position, are strict negative concord languages.

- (619) Dnes nikdo *(ne)volá.
 Today n-body NEG.calls
- “Today nobody is calling.” (ces) (Zeijlstra 2008: 3)

(620) shows that Uyghur is also a strict negative concord language. That is, words with *héch-* must always co-occur with a negation marker, whether they surface as the subject or any other type of argument.

- (620) a. Héchkim tamaq yémidi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-ma-di-0
 Nobody food eat-NEG-PST-3
- “Nobody ate food.”
- b. *Héchkim tamaq yédi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-di-0
 Nobody food eat-PST-3
- Intended: “Nobody ate food.”

Uyghur also lacks negative spread. Thus the n-word subject in (621) alone does not license an n-word object. Negation of the verb is also necessary.

- (621) *Héchkim héchnéme yé*(mi)di.
 Héchkim héchnéme ye*(-ma)-di-0
 Nobody nothing eat-NEG-PST-3
- “Nobody ate anything.”

(622) Did anyone come? (eng)

(623) a. *Héchkim keldimu?
Héchkim kel-di-0-mu
Nobody come-PST-3-Q
Intended: “Did nobody come?”

b. Héchkim kelmidimu?
Héchkim kel-ma-di-0-mu
Nobody come-NEG-PST-3-Q
“Did nobody come?”

(624) a. *Abliz [héchneme yégenlikini] démidi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz didn’t say he ate anything.”

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- b. Abliz [héchneme yémigenlikini] dédi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-ma-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said he didn’t eat anything.”

- (625) a. *Abliz [héchneme yédi] démidi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-di-0] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-PST-3] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz didn’t say he ate anything.”

- b. Abliz [héchneme yémidi] dédi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-ma-di-0] de-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-PST-3] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said he didn’t eat anything.”

One apparent exception to the generalization demonstrated in the above two examples is that an embedded n-word subject is licensed by matrix negation when marked for accusative case, as in (626).

- (626) Abliz [héchkim*(ni) sorungha keldi] démidi.
 Abliz [héchkim*(-ni) sorun-ga kel-di-0] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nobody-ACC party-DAT come-PST-3] say-NEG-PST-3
 “Abliz didn’t say anyone came to the party.”

However, there is good reason to believe that the subject receives accusative case in the matrix clause rather than the embedded clause. First, the n-word subject of an embedded clause can only be licensed by negation of the embedded verb when it is not accusative marked.

- (627) Abliz [héchkim(*ni) sorungha kelmidi] dédi.
 Abliz [héchkim(*-ni) sorun-ga kel-ma-di-0] de-di-0
 Abliz [nobody-ACC party-DAT come-NEG-PST-3] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said that nobody came to the party.”

Second, while it is possible to have an accusative embedded subject with an unaccusative embedded verb, it is not possible to have an accusative embedded subject when the matrix

verb is unaccusative. It is thus clear that the so-called embedded subject receives accusative case in the matrix rather than embedded clause.¹³

- (628) Ahmet [istakan(ni) buzuldi] didi.
 Ahmet [istakan(-ni) buz-il-di-0] de-di-0
 Ahmet [cup(-ACC) break-PASS-3] say-PST-3

“Ahmet said that the cup was broken.” (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 28)

- (629) Manga [Aygül(*ni) ketti] diyildi.
 Men-ga [Aygül(*-ni) ket-di-0] de-il-di-0
 1SG-DAT [Aygül-ACC leave-PST-3] say-PASS-PST-3

“It was told to me that Aygul left.” (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 23)

Finally, clauses allowing accusative subjects may not be finite, in which case they should not block a subject from raising into the matrix clause. It is noteworthy that while the embedded verb agrees with nominative subjects, it does not agree with accusative subjects.¹⁴ Adopting Zidani-Eroglu’s (1997) and Kornfilt’s (1997) conclusions that agreement rather than tense is the true indicator of finiteness, lack of agreement with the accusative subject in (630b) is evidence that the embedded clause is non-finite.

- (630) a. Tursun [men kettim] didi.
 Tursun [men ket-di-m] de-di-0
 Tursun [1SG leave-PST-1SG] say-PST-3

“Tursun said that he left.”

13. The contrast in availability of accusative case in (628) and (629) can be interpreted in at least two different ways depending on the model of case marking one assumes. If one assumes that accusative case is licensed structurally (i.e. by the *v* head as in Chomsky 2000, 2001), then the unavailability of accusative case in (629) is due to *v* in the matrix clause not assigning accusative case because the construction is passivized, while accusative case in (628) is available from the active matrix *v*. If one assumes that accusative is a dependent case, assigned downward in the presence of another nominal in the same domain (Marantz 1991, Baker and Vinokurova 2010), then the unavailability of accusative case in this example indicates that *Aygül* never appears in a domain in which it is c-commanded by another nominal. For *istakan* to bear accusative case in (628), it must appear in the same domain as the matrix subject, the only potential c-commanding nominal. The conclusion reached by either interpretation is that the embedded subject is inside the embedded clause in (629), while it must either move to or be base merged in the matrix clause in (628).

14. It can be easily observed from the translations that the nominative subject in (630a) has a shifted reading while the accusative subject in (630b) does not. The correlation between shifting of pronoun index and case marking in Uyghur was perhaps most famously analyzed by Shklovsky and Sudo (2014). However, I have found many of the crucial data points in that paper to be flawed in my own fieldwork. For an alternative analysis based on much sounder data, the reader is referred to Major (2018).

- b. Tursun [menni ketti] didi.
 Tursun [men-ni ket-di-0] de-di-0
 Tursun [1SG-ACC leave-PST-3] say-PST-3
 “Tursun said that I left.” (Major 2018: 17)

It is also worth noting that in addition to embedding clauses, the verb *de* ‘to say’ can take accusative complements.

- (631) Tursun sözlerni didi.
 Tursun söz-lar-ni de-di-0
 Tursun word-PL-ACC say-PST-3
 “Tursun said words.” (Major 2018: 12)

Taking the above data into account, I follow Major (2018) in assuming that the accusative subject originates in the non-finite embedded clause and raises into the matrix clause, where it is assigned accusative case. If the subject is an n-word, its features are also able to agree with negation (the licensing process that I posit in the next section) in the matrix clause from this raised position. Thus (626) does not constitute an exception to the generalization about clausemate negation.

Having dispensed with one potential exception to negation being clause-bound, I conclude that Uyghur n-words are licensed by a c-commanding negation marker within the same clause. In section 4.5, I will use the ability to license n-words through c-command as a diagnostic of the position at which negation merges in a clause. First, I must propose a suitable analysis of how negative concord is derived in Uyghur.

4.4.2 Achieving Negative Concord

Analyses of n-words and their role in negative concord must solve a puzzle: how do these words express a negative meaning in fragment answers like (632b), but fail to add a negative meaning in the presence of a negation marker (like in (633))? I briefly consider two approaches to solving this puzzle.

- (632) a. Q:
 Néme yédingiz?
 Néme ye-di-ngiz
 What eat-PST-2SG.FORM
 “What did you eat?”
 b. A:
 Héchnéme.
 Nothing

- (633) Héchnéme yémidim.
 Héchnéme ye-ma-di-m
 Nothing eat-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t eat anything.”

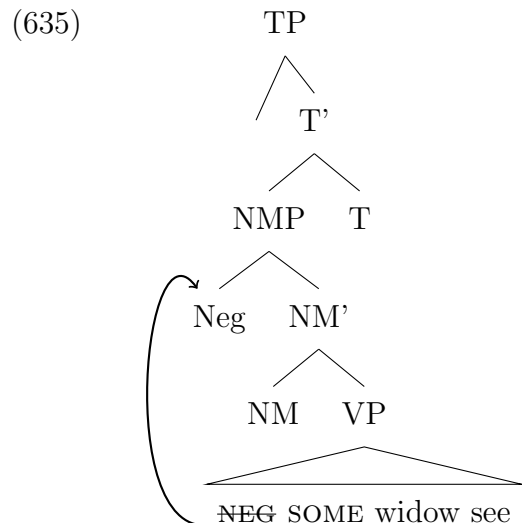
Explanations of this phenomenon generally fall into one of two camps. On one side are analyses which treat n-words as semantically negative, and explain negative concord as either absorption or sharing of semantic negation (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, 1996, Swart and Sag 2002, Swart 2010, Kuno 2007, Collins and Postal 2014 *inter alia*). On the other side are analyses which consider n-words to be semantically non-negative, but requiring syntactic agreement with a negative operator or marker (Ladusaw 1992, Brown 1999, Weiß 2002, Zeijlstra 2004, 2008 *inter alia*). Doing justice to the full breadth and variety of proposals to derive negative concord would take me too far away from my goal here in analyzing negation in Uyghur, and the reader is referred to Giannakidou (2006) and Giannakidou and Zeijlstra (2017) for summaries of the relevant issues. In the interest of advancing the discussion to the facts in Uyghur, I first discuss and reject one recent analysis assuming that n-words are semantically negative (Collins and Postal 2014 and subsequent work) before introducing a current agreement-based analysis (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008) that I will adopt in this chapter.

Neg Raising

Analyses claiming that n-words are semantically negative must answer a difficult question: if both n-words and negation markers are semantically negative, why does their combination not result in double negation (as in some languages like Dutch)? Collins and Postal (2014) and their subsequent work answer this challenge by claiming that when an n-word or NPI is present, the negative feature associated with sentential negation actually originates inside the n-word.¹⁵ An n-word or NPI, according to Collins and Postal, consists of a negated indefinite DP. For example, *no widow* in English decomposes to [[NEG SOME] widow]. Negation covertly raises from within the DP to its surface position in the specifier of a Negation Merge Phrase (NMP), which is merged outside of VP. (635) is my interpretation of how Collins and Postal (2014) analyze (634).

- (634) I didn’t see any widow. (eng) (Collins and Postal 2014: 29)

15. Collins and Postal (2014) and their subsequent work discuss negative polarity items (NPIs) rather than n-words, because the licensing facts in the languages they discuss (primarily English) are different from Uyghur. For example, NPIs in English can be licensed by a variety of downward entailing contexts (like questions, conditional clauses or imperatives) other than negation. The details of Collins and Postal’s (2014) analysis of the structure of NPIs need not concern us here. In discussing their analysis as applied to Uyghur, I will continue to use the term ‘n-word’ rather than ‘NPI’ because it is n-words that concern me in Uyghur, but the reader should be aware that Collins and Postal discuss NPIs rather than n-words.



In Collins and Postal’s analysis, negation introduced by the n-word or NPI is the sole source of interpretable negation in the clause. This analysis ostensibly explains the ability of a standalone n-word to serve as a negative fragment answer in Uyghur: the n-word itself is semantically negative.¹⁶ However, this analysis begs the question of what motivates Neg raising to begin with. It also raises a question about the source of negation in the absence of an n-word. Collins and Postal suggest that negation must always raise from some other position where it is base-generated, either adjoined to the verb or verb phrase, to its surface position in the specifier of the NMP.

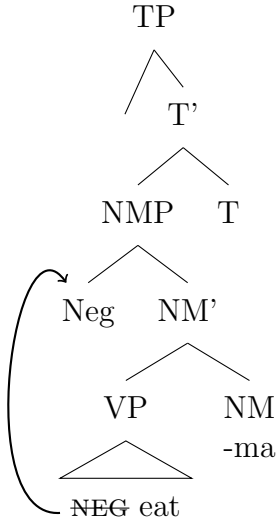
- (636) Yémidim.
 Ye-ma-di-m
 Eat-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t eat.”

16. Because Collins and Postal (2014) discuss NPIs rather than n-words, they do not directly address the issue of why English NPIs cannot serve as negative fragment answers despite being semantically negative (e.g. why (ib) cannot serve as an answer to (ia)).

(i) a. Who did you see?

b. *Anybody (Intended: “Nobody”)

I assume the answer in (ib) is not possible according to Collins and Postal (2014) because of a rule they propose that Neg must be in the specifier of a Negative Merge Phrase at spellout (26). Not enough structure is present in the fragment answer (ib) to allow for a Negative Merge Phrase to which Neg could raise.



Collins et al. (2018) address this issue more directly, proposing that negation in sentences lacking an n-word raises from a covert event quantifier DP. They adopt a syntactic version of Davidson’s (1967) event semantics along the lines of Beghelli and Stowell (1997) in which an English sentence like (637) contains a covert quantifier DP ranging over events. They represent (637) syntactically as (638), which corresponds to the Neo-Davidsonian semantic representation of (639).

(637) Susan Sang.

(638) [$<[SOME\ EVENT]_1> [Susan\ sang\ DP_1]$]

(639) $\exists e.sing(e, Susan)$

To analyze negation in a sentence without an n-word like (640), then, Collins et al. (2018) claim that negation has raised from within the covert DP to its surface position in Aux, as depicted in (641). Without negation raising from some covert position in this fashion, the authors would have to explain why negation raises when an n-word is present but can merge directly in its surface position when n-words are absent.

(640) Susan did not sing.

(641) $[_{TP} \text{ Susan did NEG}_1 [_{VP} <[_{DP} <\text{Neg}_1> \text{ SOME}] \text{ EVENT}]_1 > [_{VP} \text{ sing DP}_1]]$

Since negation raises from an n-word when present according to Collins et al. (2018), it must be the case that the covert DP is not negated when an n-word is present. Thus a sentence like (642) will express the meaning of (643).

(642) Susan did not sing anything.

(643) $\neg \exists x \exists e. [\text{sing}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(e, \text{Susan}) \wedge \text{theme}(e, x)]$

The greatest appeal of the Collins and Postal (2014) approach is its flexibility with regards to the merge position of negation, which they claim can be any position where negation is semantically interpretable. I make the same claim about Uyghur NegPs in this chapter, the crucial condition being that negation is interpretable wherever its complement is a verbal category. However, I find the idea of negation raising from a covert DP unmotivated, and believe that n-word fragment answers can be explained by ellipsis (Giannakidou 2000). I thus do not adopt the raising component of Collins and Postal's analysis, and turn towards a more standard, agreement-based approach to n-word licensing.

Negative Concord as Agreement

Zeijlstra (2004, 2008) approaches negative concord from the opposite direction of Collins and Postal. He assumes that either negation markers or a covert operator, but never n-words, are semantically negative. Instead, n-words are non-negative indefinites that require the presence of a negation marker or negative operator for syntactic licensing. This agreement-based approach echoes analyses given by Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991, 1996), Ladusaw (1992) and Haegeman (1995), but Zeijlstra (2004) differs from the aforementioned analyses by assuming that n-words are indefinites that are merged with a semantically uninterpretable Neg feature [uNEG] which must be checked against an interpretable Neg feature.¹⁷

An interpretable Neg feature [iNEG] is either introduced by a negation marker, or introduced by a covert Neg operator (in which case negation markers as well as n-words only bear uninterpretable Neg features). Zeijlstra proposes that negation is semantically realized by an operator in strict negative concord languages because negation scopes higher than preverbal quantifiers, indicating that negation is not interpreted at its surface

17. Zeijlstra (2004) follows a tradition including Acquaviva (1997), Ladusaw (1992, 1994), Giannakidou and Quer (1995, 1997), Giannakidou (1997), Déprez (1997) and Richter and Sailer (1998) in considering n-words to be indefinites. However, see Giannakidou (1998, 2000, 2006) for arguments that some n-words are actually universal quantifiers. I follow the more traditional assumption that n-words are indefinites that require negation in this chapter.

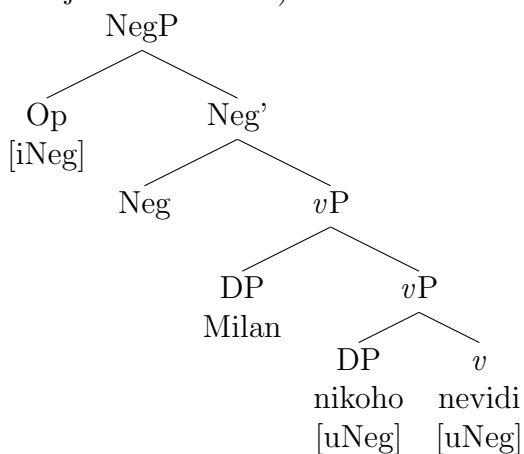
position. Thus in a Czech sentence like (644), the negation marker *ne* has a [uNeg] rather than an [iNeg] feature, and its [uNeg] feature must be checked against the [iNeg] feature of a null operator that scopes over the entire proposition.

- (644) Milan moc *nejedl*
 Milan much NEG.eat.PERF
 “Milan hasn’t eaten much.” (NEG > much)
 * “There is much that Milan hasn’t eaten.” (*much > NEG) (cze) (Zeijlstra 2004: 52)

In Zeijlstra’s analysis of strict negative concord, negative markers force the projection of Neg. The negative operator sits in the specifier of NegP. Its interpretable [iNeg] feature deletes the uninterpretable [uNeg] features of the n-word and negative marker. (646) is a simplified sketch of Zeijlstra’s analysis showing the merge position of NegP and the operator in its specifier.

- (645) Milan *nevidi nikoho*.
 Milan neg.see n-body
 “Milan doesn’t see anybody.” (ces) (Zeijlstra 2004: 250)

- (646) (simplified from Zeijlstra 2004: 251)



I believe that an approach in which negation markers themselves introduce interpretable features is more promising than an operator-based approach for Uyghur. Looking at scope relations between negation and clause-medial items provides evidence that scope is marked by negative markers themselves, rather than an operator higher in the clause. Two scope readings are possible when a single verb is negated in combination with a focused object and the adverb ‘only’ in (647).

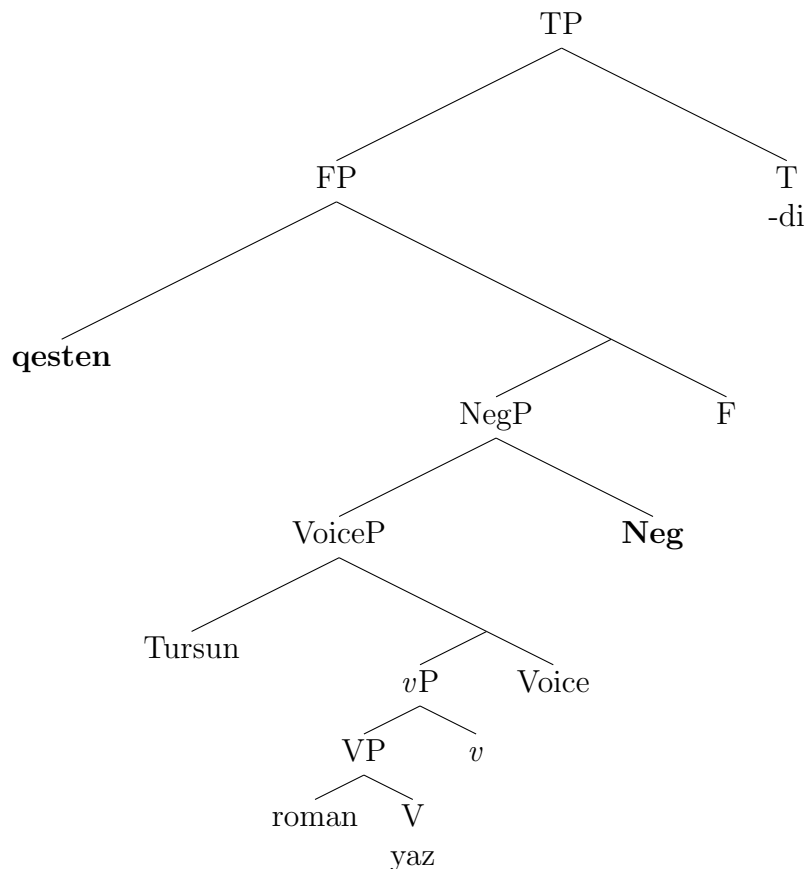
- (647) Men peqet chaynila ichmeymen.
 Men peqet chay-ni-la ich-ma-i-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I don’t only drink tea (I also drink other things).” (NEG > FOC)
 “I only don’t drink tea (I drink everything else).” (FOC > NEG)

The same variable scope is seen between negation of a single verb and agent-oriented adverbials like *qesten* ‘intentionally’ in (648).

- (648) U qesten kelmidi.
 U qesten kel-ma-di
 3SG intentionally come-NEG-PST-3
 “(S)he intentionally didn’t come.” (intentionally > NEG)
 “(S)he didn’t intentionally come.” (NEG > intentionally)

If agent-oriented adverbs or focused objects occupy some fixed position in the clause, then the above data suggest that negation in Uyghur at least has the option of scoping from the position where negation markers are merged in NegP (below the focused object or adverbial), instead of obligatorily taking scope from a higher operator position. (649) illustrates this point using a manner adverbial as in (648). Here I situate the adverb *qesten* in the specifier of a functional projection between VoiceP and TP (as in Cinque 1999). To obtain the reading of (648) in which the adverb scopes over negation, it must be possible for negation to be interpreted in a position c-commanded by the adverb, as the Neg head is in (649). If negation were always interpreted and took scope from a higher position in the clause, then the reading in which negation scopes below the adverb would not be possible.

(649)



A second reason to assume that interpretable Neg features are introduced by negation markers rather than an operator in Uyghur is that multiple occurrences of verbal negation result in double negation, as stated in section 4.1. Such intraclausal double negation occurs both in bleached V2 constructions (650) and when negation both precedes and follows progressive aspect (651).

- (650) Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoymaydu.
Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-may qoy-ma-i-du
Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG put-NEG-NPST-3
“Tursun will definitely come to our house.”

- (651) Men sizni tonumaywatmaymen.
Men siz-ni tonu-may-wat-ma-i-men
1SG 2SG.FORM-ACC know-NEG-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
“I DO know you (it’s not that I don’t know you).” (Tömür 1987: 396 in Aihemaiti 2013)

Indeed, Zeijlstra (2004) analyzes double negation in languages like English and Dutch as multiple items within a clause introducing their own [iNEG] features, without operators present. Double negation in the languages discussed by Zeijlstra can involve a combination of negative markers expressing both sentential and constituent negation as in (652), or a negative marker and an n-word as in (653).

(652) Mary will not not show up. → “Mary will show up.” (eng) (Zeijlstra 2004: 58)

(653) Nobody will not be touched by this movie. → “Everybody will be touched by this movie.” (eng) (Zeijlstra 2004: 59)

Adopting the analysis in which interpretable negative features are introduced by negation markers means that n-words are only syntactically negative, as proposed by Zeijlstra (2004). N-words are licensed by agreement with heads bearing [iNEG]. My analysis differs from Zeijlstra’s in considering the source of the perceived negative meaning to be the interpretable Neg feature present on an actual negative head rather than an operator.

Considering n-words to bear an uninterpretable Neg feature is appropriate for Uyghur negation data. First, positing an interpretable negation feature in an n-word should allow for the possibility of negation to take scope from the n-word’s base position. Postponing further discussion of negation in this position until section 4.5.3, observe that negation following a high V2 obligatorily scopes over agent-oriented adverbials as in (654).

(654) U qesten tamaq yep turmaydu.
 U qesten tamaq ye-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 3SG intentionally food eat-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he doesn’t keep intentionally eating.”
 (NEG > intentionally)
 *“(S)he intentionally continues not to eat.” (*intentionally > NEG)

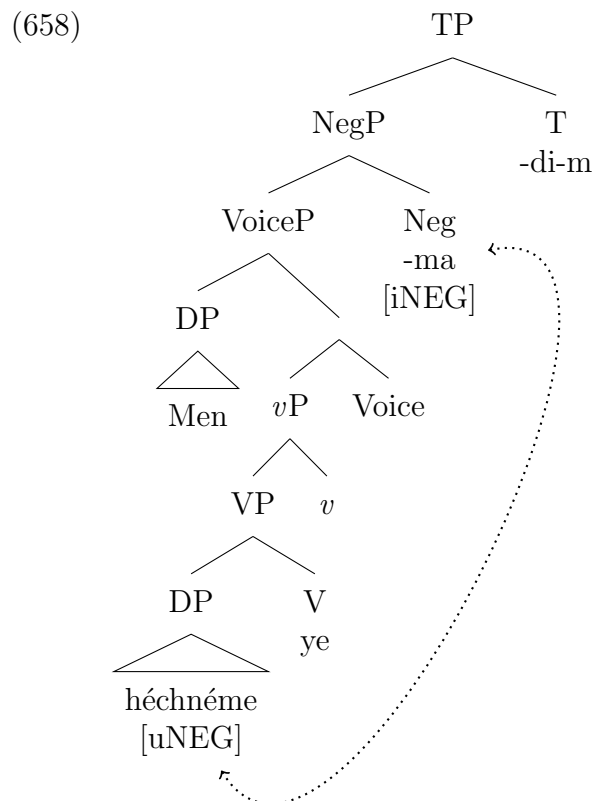
If n-words were semantically negative in Uyghur, then replacing either argument of (654) with an n-word should allow negation to scope below the adverb. (655) and (656) respectively show that negation is unable to scope from the base position of the object or subject, which by hypothesis are both c-commanded by the adverb.

(655) U qesten héchnerse yep turmaydu.
 U qesten héchnerse ye-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 3SG intentionally nothing eat-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he doesn’t keep intentionally eating anything.”
 (NEG > intentionally)
 *“(S)he intentionally continues not to eat anything.” (*intentionally > NEG)

- (656) Héchkim qesten tamaq yep turmaydu.
 Héchkim qesten tamaq ye-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Nobody intentionally food eat-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Nobody keeps intentionally eating food.” (NEG > intentionally)
 * “Intentionally, nobody keeps eating food (it is a coordinated effort).”
 (*intentionally > NEG)

I thus follow the analysis of Zeijlstra (2004, 2008): Uyghur n-words bear a [uNEG] feature which must agree with an [iNEG] feature born by a negative marker.

- (657) Men héchnéme yémidim.
 Men héchnéme ye-ma-di-m
 1SG nothing eat-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t eat anything.”



A remaining question is how to account for the ability of n-words to serve as negative fragment answers to questions as in (659).

- (659) a. Q:
 Kim keldi?
 Kim kel-di-0
 Who come-PST-3
 “Who came?”
- b. A:
 Héchkim.
 Nobody

Here I follow Giannakidou (2000, 2006) in considering fragment answers like (659) to be cases of ellipsis. The answer in (659b) is interpreted as a proposition containing a negation because the elided material contains a negative marker, as sketched in (660).

- (660) Héchkim [~~kel~~midɪ].
 Héchkim [~~kel~~ma-di-0]
 Nobody [come-NEG-PST-3]

4.4.3 Summary

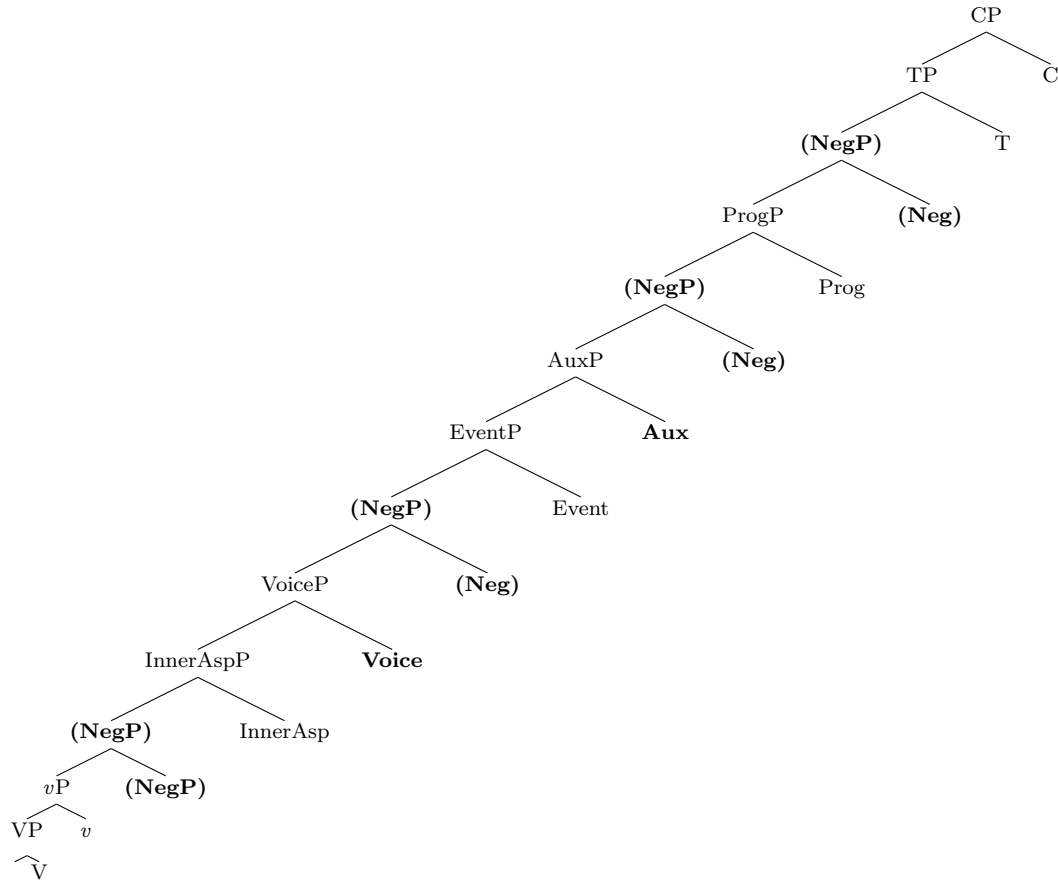
In this section, I described the *héch* series of Uyghur n-words. I adopted Zeijlstra’ (2004; 2008) analysis of negative concord in which n-words bear uninterpretable [uNeg] features that must agree with an interpretable [iNeg] feature. Unlike Zeijlstra, I consider negative markers themselves to be the bearers of [iNeg], despite Uyghur being a language with strict negative concord. With this working understanding of n-word licensing in mind, I proceed in the next section to motivate a negative projection potentially being merged at four distinct postverbal positions along the clausal spine. The distinctness of each position will be motivated by facts from n-word licensing as well as c-command based scope relations with other elements.

4.5 Four Positions for Verbal Negation

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate that the appearance of negation in more than one place within a construction does not mean that the construction must be multiclausal. I do so by motivating four positions in which a NegP can be merged. I argue that a Neg head may select a *vP*, VoiceP, AuxP or ProgP as its complement. I diagnose the occurrence

of negation at each position with tests involving n-word licensing and scope relations with clause-medial adverbs and focused objects. Recall that in chapter 3, I respectively analyzed low bleached V2s and high bleached V2s as Voice (external argument-introducing) and Aux(iliary) heads. These two positions for bleached V2s are shown alongside the positions for negation I will propose in this section in tree (661).

(661)



Examining the tree in (661) reveals that the Neg head selecting *v*P is c-commanded by both Voice and Aux (the respective positions of low and high V2s), while the Neg head selecting VoiceP is c-commanded by Aux. In such configurations in which a Neg head is c-commanded by a bleached V2, negation will be unable to head-move past the bleached V2 to take sentential scope. The ability of a bleached V2 to block negation from taking sentential scope is captured by the Sentential Negation Movement Generalization, repeated here.

(662) **Sentential Negation Movement Generalization:**

Negation that is unable to head-move to T is unable to take sentential scope.

4.5.1 Negation selecting *v*P

Recall from chapter 3 that I analyze low V2s like *qoy* in (663) as Voice heads in bleached V2 constructions. As discussed in that chapter, I assume the distinction between Voice and *v* argued for in Pytkäinen (2008), Harley (2013) and elsewhere: *v* is responsible for verbalizing the root, while Voice introduces external arguments.¹⁸

- (663) Tursun roman yézip qoydi.
Tursun roman yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
Tursun novel write-(I)P put-PST-3
“Tursun wrote up a novel.”

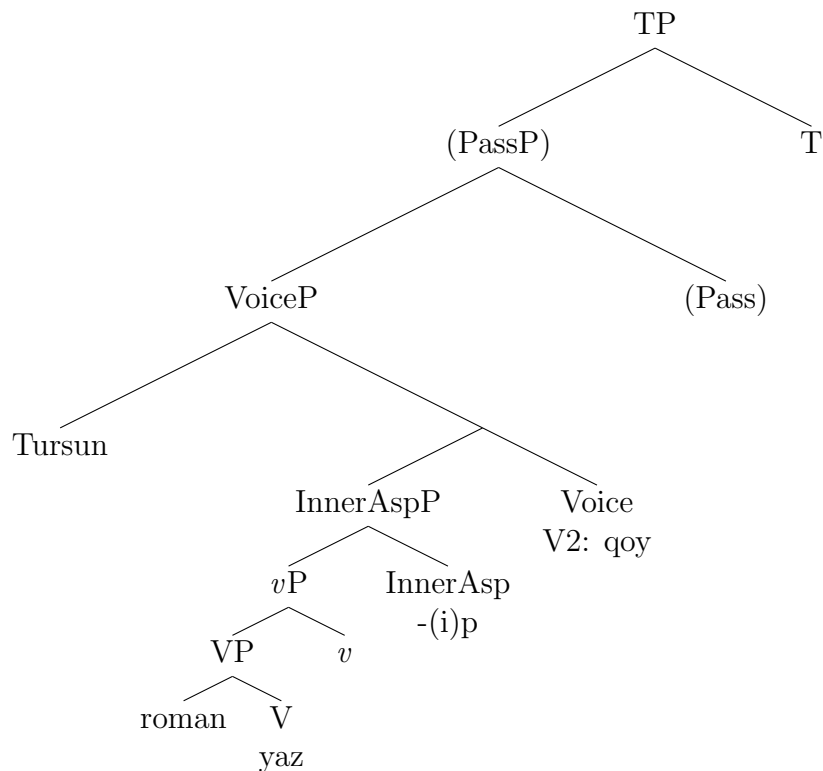
One motivation for this analysis is the fact that low V2s like *qoy* can undergo long passivization, suggesting a merge position lower than the Passive head. (664) shows the passive suffix *-il* following *qoy*.

- (664) Roman yézip qoyuldi.
Roman yaz-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
Novel write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
“A novel was written up.”

The structure I posited for low V2 constructions like (663) is given in (665). The external argument is merged in Spec, Voice, which is headed by the low V2. Passive morphology, if present, is merged in a Pass head c-commanding VoiceP.

18. In Sugar (2017a), I argue that *v* is overtly realized when it accommodates foreign verbs in code switching or verbalizes non-verbal loan words of other categories.

(665)



Despite the low hypothesized position of V2, it is still possible to negate V1 in this construction.

- (666) Tursun roman yazmay qoydi.
 Tursun roman yaz-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun novel write-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun up and didn’t write a novel.”

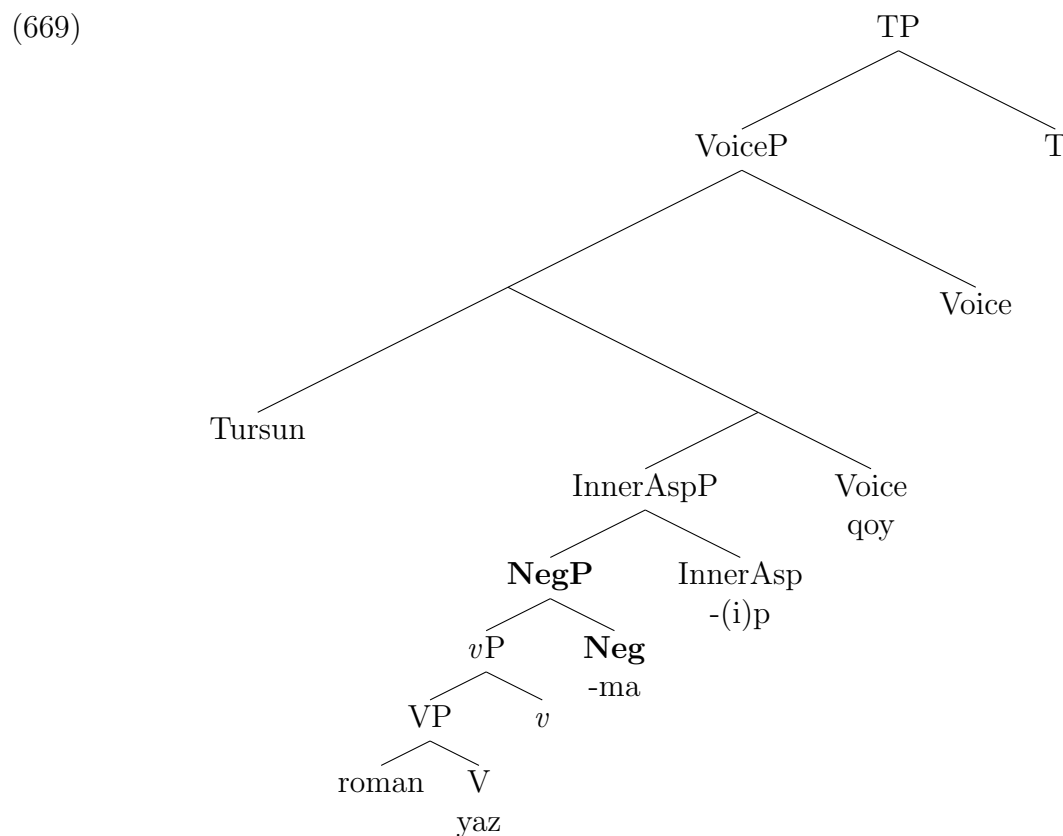
Negation in this position shows a curious asymmetry regarding licensing of n-words: negating V1 licenses an object n-word (667), but not a subject n-word (668).

- (667) U héchnéme yazmay qoydighu.
 U héchnéme yaz-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0-ghu
 3SG nothing write-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3-EMPH
 “(S)he didn’t write anything up.”

- (668) *Héchkim derske kelmey qoydighu.
 Héchkim ders-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3-EMPH

Intended: “Nobody up and came to class.”

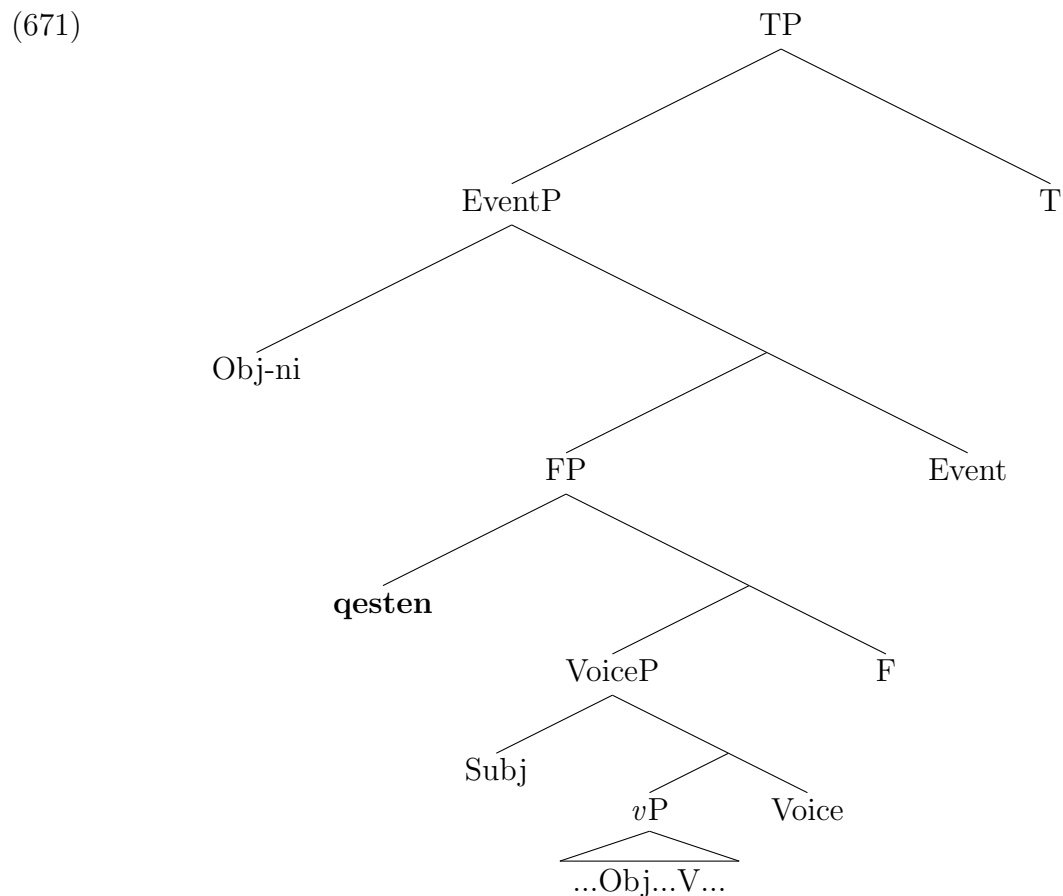
I propose that a Neg head can be merged selecting *v*P as its complement. The structure of (666) with negation of V1 is shown in (669). The asymmetry of n-word licensing between (667) and (668) is explained by the fact that the position of Neg in (669) c-commands the object’s base position, but not the subject’s base position.



The fact that negation preceding a low V2 cannot c-command the subject position means that negation in this position is not sentential in scope. Further confirmation of a position of limited scope for negation within the verbal domain comes from the scope interactions of adverbs and negation. Specific accusative-marked objects, which I argued in chapters 1 and 3 move to Spec, EventP in Uyghur, must precede agent-oriented adverbials like *gesten* ‘intentionally’ in (670a); bare non-specific objects necessarily follow the same adverbials as in (670b).

- (670) a. Xemit chay*(ni) qesten ichti.
 Xemit chay-*(ni) qesten ich-di-0
 Xemit tea-ACC intentionally drink-PST-3
 “Xemit intentionally drank the tea.”
- b. Xemit qesten chay(*ni) ichti.
 Xemit qesten chay(*-ni) ich-di-0
 Xemit qesten tea-ACC drink-PST-3
 “Xemit intentionally drank tea.” (adapted from Major and Yakup 2015)

I thus follow Cinque (1999) in analyzing agent-oriented adverbials as appearing in the specifier of a functional projection between Tense and Voice. I situate this projection in the complement of EventP.



When a single lexical verb is negated in (672), negation can scope over or under the intentional adverb *qesten* ‘intentionally’.

- (672) U qesten kelmidi.
 U qesten kel-ma-di
 3SG intentionally come-NEG-PST-3
 “(S)he intentionally didn’t come.” (intentionally > NEG)
 “(S)he didn’t intentionally come.” (NEG > intentionally)

When a negated lexical V1 is followed by a low V2, however, then the only option is for the adverb to scope over negation.

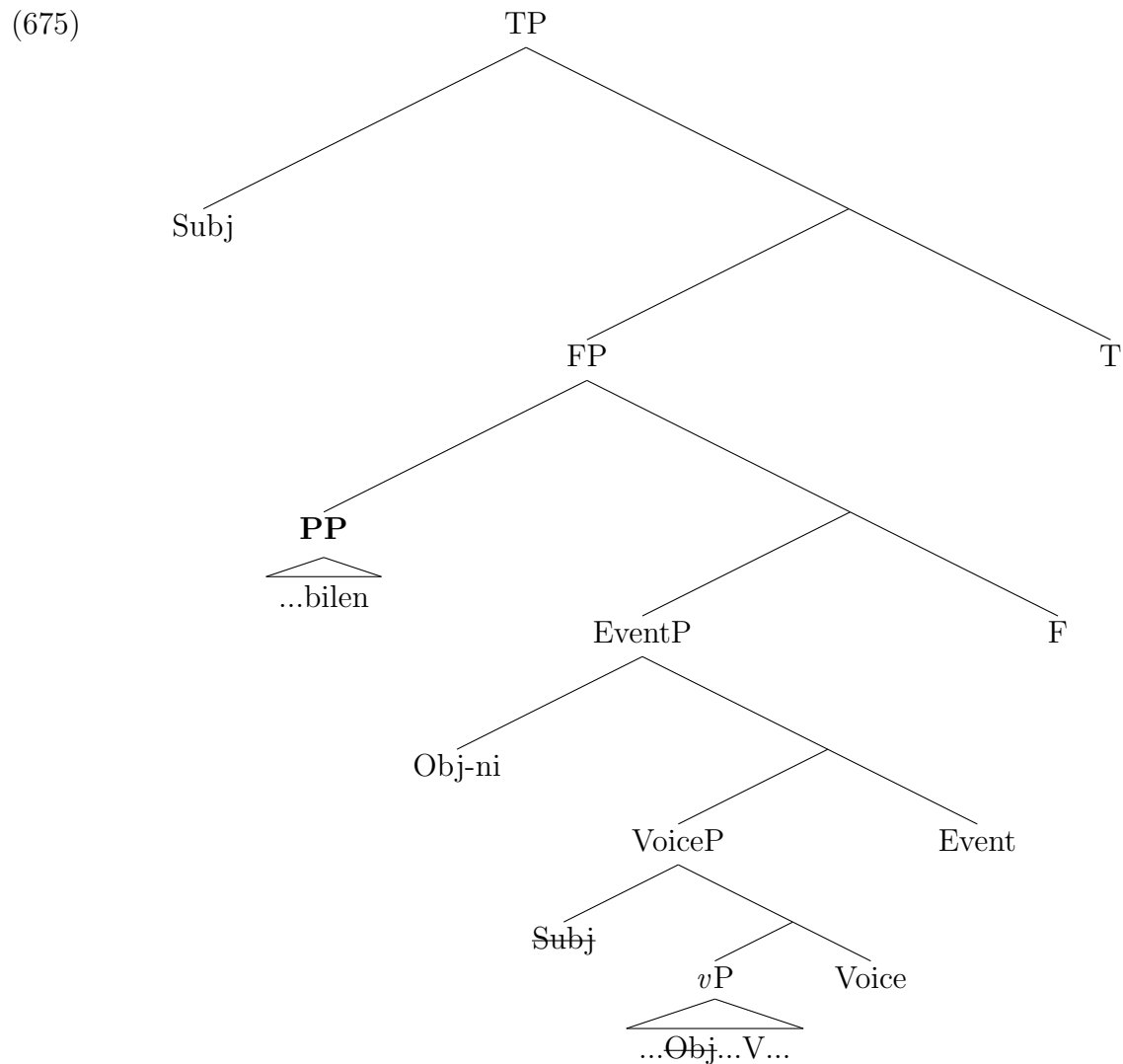
- (673) U qesten kelmey baqti.
 U qesten kel-ma-(i)p baq-di-0
 3SG intentionally come-NEG-(I)P raise-PST-3
 “(S)he intentionally tried not to come.” (intentionally > NEG)
 *“(S)he tried not to intentionally come.” (*NEG > intentionally)

Taken together, the facts in (672) and (673) suggest that the scope variability of (672) is due to the variability of merge positions for negation. Scope is determined by c-command on standard assumptions. When negation selects *v*P and is the complement of Voice (673), it is not possible for it to take scope over an adverb occupying a higher fixed position.

A second adverbial test can be done with adjunct expressions in Uyghur which describe a reason for an action (similar to a *because* clause in English). These expressions describe a person who motivated the action in the sentence the expression adjoins to, and are headed by a postposition. Postposition phrases (PPs), as I will call expressions of this type, follow the subject but precede specific objects in linear order. The PP in (674) is headed by *bilen* ‘with’.

- (674) Men apamning gepi bilen bu poluni teyyarlidim.
 Men apa-m-ning gep-i bilen bu polun-ni teyyarla-di-m
 1SG mother-1SG.POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with DEM pilaf-ACC prepare-PST-1SG
 “I prepared this pilaf because of my mother.”

Without delving into the internal structure of these PPs, I analyze them as adjuncts to some position between between T and the derived object position in Spec, EventP (motivated in chapters 1 and 3).



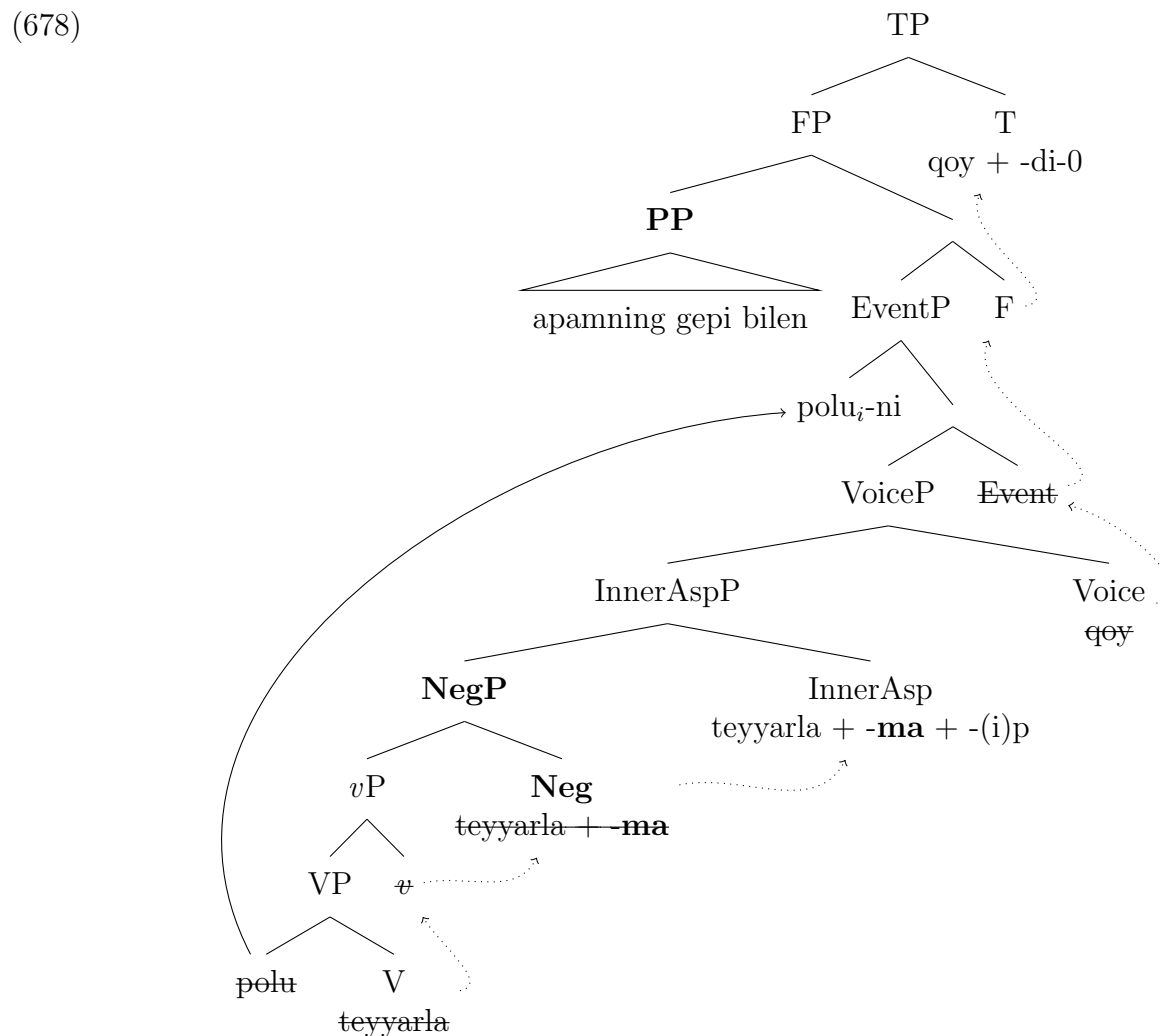
As seen with the agent-oriented adverb example, negation of a single verb can either scope over or under the PP. The ability of negation to scope over the PP here is an indicator of sentential scope.

- (676) Apamning gepi bilen polu teyyarlimidim.
 Apa-m-ning gep-i bilen polu teyyarla-ma-di-m
 Mother-POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with pilaf prepare-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t cook pilaf because of my mother (I made it for another reason).” (NEG > bilen)
 “I didn’t cook pilaf because of my mother (she doesn’t like pilaf).” (bilen > NEG)

Once again, when negation is followed by a low V2, it is unable to scope over the PP.

- (677) Apamning gepi bilen polu teyyarlimay qoydum.
 Apa-m-ning gep-i bilen polu teyyarla-ma-(i)p qoy-di-m
 Mother-1SG.POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with pilaf prepare-NEG-(I)P put-PST-1SG
 “I didn’t cook pilaf because of my mother (she doesn’t like pilaf).” (bilen > NEG)
 * “I didn’t cook pilaf because of my mother (I did it for another reason).” (*NEG > bilen)

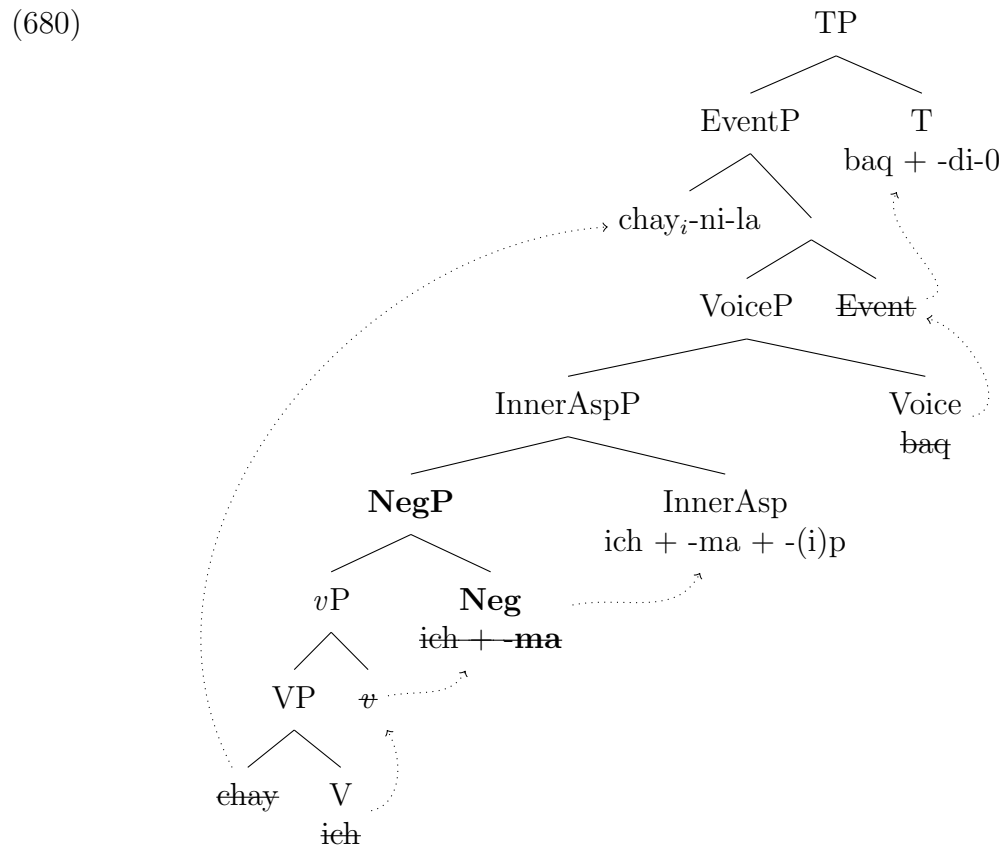
The limited scope of negation in (677) is explained by its position. Lexical V1 initiates head movement which carries negation to the InnerAsp head filled by *-(i)p*, but is unable to move past the Voice head because it is occupied by the low V2 *qoy*. The InnerAsp position where head movement stops is asymmetrically c-commanded by the postposition phrase.



Finally, similar scope facts are found in the case of focused specific objects. As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the *-la* suffix focuses an object and indicates that only

the selected item was the recipient of some action, optionally in combination with the adverbial *peqet* ‘only’.¹⁹ Head movement initiated by V1 carries negation selecting *vP* with it, but this head movement stops at InnerAsp because it cannot move over the low V2 in Voice. From this position, negation still cannot take scope over the focused object because it does not c-command it.

- (679) Men (peqet) chaynila ichmay baqtim.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-ma-(i)p baq-di-m
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-(I)P raise-PST-1SG
 “I only tried to not drink tea.” (FOC > NEG)
 * “I tried to not only drink tea.” (*NEG > FOC)



19. I assume the semantics of ‘only’ described in Rooth (1985), with *-la* a form of F-marking placing the F-marked constituent within the range of ‘only’ (as in Jackendoff 1972), whether pronounced or unpronounced. The previous chapter—following much previous work on Turkic languages—established that overtly case-marked objects move to a clause medial position (Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Aygen 2007 inter alia), which I consider to be Spec, EventP. When the object is focused in this position, it takes scope over negation below a low V2. I further assume that *-la* attaches as a clitic to the specific object in Spec, EventP. The Spec, EventP position may be part of what Göksel and Özsoy (2000) call the ‘focus field’ in Turkish. Alternatively, there could be a preverbal FocusP (Belletti 2001, 2004, Jayaseelan 2001) where the object moves to attach to *-la*.

This subsection has provided evidence that a Neg head can select as low a projection as *vP* as its complement. The results of diagnostic tests involving licensing of n-words, scope of agent-oriented adverbs and scope of focused objects are summarized in table 4.4.

n-object licensing	n-subject licensing	Scope re postposition	Scope re adverb	Scope re focus
✓	X	under	under	under

Table 4.4: Properties of Negation selecting *vP*

The conclusion of this section is that negation selecting *vP* as its complement is not sentential negation because it is unable to reach a position with sentential scope. The next subsection continues up the the clausal spine, arguing that negation can also be merged above VoiceP, where the external argument is introduced.

4.5.2 Negation Selecting VoiceP

Negation selecting VoiceP can be found in two environments: when V1 is negated followed by a high V2 like in (681), or when a low V2 is negated like in (682).

- (681) Tursun roman yazmay turidu.
Tursun roman yaz-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
Tursun novel write-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3
‘‘Tursun is continuing not to write novels.’’

- (682) Tursun roman y zip baqmidi.
Tursun roman yaz-i)p baq-ma-di-0
Tursun novel write-(I)P raise-PST-3
‘‘Tursun did not write/try writing a novel.’’

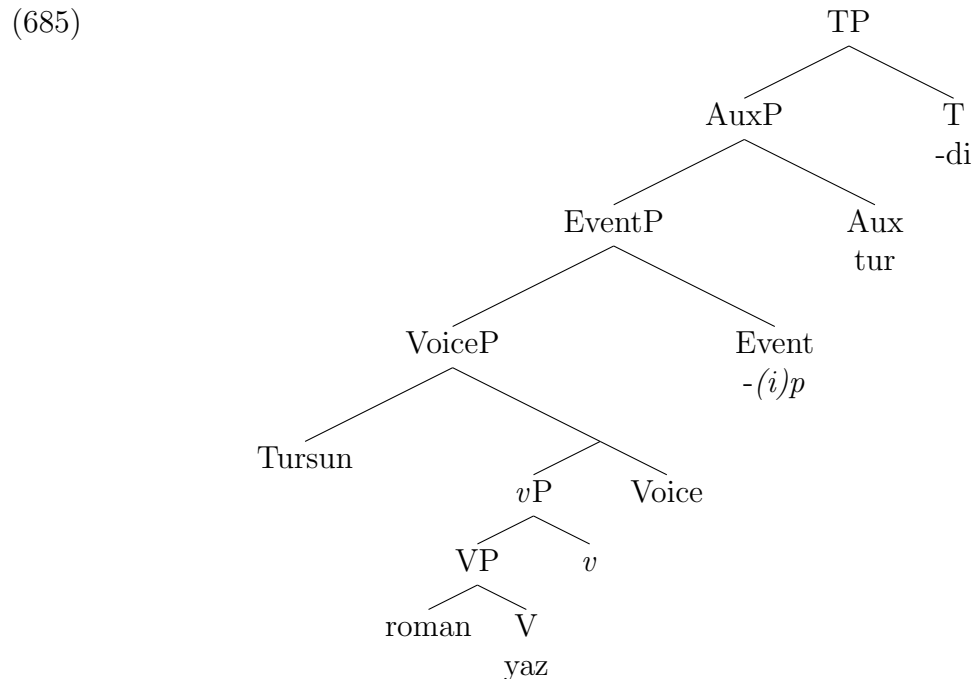
To introduce negation in each environment, I return once again to the analysis of bleached V2 constructions given in the previous chapter. There I introduced a second type of bleached V2, called high V2s, capable of selecting a passivized complement but unable to be passivized themselves.

- (683) a. Poyizning awazini anglap turattuq.
Poyiz-ning awaz-i-ni angla-(i)p tur-tti-uq
Train-GEN sound-3.POSS-ACC hear-(I)P stand-PROG-IPFV.PST-1PL
‘‘We kept hearing the sound of the train.’’

- b. Poyizning awazi anglinip turdi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-il-(i)p tur-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “The sound of the train kept being heard.” (Abridged from Isra’il 2016: 62)
- c. *Poyizning awazi anglap turuldi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-(i)p tur-il-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-(I)P stand-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The sound of the train kept being heard.”

I analyzed high V2s as Aux heads, and the *-(i)p* immediately preceding them as an overt realization of a mid-clausal Event head, allowing the high V2 to target either the whole event or its initiation point to yield iterative or inceptive meanings, respectively. The structure of a high V2 construction like (684) under this analysis is shown in (685).

- (684) Tursun roman yézip turdi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p tur-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
 “Tursun kept writing a novel.”

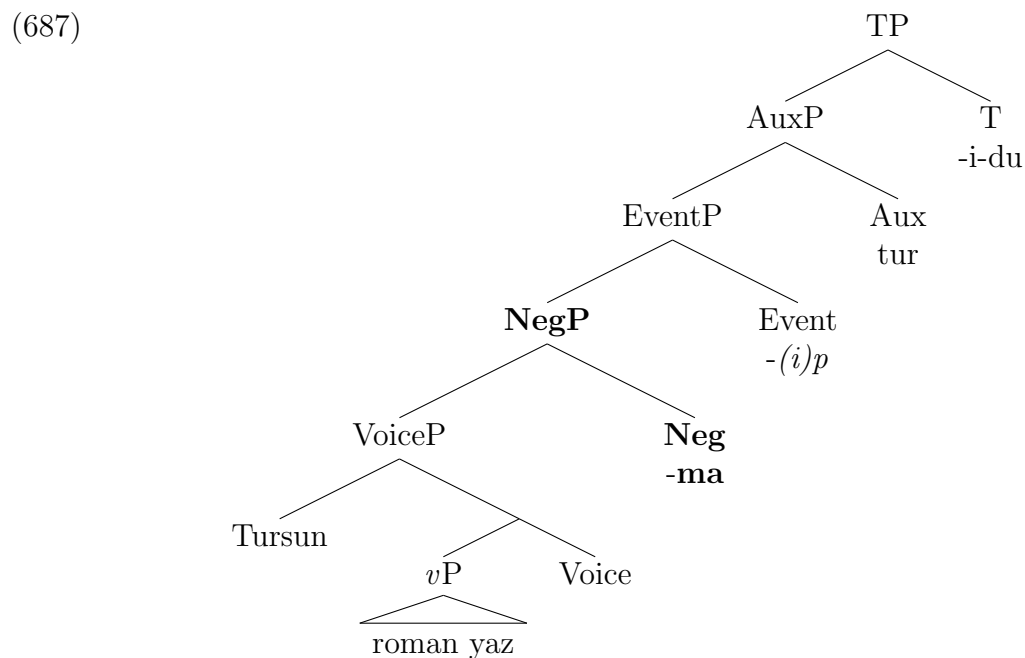


In this construction it is also possible to negate V1, as was the case with low V2s.

- (686) Tursun roman yazmay turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun novel write-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3

“Tursun is continuing not to write novels.”

I propose that negation of V1 when a high V2 is present will appear below the Event head occupied by *-(i)p*, selecting VoiceP or PassP as its complement as shown in (687).

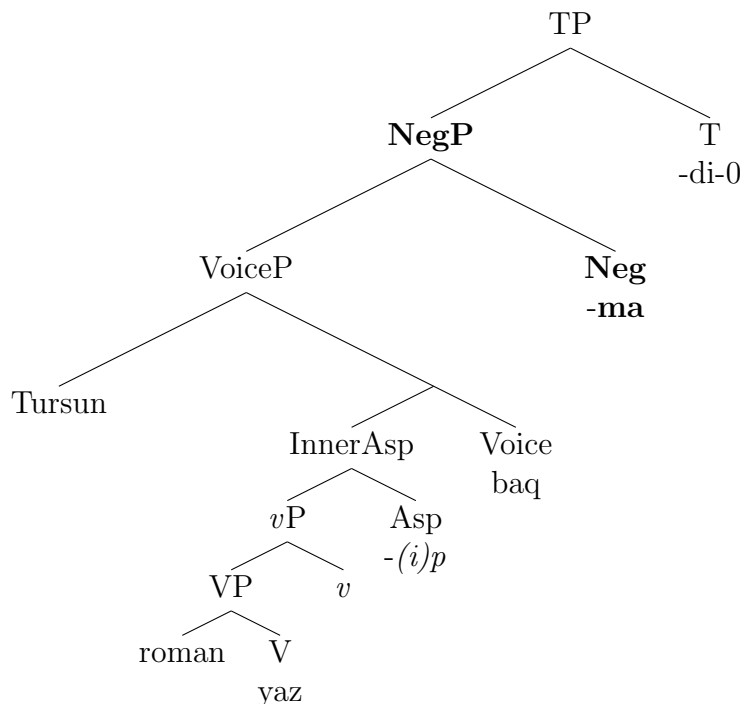


As with negation followed by a high V2, negation following a low V2 also selects a Voice projection as its complement. This configuration is shown in (689) for example (688).

- (688) Tursun roman yézip baqmidi.
 Tursun roman yaz-i)p baq-ma-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P raise-PST-3

“Tursun did not write/try writing a novel.”

(689)



Confirmation that a Neg projection can be merged between Voice (the position of low V2) and Aux (the position of high V2) comes from the fact that, in the right context, a negated low V2 (a Voice head in my analysis) may at least marginally be followed by a high V2 (an Aux head in my analysis).

- (690) ?U kitabni oqup qoymay turuwatidu.
U kitab-ni oqu-(i)p qoy-ma-(i)p tur-iwat-i-du
3sg book-ACC read-(I)P put-NEG-(i)p stand-PROG-NPST-3
“(S)he’s still not reading up the book.”

Since negation in this position selects VoiceP as its complement, it can license both n-word objects (691) and subjects (692) by c-commanding their base positions.²⁰

- (691) U héchnéme yazmay turdighu.
U héchnéme yaz-ma-(i)p tur-di-0-ghu
3SG nothing write-NEG-(I)P stand-PST-3-EMPH
“(S)he kept not writing anything.”

20. Given that the previous section argued that negation can select *v*P rather than VoiceP as its complement, one may wonder if negation preceding a high V2 still has the option of merging in this lower position. I assume that in principle negation in (691) could be merged either with *v*P or VoiceP as its complement. In the case of (692), negation would have to be carried to Event via head movement of V1 before it can c-command and enter an agree relation with the subject n-word.

- (692) Héchkim derske kélelmay turdighu.
 Héchkim ders-ga kel-ala-ma-(i)p tur-di-0-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-ABIL-NEG-(I)P stand-PST-3-EMPH
 “Nobody’s been making it to class.”

There is scope ambiguity between agent-oriented adverbs and negation of V1 when V1 is followed by a high V2 or negation of a low V2, as indicated in the translations of (693) and (694), respectively.

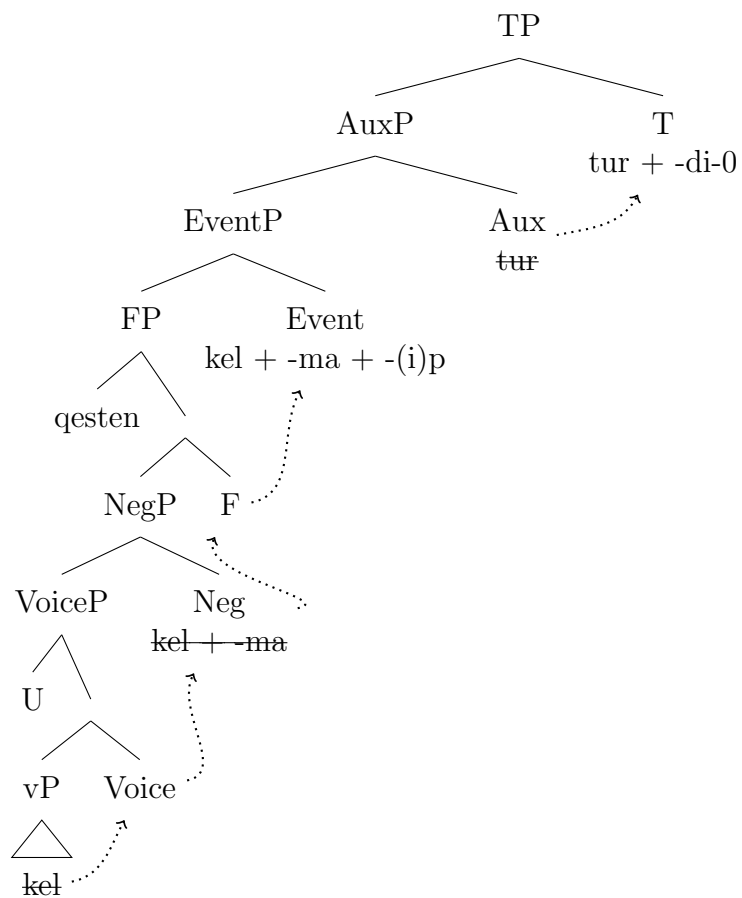
- (693) U qesten kelmey turidu.
 U qesten kel-ma-(i)p tur-i-du
 3SG intentionally come-NEG-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “(S)he is intentionally not coming.” (qesten > NEG)
 “It’s not on purpose that she keeps coming.” (NEG > qesten)

- (694) U qesten kélip baqmidi.
 U qesten kel-(i)p baq-ma-di-0
 3SG intentionally come-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-3
 “Intentionally, (s)he didn’t come.” (qesten > NEG)
 “It wasn’t intentionally that (s)he came.” (NEG > qesten)

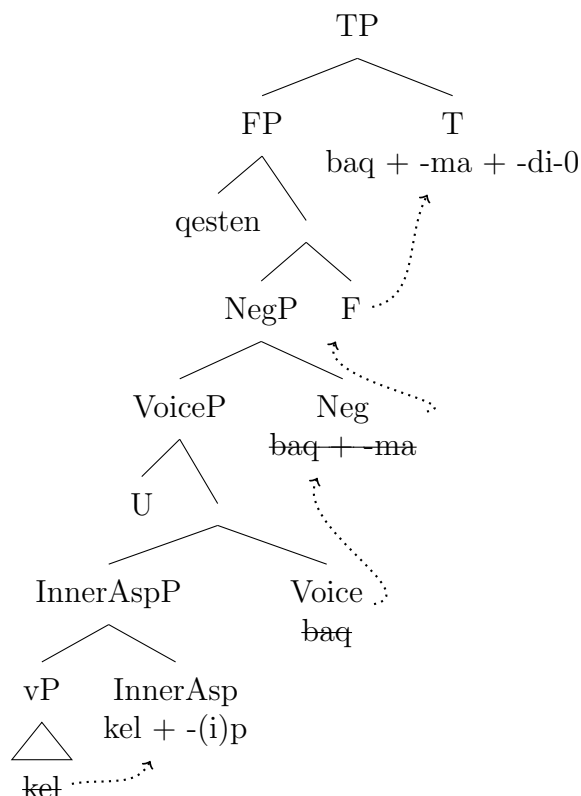
I attribute the scope ambiguity demonstrated in the above examples to head movement of negation.²¹ Negation merges in a head c-commanded by the adverb in Spec, FP, but head movement initiated by the verb carries the Neg head to a position c-commanding the adverb. In the presence of a high V2, head movement initiated by V1 will stop at Event when a high V2 is present, while negation of a low V2 will move all the way to T or C with V2. The former case is illustrated in (695), and the latter case is illustrated in (696). If negation can take scope from its base position or a derived position reached via head movement, then the ambiguity in (693) and (694) is predicted.

21. A potential alternate explanation of the scope ambiguity in (693) and (694) could be variable adverb placement. Ernst (2001), for example, claims that agent-oriented adverbs like *qesten* adjoin to either VP or PredP (equivalent to VoiceP in my terms). If this were the case and negation only scoped from its (hypothesized) base position, then negation selecting VoiceP would be expected to always scope over the agent-oriented adverb, contrary to fact.

(695) Negation preceding high V2



(696) Negation following low V2

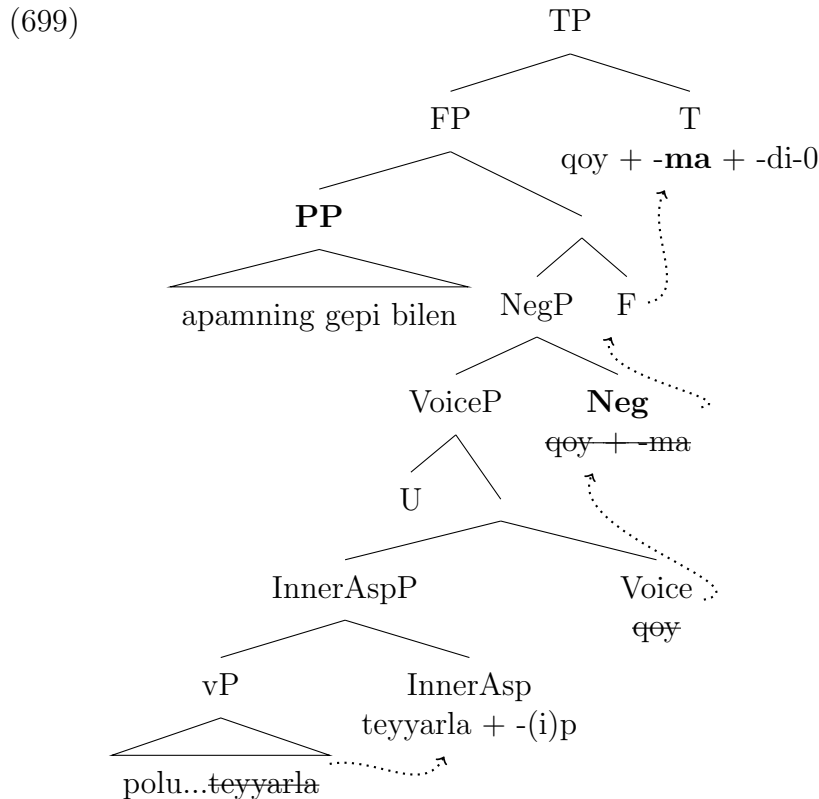


The ability of negation selecting VoiceP to scope over a Postposition Phrase, however, depends on whether negation follows a low V2 or precedes a high V2. Negation following a low V2 can scope over or under the PP, while negation followed by a high V2 can only scope under the PP.

- (697) Apamning gepi bilen polu teyyarlap qoymidim.
 Apa-m-ning gep-i bilen polu teyyarla-(i)p qoy-ma-di-m
 Mother-1SG.POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with pilaf prepare-(I)P put-NEG-PST-1SG
- “I didn’t bother preparing pilaf because of my mother (I did it for another reason).” (NEG > bilen)
 “Because of my mother, I didn’t bother preparing pilaf (she doesn’t like it).” (bilen > NEG)

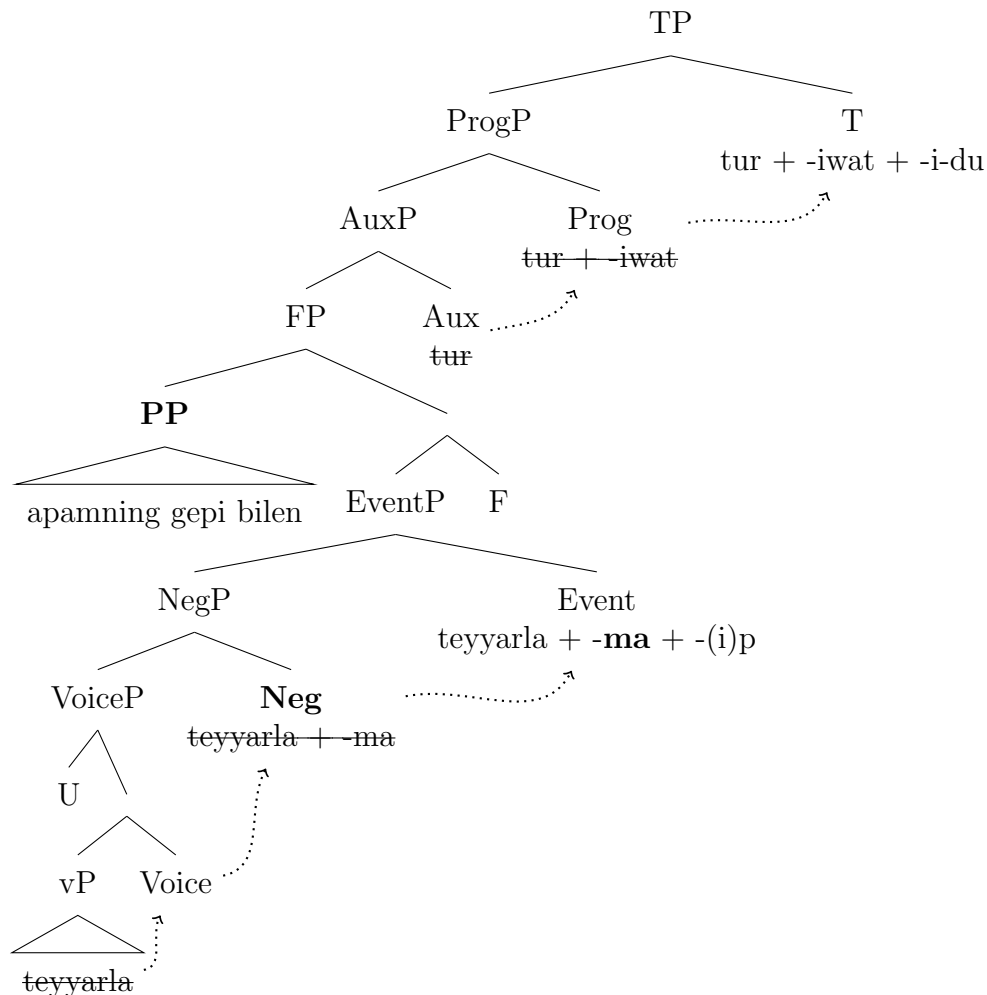
- (698) Apamning gepi bilen polu teyyarlimay turiwatimen.
 Apa-m-ning gep-i bilen polu teyyarla-ma-(i)p tur-iwat-i-men
 Mother-1SG.POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with pilaf prepare-NEG-(I)P stand-PROG-NPST-1SG
 “Because of my mother, I haven’t been preparing pilaf (she doesn’t like it).” (bilen
 > NEG)
 *“I haven’t been preparing pilaf because of my mother (it’s for another reason).”
 (*NEG > bilen)

The contrast between (697) and (698) can be accounted for through the availability of head movement to T in (697) but not in (698). When negation follows low V2 *qoy* in (697), it can be carried by the head movement of *qoy* from its base position c-commanded by the PP to T, where it c-commands the PP.



When negation is followed by a high V2 as in (698), head movement of V1 stops at Event (realized by *-(i)p*), because it cannot move past the high V2 in Aux. The Event head, like the Neg head selecting Voice, is asymmetrically c-commanded by the PP.

(700)



The scope relations between negation selecting VoiceP and focused objects also depend on whether a low or high V2 is present. Negation following a low V2 is able to scope either under or over the focused object, as shown in (701). However, negation of V1 followed by a high V2 can only scope under the focused object, as indicated in (702).

- (701) Men (peqet) chaynila ichip baqmidim.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-(i)p baq-ma-di-m
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-1SG
 “I only didn’t try to drink tea.” (FOC > NEG)
 “I didn’t try to only drink tea.” (NEG > FOC)

(702) Men (peqet) chaynila ichmay turdum.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-ma-(i)p tur-di-m
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-(I)P stand-PST-1SG

“I kept only not drinking tea.” (FOC > NEG)

*“I kept not only drinking tea.” (*NEG > FOC)

The asymmetry in scope possibilities between (701) and (702) can also be explained by head movement. When an Aux (high V2) is present in (702), head movement initiated by V1 can carry negation no higher than the Event head, which does not c-command the specifier of Event where the object is focused. Thus it is not possible for negation followed by a high V2 to scope over the focused object. Negation following a Voice head (low V2), however, can head-move to a head c-commanding Spec, EventP, accounting for both scope possibilities in (701).

(703)

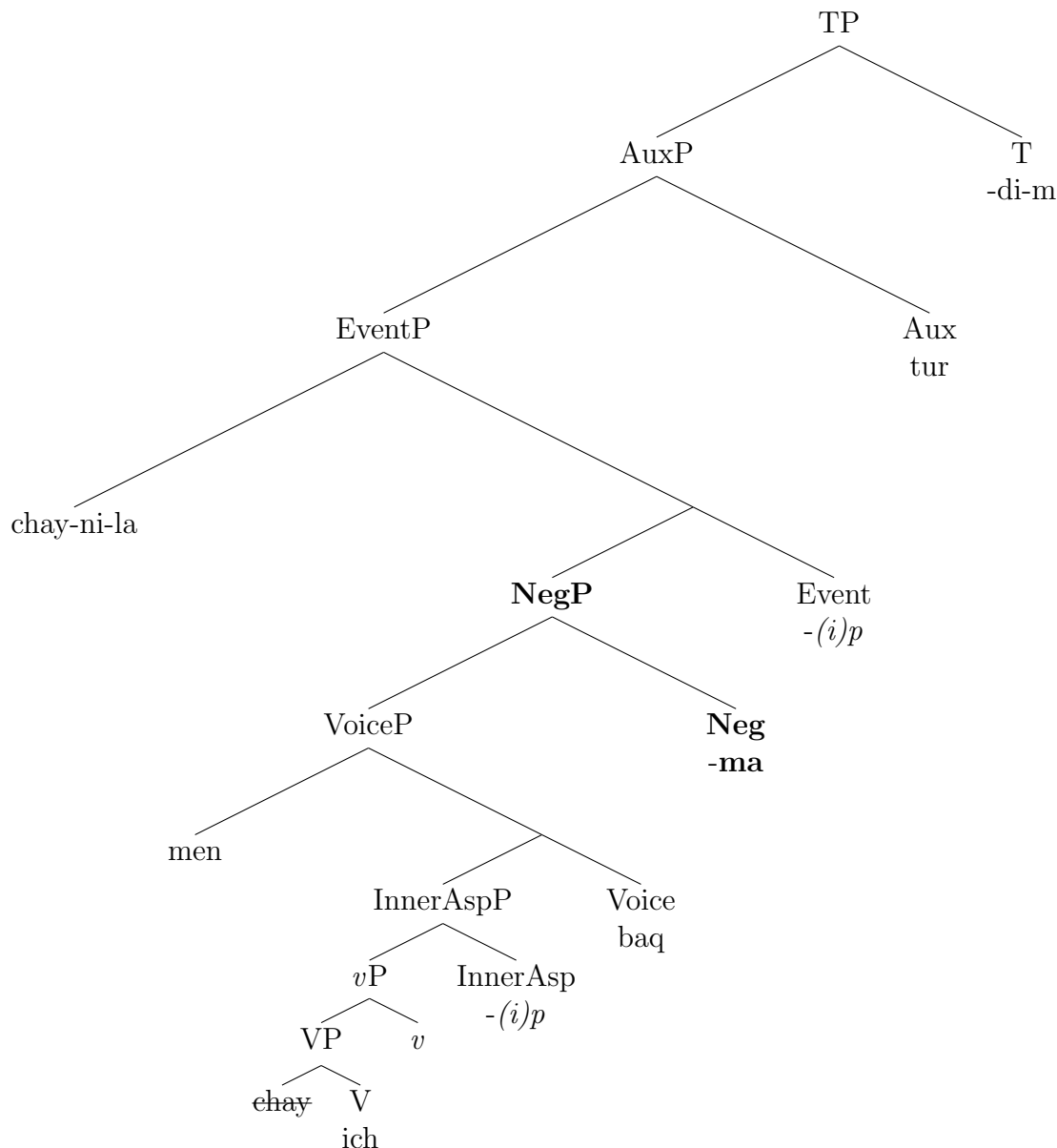


Table 4.5 compares the key properties of negation selecting VoiceP to negation selecting *v*P.

Complement	n-object licensing	n-subject licensing	Scope re adverb	Scope re postposition	Scope re focus
<i>v</i> P	✓	X	under	under	under
VoiceP	✓	✓	under/over	under/over	under/over

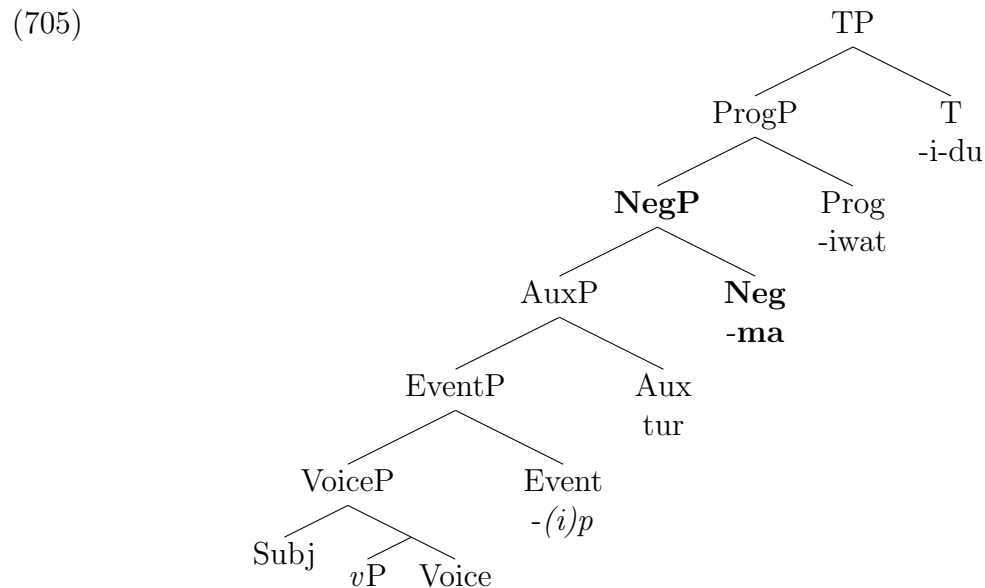
Table 4.5: Properties of Neg selecting *v*P vs. VoiceP

There is thus motivation, based on licensing of n-words and scope relations with adverbials and focused objects, to posit a second position for negation, between VoiceP and EventP. Negation in this position gains sentential scope only if it is not blocked by a high V2 from raising to a high clausal position. The next subsection discusses negation of a higher auxiliary.

4.5.3 Negation Selecting Aux

Negation in this position is delimited by a high V2 (Aux) as a potential complement and the progressive aspect morpheme *-iwat* as its potential selector.

- (704) a. Kélip turmaydu.
 Kel-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Come-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he doesn’t keep coming.”
- b. Kélip turmaywatidu.
 Kel-(i)p tur-ma-iwat-i-du
 Come-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 “(S)he isn’t continuing to come.”



Negation in this position licenses both n-word objects and subjects.

- (706) U héchnéme yézip turmaywatidu.
 U héchnéme yaz-(i)p tur-ma-iwat-i-du
 3SG nothing write-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 (S)he isn’t continuing to write anything.”

- (707) Héchkim yézip turmaywatidu.
 Héchkim yaz-(i)p tur-may-iwat-i-du
 Nobody write-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-3

“Nobody is continuing to write.”

There was a split among speakers in judgments of the interaction between negation in this position and intentional adverbs. For half the speakers I consulted, negation in (708) obligatory takes scope over the adverb *qesten*, and *tur* was interpreted as an auxiliary. For another half, the only reading of *tur* was as a lexical verb meaning ‘to stay’, and *qesten* most naturally took scope over V1. The reason for the unavailability of a bleached reading for some speakers remains to be further investigated; but the crucial finding is that when a bleached reading is available, scope relations are as predicted by the analysis in this chapter.

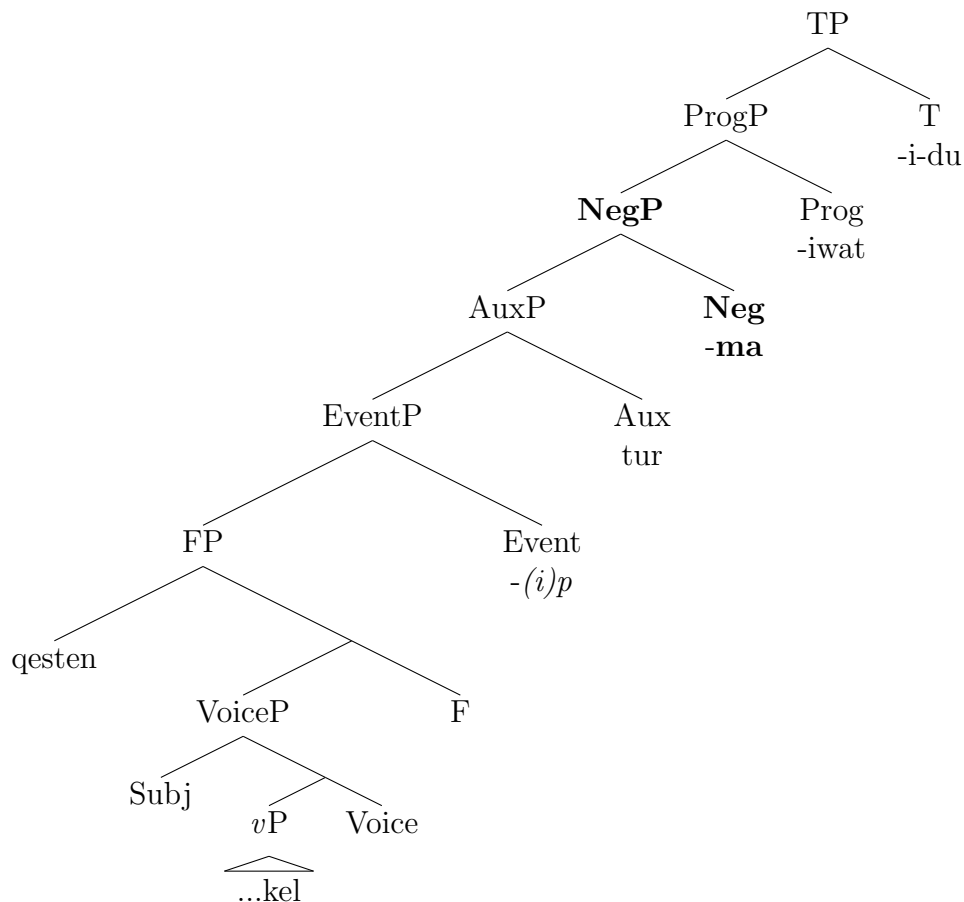
- (708) U qesten kélip turmaydu.
 U qesten kel-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 3SG intentionally come-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3

“(S)he comes intentionally, but doesn’t stay.” (lexical reading)

“(S)he doesn’t keep intentionally coming.”

(auxiliary reading, NEG > intentionally)

(709)

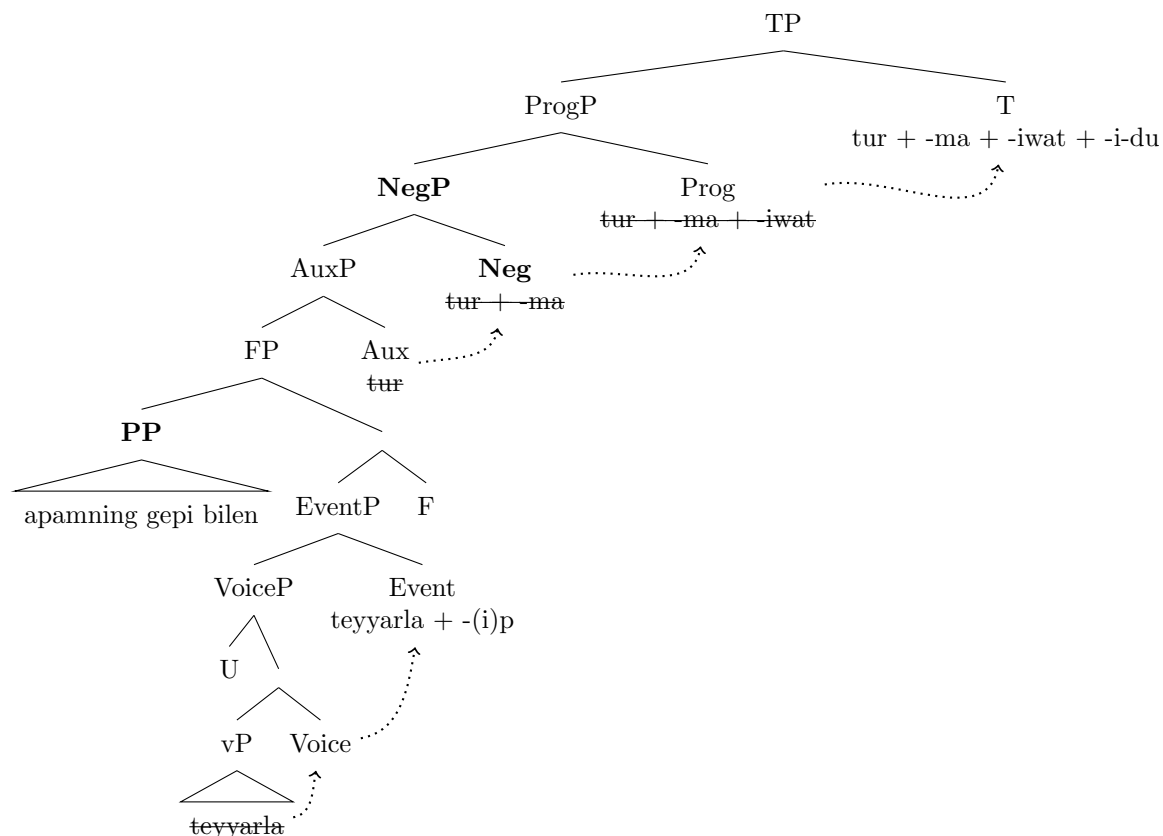


Negation in this position also consistently scopes over postposition phrases.

- (710) Apamning gepi bilen polu teyyarlap turmaywatimen.
 Apa-m-ning gep-i bilen polu teyyarla-(i)p tur-ma-iwat-i-men
 Mother-1SG.POSS-GEN speech-3.POSS with pilaf prepare-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-1SG
- “I am not continuing to prepare pilaf because of my mother (it’s for another reason).” (NEG > bilen)
 *“Because of my mother, I am not continuing to prepare pilaf (she dislikes pilaf).”
 (*bilen > NEG)

The fixed scope of negation in (710) is entirely predictable if negation is based-merged in a position c-commanding the PP’s point of attachment.

(711)



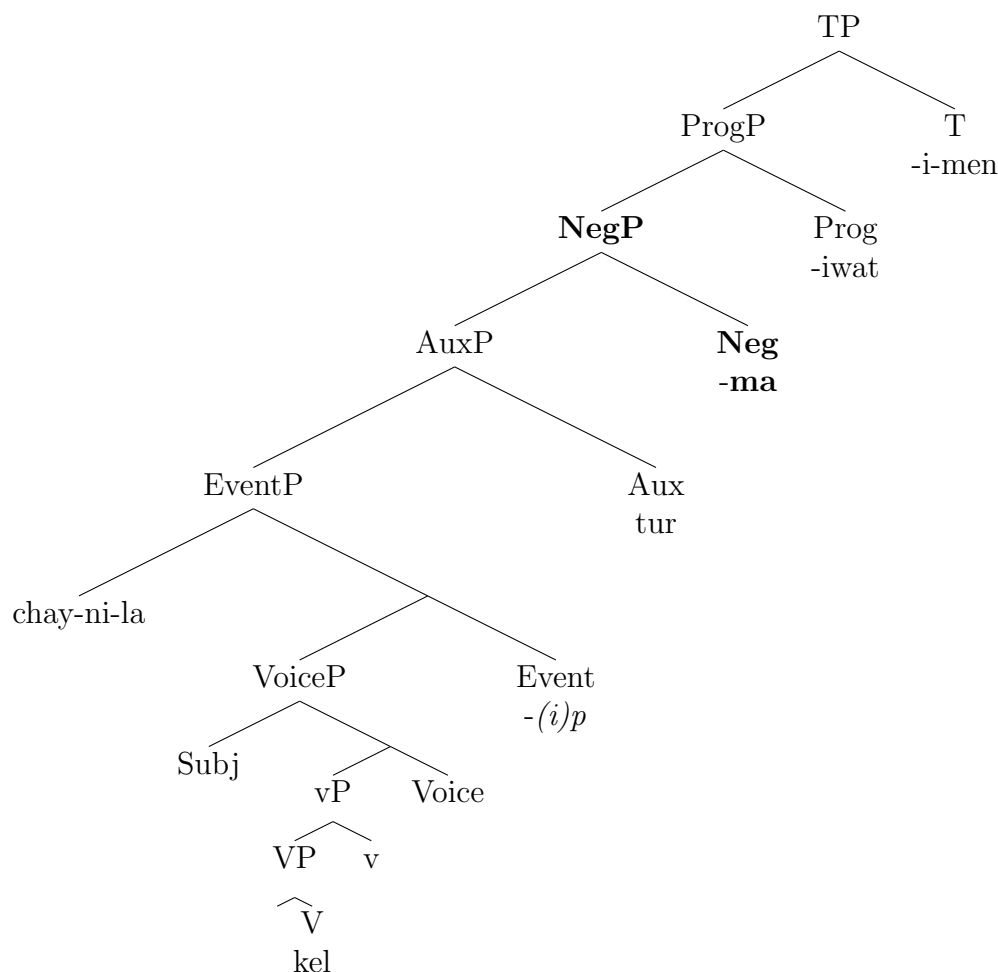
Focused object scope confirms that negation following a high V2 occupies a position able to c-command the specifier of EventP. (712) shows that negation of a high V2 can only take scope over, not under, the focused object.

- (712) Men (peqet) chaynila ichip turmaywatimen.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-(i)p tur-ma-iwat-i-men
 1SG only tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-1SG

*“I only don’t keep drinking tea.” (*FOC > NEG)

“I don’t keep only drinking tea.” (NEG > FOC)

(713)



This subsection has motivated a third position for negation, between the Aux and Prog aspect projections. Table 4.6 summarizes the differences between the three positions for negation discussed so far.

Complement	n-object licensing	n-subject licensing	Scope re adverb	Scope re postposition	Scope re focus
<i>vP</i>	✓	X	under	under	under
VoiceP	✓	✓	under/over	under/over	under/over
AuxP	✓	✓	over	over	over

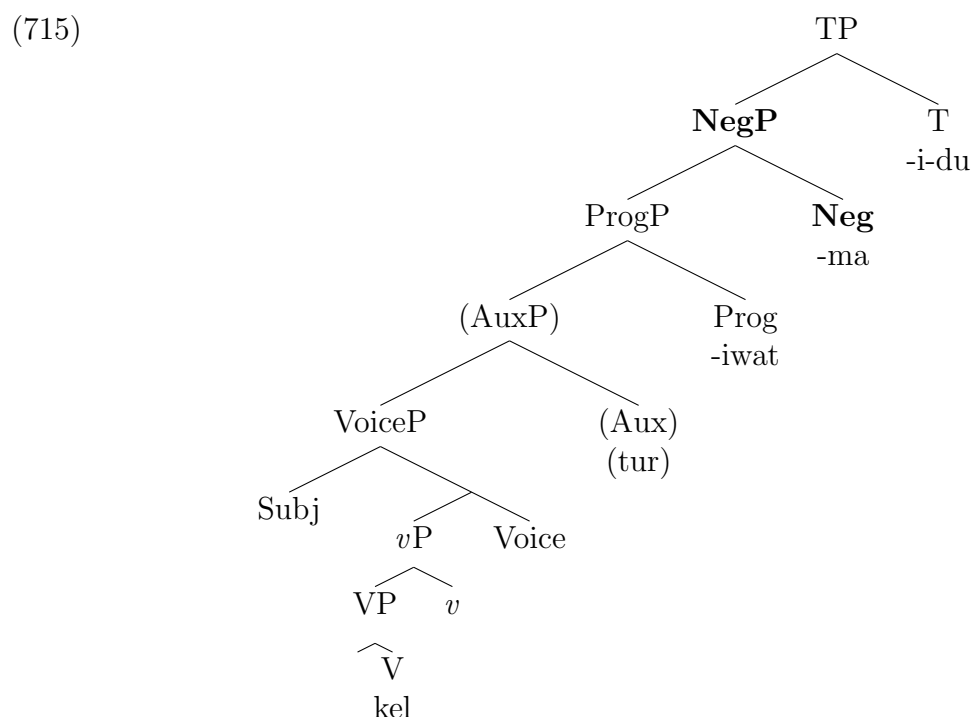
Table 4.6: Properties of Neg selecting *vP*, VoiceP, AuxP

Since negation in this position is generally not blocked from movement to T by a higher verbal projection, negation selecting AuxP usually takes full sentential scope. The next subsection will discuss a final position for the verbal negator *-ma*, selecting ProgP as a complement.

4.5.4 Negation selecting ProgAspP

In its highest scope position, verbal negation may also follow the progressive aspect marker *-iwat*.

- (714) a. Kéliwatmaydu.
 Kel-iwat-ma-i-du.
 Come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he isn’t coming.”
- b. Kélip turuwatmaydu.
 Kel-(i)p tur-iwat-ma-i-du.
 Come-(I)P stand-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 “(S)he still isn’t coming.”



As mentioned in the introduction, negation in this position may co-occur with negation in a lower position, yielding double negation.²²

- (716) Men sizni tonumaywatmaymen.
 Men siz-ni tonu-ma-iwat-ma-i-men
 1SG 2SG.FORM-ACC know-NEG-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I DO know you (it’s not that I don’t know you).” (Tömür 1987: 396 in Aihemaiti 2013)

22. Given that the configuration in (716) blocks negation selecting AuxP from moving past the negation selecting ProgP, I assume that only the latter negative morpheme marks sentential negation in this example; the former negative morpheme marks constituent negation in this case.

That verbal negation is able to follow the progressive marker is likely due to the fact that *-iwat* itself is a grammaticalization of *-(i)p yat* ‘to lie down’ in a bleached V2 construction (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003). Thus negation following *-iwat* is not an exception to the generalization that *-ma* must select a verbal category as its complement.²³

Curiously, negation in this high position following *-iwat* may license an n-word subject (717) but not an n-word object (718).

- (717) Héchkim kéliwatmaydu.
 Héchkim kel-iwat-ma-i-du.
 Nobody come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 “Nobody is coming (they’re all doing something else).”

23. It is worth asking whether *-iwat* is indeed a fully grammaticalized suffix or is actually a bleached verb. One piece of evidence that *-iwat* is a suffix rather than a verb has to do with the focus marker *-la* discussed throughout this section. In addition to focusing nouns, it is also possible for *-la* to appear between *-(i)p* and a bleached V2. This is shown with a low V2 in (i) and a high V2 in (ii).

- (i) a. Bu kitabni oqupla qoydi.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-(i)p-la qoy-di-0
 DEM book-ACC read-(I)P-FOC put-PST-3
 “(S)he just gave this book a casual read.”
 b. Bu kitabni oqupla turidu.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-(i)p-la tur-i-du
 DEM book-ACC read-(I)P-FOC stand-PST-3
 “(S)he just keeps reading this book.”

The *-la* suffix does not appear between suffixes of a verb, or between a verb stem and a suffix.

- (ii) *Bu kitabni oqumaladi.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-ma-la-di-0
 DEM book-ACC read-NEG-FOC-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he just didn’t read this book.”
 (iii) *Bu kitabni oquladi.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-la-di-0
 DEM book-ACC read-FOC-PST-0
 Intended: “(S)he just read this book.”

-iwat behaves like a suffix and unlike a verb or bleached V2 in that it cannot be preceded by *-la*. This is the case whether we treat *-iwat* as a single element, or try to separate it into *-(i)p(-la) yat*. The latter construction is only possible when *yat* retains its lexical meaning ‘to lie down’.

- (iv) a. *Bu kitabni oqulaywatidu.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-la-iwat-i-du
 DEM book-ACC read-FOC-PROG-NPST-3
 Intended: “(S)he is just reading this book.”
 b. Bu kitabni oqupla yatidu.
 Bu kitab-ni oqu-(i)p-la yat-i-du
 DEM book-ACC read-(I)P-FOC lie.down-NPST-3
 “(S)he is lying down just reading this book.” (lexical meaning)
 *“(S)he is just reading this book.” (grammatical meaning)

- (718) *Ular héchnéme yewatmaydu.
 Ular héchnéme ye-iwat-ma-i-du.
 3PL nothing eat-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 Intended: “They aren’t eating anything.”

One possible explanation for the inability of negation following *-iwat* to license an n-word object would be that the structure in (718) is actually biclausal, with *-iwat* being a verb embedding a clausal complement. However, I have no evidence that this construction is biclausal.

Analyzing constructions with *-iwat* as biclausal means considering *-iwat* to be a verb selecting a clausal complement. Footnote 23 gave arguments that *-iwat* is a suffix rather than a verb. *-iwat* also differs from verbs (besides high V2s, which are Aux heads) in its inability to be causativized. The verb *de* ‘to say’, which embeds a full clausal category, can host causative morphology, while *-iwat* cannot.

- (719) Qiz dostum manga yataqdishim yataqni tazildi dep
 Qiz dost-im men-ga yataqdash-im yataq-ni tazil-di-0 dep
 Girl friend-1SG.POSS 1SG-DAT roommate-1SG.POSS room-ACC clean-PST-3 COMP
 diguzdi.
 de-guz-di-0
 say-CAUS-PST-3

“My girlfriend made me say my roommate cleaned the room.”

- (720) *(Yataqdishimgha) yataqni taziliwatkuzimen.
 (Yataqdash-im-ga) yataq-ni tazila-iwat-guz-i-men
 Roommate-1SG-DAT room-ACC clean-PROG-CAUS-NPST-1SG

Intended: “I will make my roommate be cleaning the room/am making my roommate keep cleaning the room.”

Returning to the issue of why negation following the progressive marker does not license n-word objects, the ungrammaticality of (718) is unexplained by the requirement that negative concord be clause bound if n-word object and *-iwat* are in the same clause. One potential line of explanation for the contrast between (717) and (718), repeated here as (721) and (722) respectively, has to do with the phasal status of progressive aspect.

- (721) Héchkim kéliwatmaydu.
 Héchkim kel-iwat-ma-i-du.
 Nobody come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3

“Nobody is coming (they’re all doing something else).”

- (722) *Ular héchnéme yewatmaydu.
 Ular héchnéme ye-iwat-ma-i-du.
 3PL nothing eat-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 Intended: “They aren’t eating anything.”

Phases mark portions of a syntactic derivation that are spelled out as a unit. A crucial property of phases is that they mark boundaries over which elements cannot interact syntactically, since material sent to the interfaces should no longer be syntactically active. That is, the complements of phases are ‘impenetrable’ to syntactic operations outside the phase, as first formulated by Chomsky (2000) in the ‘strong’ Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). ‘H’ refers to a phase head.

- (723) The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2000: 108)

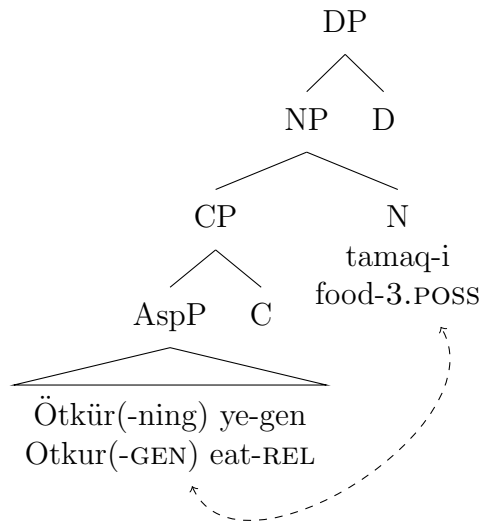
However, Chomsky (2001) revises the PIC to state that the complement of a given phase head is only inaccessible to operations initiated after an additional phase head has been merged. This second version is known as the ‘weak’ PIC. ‘H’ refers to an initial phase head once again, and ‘ZP’ refers to the next maximal projection (or phrase) of a phase head built after HP.

- (724) The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2001: 14)

There is evidence from agreement between genitive subjects and clause-external heads that Uyghur syntax obeys the weak PIC rather than the strong PIC. Asarina (2011) shows that genitive subjects within both relative clauses and embedded noun complement clauses agree with material outside their respective clauses (i.e. across a phase boundary). (725) and (726) show agreement between a genitive noun in a relative clause and the head noun of the relative clause.

- (725) Ötükür(-ning) ye-gan tamaq-i
 Otkur(-GEN) eat-REL food-3.POSS
 “the food that Otkur ate” (Asarina 2011: 89)

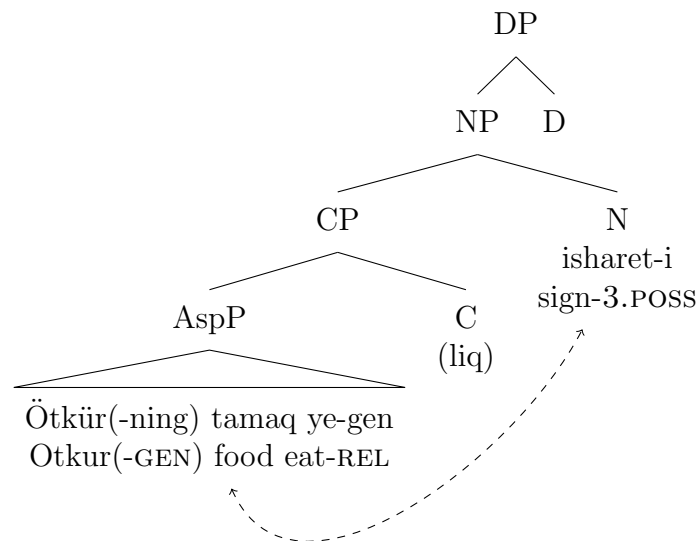
(726) (Asarina 2011: 89)



(727) and (728) show agreement between a genitive noun in a complement clause and the head noun in the matrix clause.

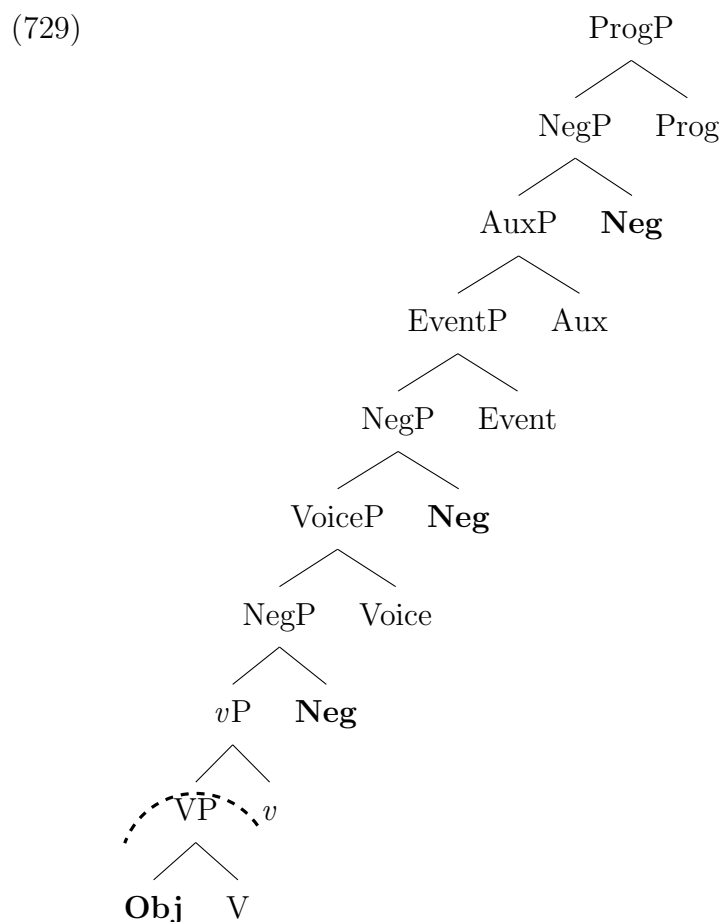
(727) Ötkür(-ning) tamaq ye-gan-liq isharet-i
Otkur(-GEN) food eat-REL-COMP sign-3.POSS
“the sign that Otkur ate food” (Asarina 2011: 90)

(728) (Asarina 2011: 90)



Given that the genitive noun appears somewhere inside the relative or noun complement clause and is separated from the head noun by the phase boundary C, the strong PIC predicts that agreement of the type shown in (725) and (727) should not be possible, contrary to fact. The takeaway from this data is that Uyghur observes the weak rather than the strong PIC.

In the rest of this section, I will review some cross-linguistic claims that progressive aspect has special phasal status, and suggest that the phasal status of progressive aspect in Uyghur creates that a phase boundary that blocks agreement between a higher negative marker and an n-word object. Before doing so, I must point out that claiming the progressive aspect marker introduces a phase boundary does not affect my analysis of how n-word objects are licensed by negation in any position lower than Prog. Setting aside the issue of progressive aspect, the standard account is that *v* and C are the two phase heads merged in every full clause (Chomsky 2000, 2001). If negation selects either *v*P, VoiceP or AuxP as motivated in the previous three sections, then at most only one phase head will come between negation and the base position of an n-word object, as illustrated in (729).



Having established two paragraphs earlier that Uyghur observes the weak PIC, elements above and below a single phase head are not blocked from agreement and negative concord

is allowed. The addition of a second phase head, however, will create a boundary such that material below *v* is inaccessible to material merged above the second phase head. I now review some evidence that Prog can introduce a (second) phase boundary.

Although the article does not use the specific term ‘phase’, Laka (2006) observes that progressive aspect blocks ergative case assignment in Basque. Notice that in (730a), in which the verb is in the perfective form, the subject is assigned ergative case. When the progressive marker *ari* is present in (730b), however, the subject cannot be assigned ergative case. Laka attributes this contrast to the progressive marker partitioning a separate domain for dependent case assignment a la Marantz (1991).

- (730) a. emakume-a-k ogi-ak ja-n d-it-u
 woman-DET-ERG bread-DET.PL eat-PERF 3A-PL-haveE
 “The woman has eaten (the) breads.” (eus) (Laka 2006: 177)
- b. emakume-a ogi-ak ja-ten ari da
 woman-DET bread-DET.PL eat-IPFV PROG 3A.is
 “The woman is eating (the) breads.” (eus) (Laka 2006: 177)

Harwood (2015) argues that the English progressive marker is uniquely able to extend the lower phase of the clause. One key type of data he draws on is the obligatory elision of the auxiliary inflected for progressive aspect (731), compared to the optionality of an auxiliary inflected for perfect aspect in VP ellipsis (732). On the assumption that ellipsis can target a phase head and delete its complement (Bošković 2014), the obligatory deletion of *being* in (731) can be attributed to *being*’s position in Prog, heading the lower phase of a clause which is the target of ellipsis, and the optional deletion of progressive light verb *be* is attributed to its alleged option of raising out of the lower phase. *Have* in (732), on the other hand, can never be elided because it is not part of the lower phase targeted by ellipsis.

- (731) Besty might be being paid to keep quiet, and Dorothy might (be) (*being), too.
 (eng) (based on Harwood 2015: 525)
- (732) Bob might have been in the garden, and Morag might *(have) ~~been in the garden~~,
 too. (eng) (Harwood 2015: 542)

Another piece of evidence that progressive aspect can mark a phase boundary comes from the ability to strand an argument before a verb that takes the progressive participle *-ing*. The examples in (733) show this position for argument stranding between perfect *-en* and progressive *-ing*.

- (733) a. *There could have been being a truck loaded.
 b. There could have been a truck being loaded.
 c. *There could have a truck been being loaded.
 d. *There could a truck have been being loaded.
 e. *There a truck could have been being loaded.
 f. A truck could have been being loaded. (eng) (Harwood 2012 in Ramchand 2017: 16)

This position is still available between auxiliary *be* and *-ing* in the absence of perfect aspect (as in (734)), but no such stranding position is available between auxiliary *have* and perfect *-en* in the absence of progressive aspect (as in (735)). This contrast suggests that progressive aspect uniquely makes a phase edge available as a derived argument position. If the position where *a truck* is stranded in (733b) and (734b) were simply Spec, *vP*, then (735b) should also be grammatical, contrary to fact.

- (734) a. *There could be being a truck loaded.
 b. There could be a truck being loaded.
 c. *There could a truck be being loaded.
 d. A truck could be being loaded.

- (735) a. There could have been a truck loaded.
 b. *There could have a truck been loaded.
 c. *There could a truck have been loaded.
 d. A truck could have been loaded. (eng) (Harwood 2012 in Ramchand 2017: 16)

López et al. (2017) adopt the logic of Laka and Harwood to explain a contrast in code switching acceptability. In Spanish-English code switching among other code switching contexts, it is acceptable to switch from one language to another at the boundary between the auxiliary *be* and its complement inflected for progressive aspect (736), but not at the boundary between *be* and a complement inflected for perfect aspect (737). Consistent with the thesis of their article that switches from one language to another happen at boundaries

between phase heads and their complements, López et al. attribute the contrast between (736) and (737) to the auxiliary heading a phase in (736), but not in (737).

- (736) *Los ciudadanos están* supporting the program.
Los ciudadano-s est-án supporting the program
 DEM citizen-PL be-PRES.3PL supporting the program
 “The citizens are supporting the program.” (spa/eng) (López et al. 2017: 7)

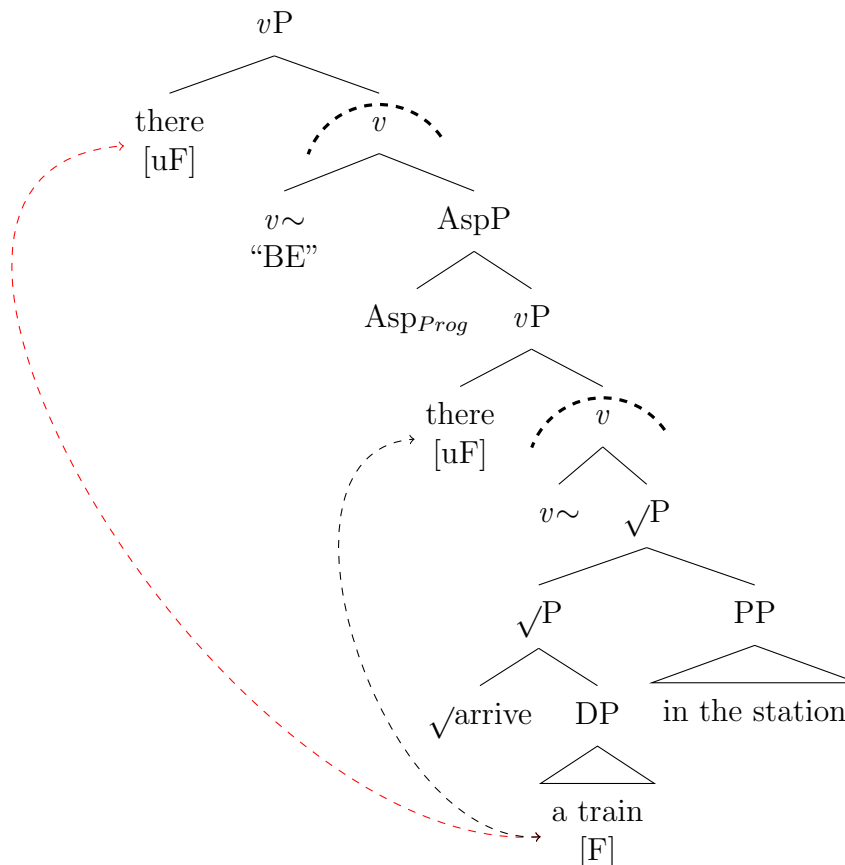
- (737) * *Tú habías* told that story.
Tú hab-ías told that story
 2SG.FAM have-2SG.FAM.PST.IPFV told that story
 Intended: “You had told that story.” (spa/eng) (López et al. 2017: 6)

Deal (2009) uses a ProgP phase to account for the what she calls the “too many *theres*” problem in English. Her goal is to rule out overgeneration of *there* like in (738a) in favor single generation of *there* as in (738b).

- (738) a. *There is there arriving a train in the station. (Deal 2009: 17)
 b. There is a train arriving [in the station] (Deal 2009: 18)

According to Deal, both progressive *be* and the unaccusative verb provide a Spec, *vP* position in which *there* can be merged. However, Deal assumes that *there* must establish a local agreement relation with its co-referring associate (in this case *a train*, merged as complement of the root). Because both *vP* and progressive aspect introduce distinct phase boundaries, only *there* merged in spec, *vP* of the unaccusative verb is in a sufficiently local relationship with *a train*, as schematized in tree (739). The impossibility of merging *there* in the AspP position explains why there cannot be two *theres* in (738).

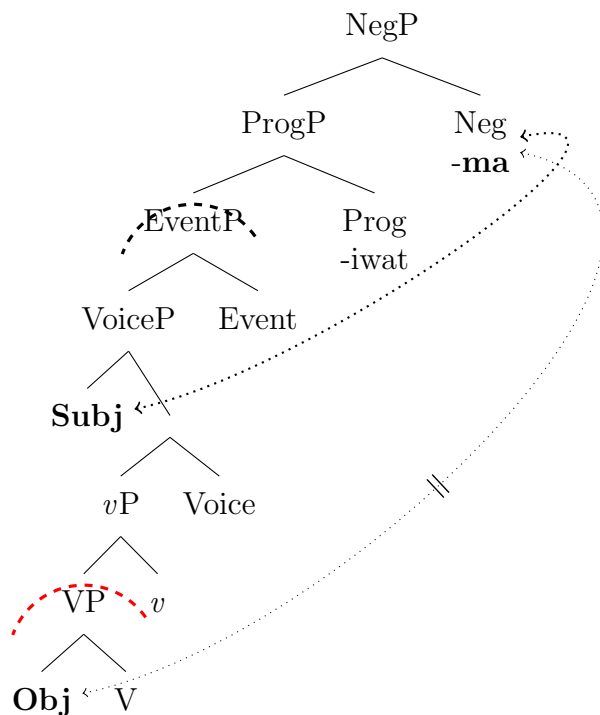
(739)



In the absence of a better-motivated explanation at this time, I tentatively adopt Deal's assumption that progressive aspect introduces a new phase boundary to a clause. Combining this assumption with Asarina's (2011) analysis that Uyghur is subject to the weak PIC will derive the facts in (717) and (718), as explained below.

By combining the conclusion that Uyghur derivations observe the weak PIC with the above discussion about progressive aspect introducing a phase boundary, I can account for the ability of negation selecting ProgP to license subject but not object n-words. At the point when a Neg head selecting ProgP is merged, two phase boundaries have already been merged in the clause. Due to the weak PIC, the subject but not the object is still accessible for the raising to operation that establishes concord with a Neg head merged after the Prog phase head is introduced.

(740)



It remains to be seen whether there is independent empirical motivation for analyzing the progressive marker as a phase head in Uyghur. I adopt this analysis for the time being in the absence of a better explanation as to why negation in such a high position can license the subject but not the object of a clause. At a minimum, positing that Prog is a phase head will not block licensing of any n-words when negation appears in one of the other three positions already discussed (selecting AuxP, VoiceP or *v*P): in any of these configurations, at most one phase head (*v* by hypothesis) appears between negation and an NCI with an uninterpretable feature, which will not block agreement.

The structural height of post-progressive negation is further confirmed by scope facts. (741) shows that the agent-oriented adverb *qesten* ‘intentionally’ and the postpositional phrase *apamning gepi bilen* must take scope below post-progressive negation.

- (741) U qesten kéliwatmaydu.
 U qesten kel-iwat-ma-i-du
 3SG intentionally come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3

“(S)he is not coming intentionally (they are being forced to come).” (NEG > intentionally)

*“(S)he is intentionally not coming.” (*intentionally > NEG)

- (742) Apamni dep polu teyyarliwatmaymen.
 Apa-m-ni dep polu teyyarla-iwat-ma-i-men
 Mother-1SG.POSS-ACC COMP pilaf prepare-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I’m not cooking pilaf because of my mother (it’s for another reason).” (NEG > bilen)
 *“Because of my mother, I’m not cooking pilaf.” (*bilen > NEG)

Recall from earlier in this section that scope relations between a focused object (optionally accompanied by *peqet* ‘only’) and simple verbal negation, which I assume selects VoiceP by default, are ambiguous.

- (743) Men (peqet) chaynila ichmaymen.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-ma-y-men
 1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I only don’t drink tea.” (FOC > NEG)
 “I don’t only drink tea.” (NEG > FOC)

This ambiguity disappears when negation follows the progressive marker: negation in this position must take scope over the focused object.

- (744) Men (peqet) chaynila ichiwatmaymen.
 Men (peqet) chay-ni-la ich-iwat-ma-i-men
 1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “I’m not only drinking tea.” (NEG > FOC)
 *“I’m only not drinking tea.” (*FOC > NEG)

(744) not only demonstrates that post-progressive negation appears in a high structural position; it is also evidence in favor of a monoclausal analysis of the progressive construction. If the progressive marker were a verb selecting an embedded clause from which the object raises, it should be possible for focus to take scope above verbal negation, contrary to fact. I will elaborate upon this point in section 4.6.

By applying the same tests of n-word licensing and scope relations with adverbs and focused objects, this section has shown that the verbal negation morpheme *-ma* can take a complement as small as *vP* or as large as *ProgP*.

4.5.5 Summary

This section has discussed the properties of negation selecting four different complements: *vP*, *VoiceP*, *AuxP* and *ProgP*. The diagnostics discussed involved licensing of n-word

objects and subjects, and scope relations with adverbs and focused objects. The results are summarized in table 4.7.

Complement	n-object licensing	n-subject licensing	Scope re adverb	Scope re postposition	Scope re focus
<i>v</i> P	✓	X	under	under	under
VoiceP	✓	✓	under/over	under/over	under/over
AuxP	✓	✓	over	over	over
ProgP	X	✓	over	over	over

Table 4.7: Properties of all four Neg positions

Collins and Postal (2014) argue that negation can be merged (in a projection they call a NEG Merge Phrase) at any point in a clause where it is interpretable. If this is so, then the findings of this section mean that negation is interpretable anywhere its complement is a verbal category.

The point I hope to have made in this section is that negation is not limited to one syntactic position within a clause. The variable clausal position of negation also affects whether negation is able to take sentential scope. Negation selecting *v*P and sometimes negation selecting VoiceP were blocked from head movement with the lexical verb to a high clausal position, and consequently were unable to c-command elements in mid-clausal positions. The Sentential Negation Movement Generalization is repeated in (745).

(745) **Sentential Negation Movement Generalization:**

Negation that is unable to head-move to T is unable to take sentential scope.

Because negation can be merged at different clausal position with differing scope possibilities, constructions with multiple occurrences of negation should not be assumed to be multiclausal. Other diagnostics of clausality are needed, and the next section reviews other ways of checking whether a construction is multiclausal or monoclausal.

4.6 Monoclausality

The original question that this chapter set out to answer was whether bleached V2 constructions in which either or both verbs can be negated are monoclausal. This question is important to address because single negation, the ability of one negative marker in only one possible position to negate both verbs in a construction, has been proposed as a crucial diagnostic for the monoclausality of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Bohnemeyer et al. 2007, Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008, Haspelmath 2016 inter alia). If single negation were a definitive diagnostic, then bleached V2 constructions would clearly be considered multiclausal because it is possible to negate both verbs in the same construction, as shown again in (746).

- (746) Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoymaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-NEG-NPST-3

“Tursun will definitely come to our house.”

However, the assumption that only a single negation position is available per clause is challenged by a substantial body of crosslinguistic evidence that more than one position is often available (briefly touched upon in section 4.2), and I provided further evidence that multiple positions, not all of which should be considered sentential negation, are available for Uyghur in section 4.5. This section will summarize arguments that bleached V2 constructions are always monoclausal, irrespective of which verbs are negated. The fact that numerous tests yield a monoclausal result for the same construction suggests that single negation is an inadequate diagnostic for monoclausality in Uyghur and probably other languages, and analyses allowing negation to merge at multiple clausal positions should not be rejected on theoretical grounds alone.

In order to diagnose monoclausality, I must first explain what it means for a construction to be monoclausal or multiclausal. Under minimalist assumptions, a clause contains a verbal domain in which a verb and its arguments are merged, a locus of voice in which argument structure is manipulated, and an inflectional domain in which aspect and tense markers are merged. A finite clause is also generally the domain within which a negation marker may license an n-word (hypothesized to be via agreement). Testing for the monoclausality of a construction is then a matter of determining whether any of the aforementioned domains are present in more than one portion of a construction, and whether n-words can be licensed by negation of either verb.

The first diagnostic I apply to bleached V2 constructions is the ability to license n-words within a clause. Numerous authors have formulated something along the lines of a Clausemate Condition, effectively stating that an n-word can only be licensed by a negation marker if the two appear in the same clause (e.g. Oyakawa 1975, Muraki 1978, Kato 1985, Choe 1988, Progovac 1988, 1993, Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2000, Giannakidou 1998, 2000, 2006, Corblin and Tovenia 2001 *inter alia*). As first illustrated in section 4.4.1 and further refined in section 4.5.4, negative concord in Uyghur is phase-bound under the weak PIC, which effectively means that negative concord cannot happen across a clause boundary. Examples (747-748) show that only negating the embedded verb licenses embedded n-words in an embedded clause.

- (747) a. *Abliz [héchneme yégenlikini] démidi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3

Intended: “Abliz didn’t say he ate anything.”

- b. Abliz [héchneme yémigenlikini] dédi.
 Abliz [héchneme ye-ma-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said he didn’t eat anything.”

- (748) a. *Abliz [héchkim tamaq yégenlikini] démidi.
 Abliz [héchkim tamaq ye-gan-lik-i-ni] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nobody food eat-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “Abliz didn’t say anyone ate.”

- b. Abliz [héchkim tamaq yémigenlikini] dédi.
 Abliz [héchkim tamaq ye-ma-gan-lik-i-ni] de-di-0
 Abliz [nobody food eat-NEG-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC] say-PST-3
 “Abliz said that nobody ate.”

If the above examples are proof that n-words must usually be licensed by negation within the same clause, then the examples below argue that both verbs of bleached V2 constructions are within the same clause. Negation of V1 or V2 licenses n-words objects. This is true whether V2 is a low V2 (749) or a high V2 (750).

- (749) a. U héchnerse yazmay qoydi.
 U héchnerse yaz-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0
 3SG nothing write-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3
 “(S)he decided not to write anything.”

- b. U héchnerse yézip qoymidi.
 U héchnerse yaz-(i)p qoy-ma-di-0
 3SG nothing write-(I)P put-NEG-PST-3
 “(S)he decided not to write anything.”

- (750) a. U héchnerse yémey turdi.
 U héchnerse ye-ma-(i)p tur-di-0
 3SG nothing eat-NEG-(I)P stand-PST-3
 “(S)he continued not to eat anything.”

- b. U héchnerse yep turmidi.
 U héchnerse ye-(i)p tur-ma-di-0
 3SG nothing eat-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 “(S)he didn’t keep eating anything.”

N-word subjects are also licensed both by negation of low V2s and high V2s.²⁴

- (751) Héchkim tamaq yep baqmidi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-(i)p baq-ma-di-0
 Nobody food eat-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody tried eating.”

- (752) Héchkim tamaq yep turmidi.
 Héchkim tamaq ye-(I)P tur-ma-di-0
 Nobody food eat-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 “Nobody kept eating.”

As discussed in the previous chapter and in section 4.5.1, licensing of n-word subjects by negation of V1 varies depending on the type of V2. Specifically, negation of V1 followed by a low V2 can never license an n-word subject. I explained in section 4.5.1 that this due to negation selecting *v*P being unable to c-command the subject’s base position in Spec, VoiceP (low V2 being a Voice head), rather than negation and the n-word not being clausemates.

Bleached V2 constructions also differ from multiclausal constructions in terms of licensing n-words in the presence of double negation. Recalling initial discussion in section 4.1.1, double negation happens when negation of two different verbs yields an affirmative reading.

24. Recall from section 4.5.4, however, that negation following the progressive suffix *-iwat* licenses n-word subjects but not objects, as shown in (i) and (ii).

- (i) Héchkim kéliwatmaydu.
 Héchkim kel-iwat-ma-i-du.
 Nobody come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 “Nobody is coming (they’re all doing something else).”
- (ii) *Ular héchnéme yewatmaydu.
 Ular héchnéme ye-iwat-ma-i-du.
 3PL nothing eat-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
 Intended: “They aren’t eating anything.”

I hypothesized in section 4.5.4 that progressive aspect introduces an additional phase boundary that makes the n-word object inaccessible for agreement. Thus it is more accurate to say that negative concord is phase-bounded than that it is clause-bounded.

Double negation is possible between lexical V1 and a low V2 (as in (753)) or lexical V1 and a high V2 (as in (754)).

- (753) Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoymaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun will definitely come to our house (he wouldn’t dare not to come).”

- (754) Tursun bizning öyge kelmey turmaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p tur-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-NPST-3
 “Tursun will not stop coming to our house.”

Notice that when double negation is achieved by negating verbs in two different clauses, an *n*-word is perfectly licit in the embedded clause. Presumably this is because the polarity of negation markers in separate clauses do not cancel each other out.

- (755) Abliz [héchnerse yémidi] démidi.
 Abliz [héchnerse ye-ma-di-0] de-ma-di-0
 Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-PST-3] say-NEG-PST-3
 “Abliz didn’t say he didn’t eat anything.”

As explained in chapter 2, multiple event constructions in which each lexical verb phrase denotes a distinct event show the same multiclausal behavior in this regard. Because *de* ‘to say’ and *kel* ‘to come’ are in separate clauses, there is no obstacle to *de* entering into agreement with the *n*-word.

- (756) Abliz héchnerse démey (turup) sorungha kelmidi.
 Abliz héchnerse de-ma-(i)p (tur-(i)p) sorun-ga kel-ma-di-0
 Aliz nothing say-NEG-(I)P (stay-(I)P) party-DAT come-NEG-PST-3
 “Abliz didn’t say anything and didn’t come to the party.”

However, sentences are degraded when double negation is yielded by negating both V1 and a bleached V2. Double negation with an *n*-word is marginal with a low V2 (757) and ungrammatical with a high V2 (758).

- (757) ?Héchnerse yémey baqmidi.
 Héchnerse ye-ma-(i)p baq-ma-di-0
 Nothing eat-NEG-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he definitely ate something (didn’t eat nothing).”

- (758) *Héchnerse yémey turmidi.
 Héchnerse ye-ma-(i)p tur-ma-di-0
 Nothing eat-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “(S)he definitely ate something (didn’t eat nothing).”

While I do not have a detailed analysis of why (757) and (758) are degraded at this time, I suspect that semantic factors are involved. The positive interpretation resulting from two interpretable negation features canceling each other out causes the n-word to seem out of place. I also do not have a clear explanation as to why (758), with a negated high V2, is significantly more degraded than (757), with a low V2. I speculate that the difference may relate to negation of the high V2 in (758) appearing outside the Event projection (selecting AuxP under my hypothesis), while negation of the low V2 appears within the Event projection (selecting VoiceP under my hypothesis). If the Event projection truly demarcates the edge of an event as in Travis (2010), then there may be an interpretive difference between (757) and (758) such that only the latter attempts to negate an event of not eating anything that has already been asserted. These comments are pure speculation at this point. Whatever the explanation, the degraded acceptability of licensing an n-word with double negation is an empirical difference between bleached V2 constructions and constructions known to be multiclausal.

The monoclauslity of bleached V2 constructions under negation is further confirmed by the same passivization facts presented in the previous chapter holding under negation. Recall that only a single verb may be passivized in bleached V2 constructions, giving the whole construction a passive reading. (759) shows that in a high V2 construction, a single passive morpheme creates a passive reading of the whole construction whether V1, V2 or both verbs are negated.

- (759) a. Poyizning awazi anglanmay turdi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-in-may tur-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-NEG stand-PST-3
 “The sound of the train kept not being heard (there was silence).”
- b. Poyizning awazi anglinip turmidi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-in-(i)p tur-ma-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 “The sound of the train did not continue to be heard.”

- c. Poyizning awazi anglanmay turmidi.
 Poyiz-ning awaz-i angla-in-ma-(i)p tur-ma-di-0
 Train-GEN sound-3.POSS hear-PASS-NEG-(I)P stand-NEG-PST-3
 “The sound of the train didn’t stop being heard.”

(760) shows that when low V2 is negated, a single passive marker on V2 effectively passivizes transitive V1.

- (760) Yighin zali teyyarlap qoyulmidi.
 Yighin zal-i teyyarla-(i)p qoy-il-ma-di-0
 Meeting room-3.POSS prepare-(I)P put-PASS-NEG-PST-3
 “The meeting room was not prepared.”

This contrasts with the inability of a passive suffix on a matrix verb, whether negated or not, to passivize a verb in an embedded clause.

- (761) Yighin zali teyyarlighanliqi déyil(mi)di.
 Yighin zal-i teyyarla-gan-lik-i de-il(-ma)-di-0
 Meeting room-3.POSS prepare-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS say-PASS(-NEG)-PST-3
 “It was (not) said that (they) prepared the meeting room.”
 * “The meeting room was said to be prepared.”

The one unpredicted exception to the paradigm in (759-760) is that it is not possible to negate V1 when a low V2 is passivized. Nor is it possible to negate both V1 and low V2 with passivization.

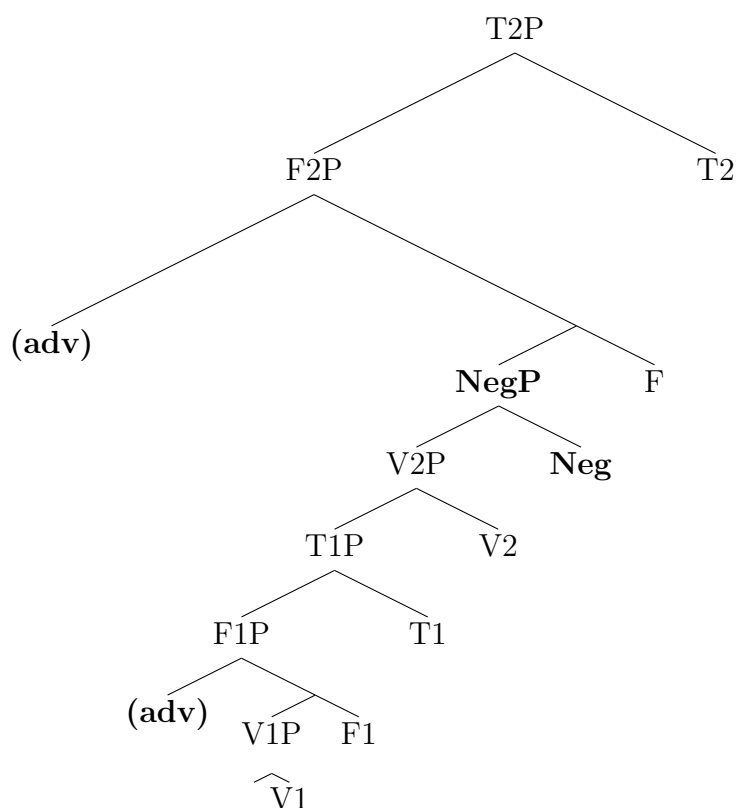
- (762) a. *Yighin zali teyyarlimay qoyuldi.
 Yighin zal-i teyyarla-ma-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
 Meeting room-3.POSS prepare-NEG-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The meeting room was not prepared.”
- b. *Yighin zali teyyarlimay qoyulmidi.
 Yighin zal-i teyyarla-ma-(i)p qoy-il-ma-di-0
 Meeting room-3.POSS prepare-NEG-(I)P put-PASS-NEG-PST-3
 Intended: “The meeting room was definitely prepared.”

Once again, I suspect that the sentences in (762) may be ruled out for semantic reasons. The reading speakers get for (762a), to the extent that any reading is possible, is that the

meeting room was put into a state of being unprepared, asserting that it took some act of agentivity on the meeting room's part to have itself not be prepared, which may seem nonsensical. By a similar token, double negation between V1 and a low V2 carries an emphatic reading that an agent will certainly perform some action in an active sentence. Perhaps what is odd about (762b) is that no agent is present to be the subject of an emphatic assertion.

A final piece of evidence in favor of monoclausality in negated bleached V2 constructions comes from the adverbial scope data seen throughout the previous section. Namely, section 4.5 showed that agent-oriented adverbials scope over negated low V2s but under negated high V2s. Consider an alternative to a monoclausal analysis, in which the negated bleached V2 is just a main verb selecting a clausal complement as depicted in (763). Two clauses are present in (763). If we continue to follow Cinque's (1999) assumption that agent-oriented adverbials appear in a fixed functional projection between Voice and Tense, then this projection should in theory be present in both clauses of (763). Notice that in (763), an adverb can be merged either in a position c-commanding or c-commanded by negation of V2.

(763)



In this configuration, adverbs would be expected to have the same scope relations to any negated bleached V2 since they can either c-command or be c-commanded by the matrix verb or a NegP selecting the matrix verb. Specifically, it should always be possible for the adverb to scope either over or under negation depending on whether the adverb is merged

in the matrix or embedded clause, respectively. Moreover, it should be possible for the adverb to modify either verb in a multiclausal construction. Indeed, (764) shows that an adverb can modify either a matrix verb or the verb in an embedded nominalized clause.

- (764) a. Abliz Tursunning atayin kelgenliqini didi.
 Abliz Tursun-ning atayin kel-gan-lik-i-ni de-di-0
 Abliz Tursun-GEN deliberately come-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC say-PST-3
 “Abliz said that Tursun deliberately came.”
- b. Abliz Tursunning kelgenliqini atayin didi.
 Abliz Tursun-ning kel-gan-lik-i-ni atayin de-di-0
 Abliz Tursun-GEN come-REL-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC deliberately say-PST-3
 “Abliz deliberately said that Tursun came.”

However, adverbs may only precede V1 in a bleached V2 construction. It is not possible to interpret V2 as semantically bleached when an adverb intervenes between V1 and V2.

- (765) Abliz (atayin) roman yézip (*atayin) baqti.
 Abliz (atayin) roman yaz-(i)p (*atayin) baq-di-0
 Abliz deliberately novel write-(I)P deliberately raise-PST-3
 “Abliz (deliberately) tried writing a novel.”

Additionally, it is not always the case that scope between negation in bleached V2 constructions and adverbs is ambiguous. (766) is a reminder that an agent-oriented adverb can scope over negation following a low V2, but not over negation following a high V2.²⁵

- (766) a. U qesten kep baqmidi.
 U qesten kel-(i)p baq-ma-di-0
 3SG intentionally come-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-3
 “Intentionally, (s)he didn’t come.” (qesten > NEG)
 “It wasn’t intentionally that (s)he came.” (NEG > qesten)
- b. U qesten kep turmaywatidu.
 U qesten kel-(i)p tur-ma-iwat-i-du
 3SG intentionally come-(I)P stand-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 “(S)he doesn’t keep intentionally coming.” (NEG > intentionally)
 *“(S)he intentionally doesn’t keep coming.” (*intentionally > NEG)

25. Recall the finding in section 4.5.2 that negation following a low V2 or preceding a high V2 can scope under or over the adverb due to head movement. Negation following a high V2 does show this variable scope because its base position c-commands the position where agent-oriented adverbs are merged.

The inability of an agent-oriented adverb to scope over negation in (766b) is unpredicted by a biclausal analysis like (763), but is entirely predicted by the monoclausal analysis developed in this dissertation and this chapter specifically.

This section has summarized arguments that bleached V2 constructions are monoclausal regardless of whether one or both verbs are negated. Evidence came from licensing of n-word objects, single passivization, and fixed adverb scope. The behavior of negated bleached V2 constructions regarding all three criteria contrast with the behavior of constructions which indisputably contain an embedded clause.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed at length the various positions at which negation can merge within a single clause. The discussion primarily involved licensing of n-words and scope relations with regards to other clause-medial elements. I made a slight modification to Zeijlstra's (2004) proposal that negative concord is agreement between an uninterpretable Neg feature on the negative concord item and an interpretable Neg feature introduced in the presence of a negation marker. The modification was that the negation marker itself carries the interpretable feature, rather than positing the existence of a covert operator. Since negation markers are semantically negative, two negation markers in one clause results in double negation.

The finding that negation can merge at any point in the clause where it selects a verbal category as complement supports the monoclausal analysis of bleached V2 constructions developed in the previous chapter. I also showed that when negation is followed by a higher verbal category in the clause, then negation of the lower verbal category lacks the high scope of sentential negation. If on the right track, the arguments presented here add to an already large body of evidence that negation can merge at multiple clausal positions in a wide variety of the world's languages. This abundance of evidence means that the appearance of negation more than once in a construction cannot be considered sufficient evidence for the presence of an embedded clause.

Despite the findings of this chapter, the proposal that single negation is a diagnostic of monoclausality finds some empirical motivation in that there are many verb-serializing languages in which negation only appears in one position despite the presence of multiple verbs in one clause (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). It may be that serial verb constructions in these languages involve one lexical verb directly selecting another verb as its complement (as discussed in chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation), not allowing for an intervening Neg projection. It may also be the case that in other verb-serializing languages, functional categories do not intervene between verbs as they do in Uyghur. What determines whether a language allows negation to appear at multiple positions within a clause or limits negation to just one position is a ripe topic for future research.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Dissertation Summary

This dissertation has analyzed multi-verb constructions in the Turkic language Uyghur as instances in which an Event or Inner Aspect head is overtly filled by the $-(i)p$ morpheme. The multi-verb constructions in question take the general form of [V1-(i)p V2], where V1 linearly precedes V2 and takes the $-(i)p$ suffix in lieu of the tense and person inflection that appears on V2. I started with a fundamental division between $-(i)p$ constructions in which both linked verbs are lexical in nature (as in (767)), and those in which V2 is semantically bleached, contributing grammatical rather than lexical meaning to the construction (as in (768)).

- (767) Ular meydaḡda putbol oynap yataqqa qaytti.
Ular meydaḡ-da putbol oyna-(i)p yataq-ga qayt-di-0
3PL field-LOC soccer play-(i)p dorm-DAT return-PST-3
“They played soccer on the field, and came back to the dorm.”

- (768) Tursun öyige pat-pat xet yézip turidu.
Tursun öy-i-ga pat-pat xet yaz-(i)p tur-y-du
Tursun home-3SG.POSS-DAT often letter write-(i)p stand-NPST-3
“Tursun often writes letters home.” (Tuohuti 2012: 360)

I argued that in both types of construction, the insertion of $-(i)p$ is a last resort strategy to provide inflection for V1 when it is unable to inflect by moving to Tense. Uyghur verbs require inflection, and are usually able to inflect through head movement to Tense. However, when more than one verb is merged in the same clause, then only the closest verb is able to move to Tense for inflection due to Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) and the

Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984). I argued that in such configurations in which one verb is blocked from moving to Tense for inflection, an Event head above the verbal domain or an Inner Aspect head within the verbal domain serves as an intermediate destination of verbal head movement. $-(i)p$ is inserted into one of these heads as a last resort to provide inflection to the verb. I stated this thesis as the Event Projections Generalization in chapter 1.

- (769) **Event Projections Generalization:** Uyghur allows multiple verbs to appear in a clause by overtly realizing event-related functional heads outside and within the verbal domain.

The Event head, c-commanding the Voice projection where an external argument is introduced, is proposed by Travis (2010) to mark the point in a syntactic derivation where a complete syntactic representation of an event is formed. In chapter 1, I defined a syntactic event as a lexical verb, its arguments, and any manipulations to its argument structure in the form of voice alterations. The Event head also coincides with a number of proposals for a derived object position (also known as Agr(eement)-O), above the base position of the subject in many languages (Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Mahajan 1990, Chomsky 1991, Johnson 1991, Runner 1993, Aygen 2007, Kahnemuyipour 2009 *inter alia*). I proposed that this derived object position is the specifier of EventP, and it is where specific, overtly case-marked objects move in Uyghur.

The InnerAspect head, found between the projections introducing external (VoiceP) and internal (VP) arguments, is proposed to be an optional locus of telicity in Travis (1991, 2010) and MacDonald (2008) among others. It also coincides with proposals for a projection internal to the verbal domain that can host objects in its specifier among other functions (Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Koizumi 1995, Bowers 2002, Collins 2003, Baker and Collins 2006 *inter alia*). I established in chapter 1 that an InnerAspect phrase in Uyghur includes the lexical verb, internal arguments, and a verbalizing little *v* layer that can optionally encode causativity. I compare the definitions of Event and InnerAspect projections in (770).

- (770) Syntactic Event Definitions

- a. An **Event Phrase** contains a verb, all its arguments, and any voice morphemes manipulating its argument structure.
- b. An **Inner Aspect Phrase** contains a verb, its internal arguments, and an optionally causative *v*P layer.

The possible forms of Uyghur $-(i)p$ constructions boil down to two points of difference: the projection headed by $-(i)p$ (i.e. whether it is an Event or InnerAspect head, or in one case a Tense head), and the relationship between this projection and V2 (i.e. whether this projection is a complement of, adjoined to, or coordinated with V2).

Status of V2	Construction	-(i)p Projection	Relation between V1/V2
Lexical	inner aspect SVC	InnerAsp	adjunction
	event SVC	Event	adjunction
	multiple event	Event/TP	coordination
Bleached	low V2	InnerAsp	complementation
	high V2	Event	complementation

Table 5.1: Types of -(i)p construction

In the remainder of this section, I review the analyses proposed for different types of -(i)p constructions in this dissertation.

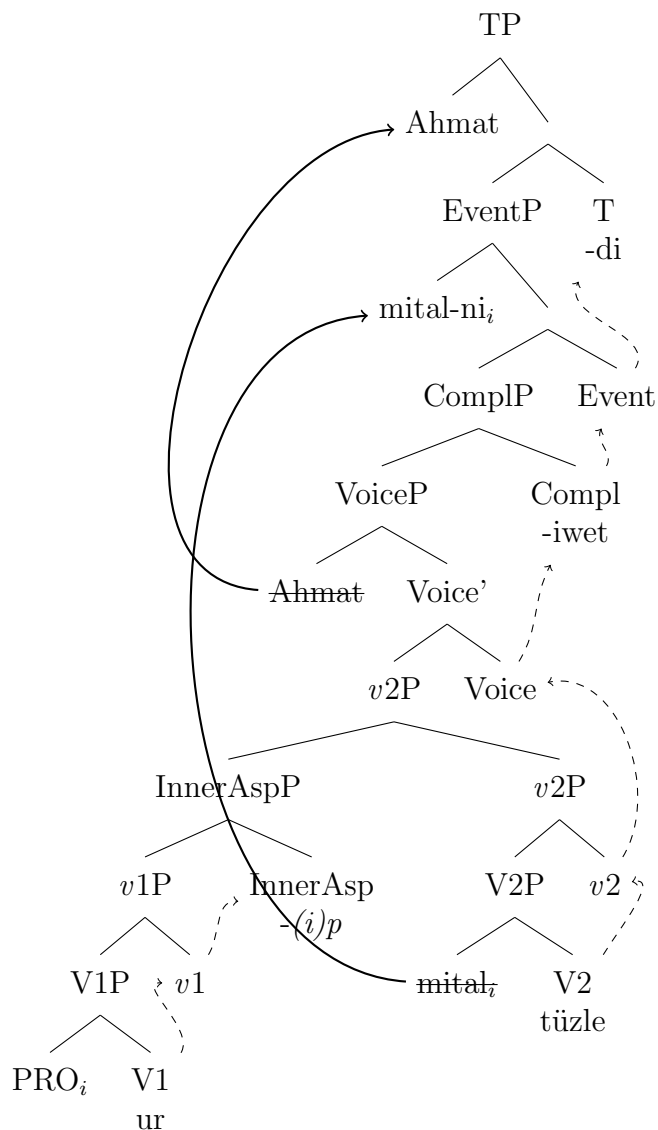
5.1.1 Lexical -(i)p Constructions

Lexical -(i)p constructions involve either adjunction of an InnerAspect Phrase or Event Phrase to the main clause, or two coordinated Event Phrases or Tense Phrases. Inner aspect SVCs obligatorily share all arguments, and are interpreted as describing a single action, with V1 modifying the way in which the action is performed.

- (771) Ahmat mitalni urup tüzliwetti.
Ahmat mital-ni uru-(i)p tüzle-iwet-di-0
Ahmat metal-ACC pound-(I)P flatten-COMPL-PST-3
“Ahmat pounded the metal flat (flattened by pounding).”

This construction is formed when an InnerAsp phrase adjoins to *v*2P. -(i)p is inserted into the InnerAsp head because V1 is unable to move out of an adjunct to T in the main clause. Both verbs share an external argument (when present) because the site of adjunction is below VoiceP where the external argument is merged. Internal argument sharing is achieved through control when the object of V2 moves to Spec, EventP, where it c-commands the PRO argument of V1. A derivation of (771) is shown in (772), where dashed lines represent head movement.

(772)



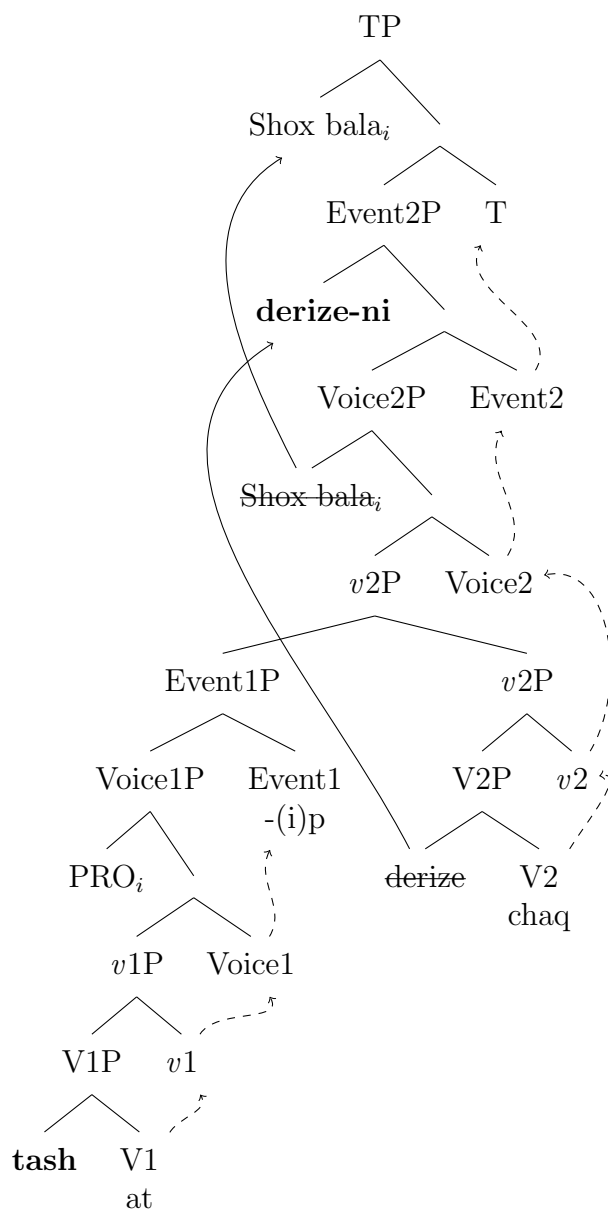
The visible difference between event SVCs and inner aspect SVCs is that while the latter obligatorily share all arguments, event SVCs share an external but not internal argument. Furthermore, the internal argument of V2 linearly precedes both V1 and its internal argument.

- (773) Shox bala derizini tash étip chiqiwetti.
 Shox bala derize-ni tash at-(i)p chaq-iwet-di-0
 Naughty child window-ACC stone throw-(I)P break-COMPL-PST-3

“The naughty child broke the window by throwing a stone.” (modified from ANKI file)

event SVCs are derived in the same fashion as inner aspect SVCs, except that $-(i)p$ heads an Event Phrase rather than an InnerAspect Phrase. The adjoined material being an Event Phrase means that enough functional structure is present for V1 to select and license an overt internal argument. The adjoined material also includes a Voice projection, introducing a PRO external argument that is controlled by the external argument that merges in the main clause. These constructions show the pattern [Obj2 Obj1 V1 V2] because the Event Phrase (containing Obj1 and V1) adjoins below the derived position of Obj2 in Spec, EventP. V1 is unable to head-move out of an adjunct in this configuration, and stops at Event1 where $-(i)p$ is inserted. The derivation of (773) is shown in (774).

(774)

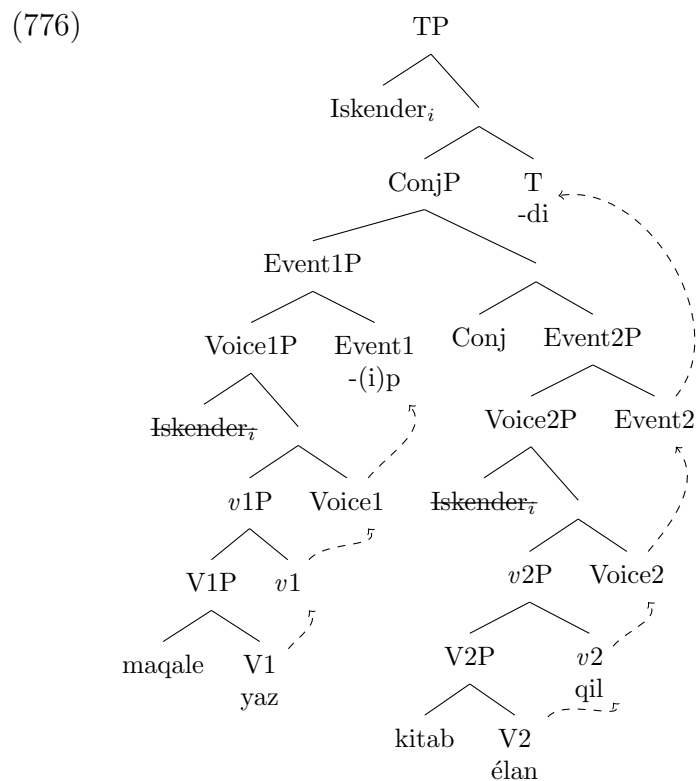


Multiple event constructions show the pattern [(Obj1) V1 (Subj) (Obj2) V2] where objects

as well as subjects are optionally shared, and are interpreted as describing two sequential or simultaneous events. (775) shows an example of a multiple event construction with a shared subject but different objects.

- (775) Iskender maqale yézip kitab élan qildi.
 Iskender maqale yaz-(i)p kitab élan qil-di-0
 Iskender article write-(I)P book publish do-PST-3
 “Iskender wrote an article and published a book.”

Multiple event constructions consist of two coordinated EventPs or, in the case of differential subjects, coordinated TPs (each containing a different syntactic event). Subjects are merged separately when two TPs are present, or undergo across-the-board movement to the specifier of one TP when two EventPs are coordinated. *-(i)p* is inserted at either Event or (non-finite) T because V1 is unable to move out of the left conjunct. A partial derivation of (775) is sketched in (776).



5.1.2 Bleached V2 Constructions

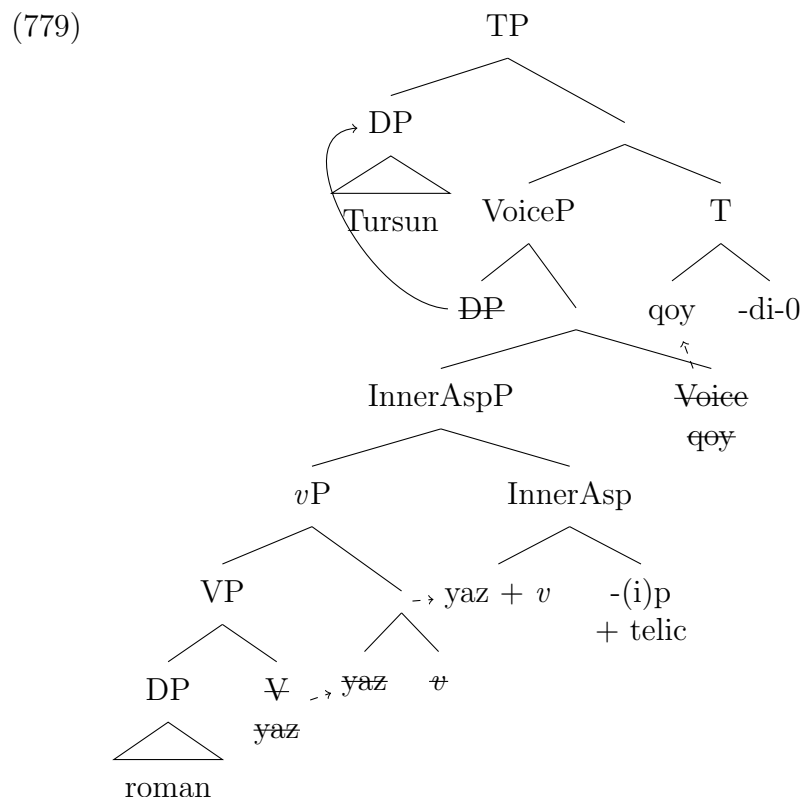
Based on a battery of tests involving voice morphology, multiple occurrences of bleached V2s and negative concord among other things, I distinguished two types of construction in

which V2 is bleached of its lexical meaning. Low V2s like *qoy* in (777) obligatorily take agentive subjects, express information about how the agent performed an action, and are usually associated with completion of an action. High V2s like *tur* in (778) occur with all kinds of subjects and express either iteration of actions or sudden changes of state.

- (777) Tursun roman yézip qoydi.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun novel write-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun wrote up a novel.”

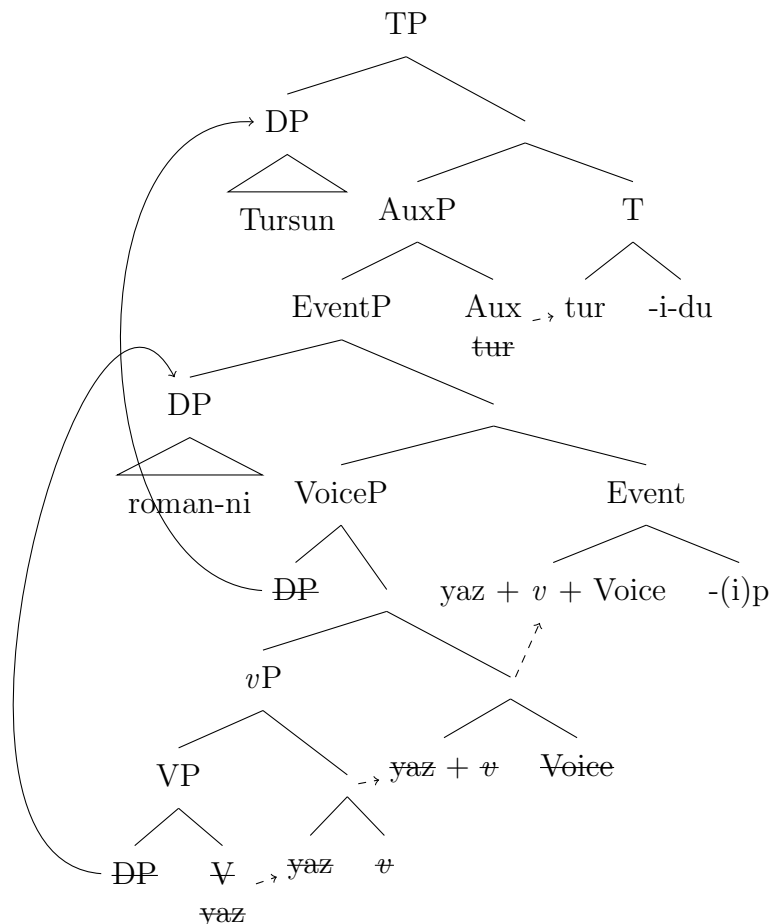
- (778) Tursun roman yézip turidu.
 Tursun roman yaz-(i)p tur-i-du
 Tursun novel write-(I)P stand-NPST-3
 “Tursun keeps writing novels.”

I analyzed low V2s as overt Voice heads, responsible for selecting external arguments. When the Voice head is overt, lexical V1 is blocked from movement to T and stops at InnerAspect, where *-(i)p* is inserted. The derivation of (777) is sketched in (779).



High V2s are Aux heads, merged outside the domain of argument structure. Overt Aux heads also block movement to T of lexical V1, but in this case V1 stops at the Event head, where *-(i)p* is inserted. Thus a derivation of (778) will look like (780).

(780)



Chapter 4 focused on negation in bleached V2 constructions. I accounted for the possibility of negating V1, V2 or both verbs in bleached V2 constructions.

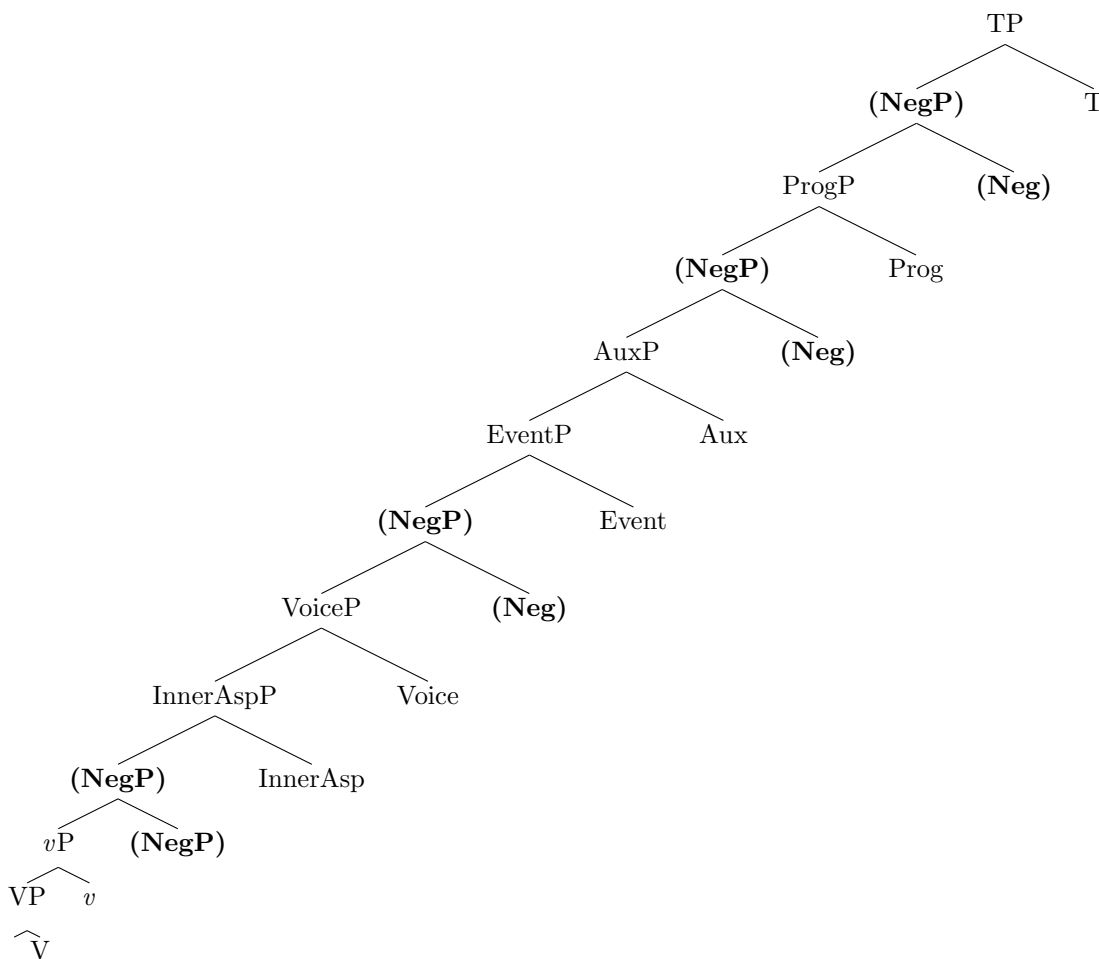
- (781) a. Tursun bizning öyge kélip qoymidi.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kal-(i)p qoy-ma-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-(I)P put-NEG-PST-3
 “Tursun didn’t even come to our house.”
- b. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoydi.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-di-0
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-PST-3
 “Tursun chose not to come to our house.”

- c. Tursun bizning öyge kelmey qoymaydu.
 Tursun biz-ning öy-ga kel-ma-(i)p qoy-ma-i-du
 Tursun 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-NEG-(I)P put-NEG-NPST-3

“Tursun will definitely come to our house (he wouldn’t dare not to come).”

I showed that the negation facts in (781) do not harm my monoclausal analysis of bleached V2s. First, negation is not limited to just one fixed position in a clause; a negative projection is free to merge anywhere it can select a verbal complement. Second, when negation appears more than once in a clause, only the higher instance of negation should be considered sentential negation. This is because only the higher instance of negation is able to head-move with the verb to a position of sentential scope due to the presence of a higher verbal category. In the course of motivating these claims, I provided evidence of four possible merge positions of a negative projection, with *v*P, VoiceP, AuxP or ProgP as its complement.

(782)



Demonstrating that the syntactic position of negation is flexible supports a monoclausal analysis in which there are two distinct types of bleached V2s. Bleached V2s are merged as

Voice heads when their complement is an InnerAspect Phrase, containing the lexical verb and its internal arguments but not enough functional structure to introduce an external argument, headed by *-(i)p*. Bleached V2s are merged as Auxiliaries when their complement is an Event Phrase, containing the lexical verb and enough functional structure to introduce both internal and external arguments, headed by *-(i)p*. The analysis of multiple negation also further demonstrates that it is possible for functional material to intervene between linked verbs in Uyghur.

5.2 Implications of this Study

The introduction to this dissertation drew attention to the surface similarity between multi-verb constructions in Uyghur and the cross-linguistic phenomenon of serial verb constructions (SVCs). The structure of serial verb constructions (if there is a uniform structure) is subject to debate, with many authors arguing that they are formed by complementation (Schachter 1974, Muysken et al. 1978, Sebba 1987, Sybesma 1997, Collins 1997a, Nishiyama 1998 *inter alia*), adjunction (Bickerton and Iatridou 1987, Seuren 1991, Hale 1991, Larson 1991, Law and Veenstra 1992, Veenstra 1993, 2000, Muysken and Veenstra 2006 *inter alia*), or some combination of the two (Law 1996, Paul 2008). Authors like Collins (1997a) and Stewart (2013) have also differentiated constructions formed through coordination from proper SVCs.

This dissertation has given evidence that even within one language (Uyghur), the three strategies of adjunction, coordination and complementation can all be used to form multi-verb constructions that at least partially match descriptive definitions of SVCs (see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). While lexical verbs may be related through adjunction or coordination in Uyghur, an *-(i)p* phrase may be the complement of a verb that occupies a functional head to form what looks more like restructuring than like SVCs.¹ The findings in this study can thus be interpreted as evidence that serial verbs are a descriptive category rather than a universally consistent syntactic configuration.

The overarching themes of this dissertation, crystallized in the Event Projections Generalization, are that: 1) *-(i)p* appears in multi-verb constructions due to the inflectional needs of verbs in Uyghur when V1 is otherwise blocked from tense inflection; and 2) variation in the syntactic shape of multi-verb constructions corresponds to different event structure configurations.

- (783) **Event Projections Generalization:** Uyghur allows multiple verbs to appear in a clause by overtly realizing event-related functional heads outside and within the verbal domain.

1. One lexical verb, identified in chapter 2, that does take an *-(i)p* phrase as a complement is the verb *ber* ‘to give’.

The Event head merged above the projection introducing an external argument is explicitly proposed by Travis (2010), also used in Stewart (2013) and Cole (2016), and coincides in its location with a proposed projection that hosts derived objects in its specifier (Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Mahajan 1990, Chomsky 1991, Johnson 1991, Runner 1993, Aygen 2007, Kahnemuyipour 2009 *inter alia*). The InnerAspect head is proposed by Travis (1991, 2010) and MacDonald (2008) among others, and coincides with other proposals for an object agreement position within the verbal domain. The analyses developed in this dissertation are, to my knowledge, the first that posit a morpheme overtly filling both an Event head outside the verbal domain and an inter-verbal InnerAspect head.

The finding that the possibility of multi-verb constructions is conditioned by inflection is in the same spirit as attempts to understand verb serialization as a parameter related to feature checking between the verb and a Tense head. For example, Collins (1997a, 2002) argues that T or *v* can license (i.e. check features of) multiple verbs in some languages, while Stewart (2013) proposes that the Tense or Inflection head does not have a verb feature that needs checking in serializing languages. The findings in this thesis align most closely with the conclusions of Veenstra (1993) and Law (1996), who claim that verb serialization depends on the inflectional morphology available in a language in combination with independent assumptions about verb movement. In Uyghur, verb movement is necessary for inflection, but last resort inflection is made available by two additional heads: Event and Inner Aspect.

It is surely no accident that in a great many languages allowing verb serialization, such as Ewe, Mandarin, or Thai, verbs do not normally inflect for tense or person agreement. Even in English, constructions resembling SVCs are limited not only to a handful of specific verbs (*come*, *go*) but to contexts in which the verbs used do not inflect to show agreement with a subject.

(784) Every morning, I go get a cup of coffee.

(785) *Every morning, she goes gets a cup of coffee.

English also has a host of auxiliaries which behave similarly to high V2s in Uyghur and require certain participle forms of their complements.

(786) Marc is read*(ing) the magazine. (based on Cowper 2010: 6)

Speaking speculatively, it may be that English has auxiliary constructions but not SVCs because the participles available in English (like progressive *-ing*) are associated with particular aspectual values. This speculation is not far from the analysis of Cowper (2010), which claims that *-ing* is assigned by an Event head to the verb in progressive contexts.

Recall from chapter 4 that the Uyghur progressive suffix *-iwat* is a grammaticalization of what was once a bleached V2 pattern *-(i)p + yat* ‘to lie down’ (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003). The difference between English *-ing* and Uyghur *-(i)p* may be that the former bears some feature that only allows it to be selecting by the progressive light verb *be*, while *-(i)p* is subject to no such restriction.

Uyghur and related Turkic languages are not alone in using a specific morpheme to allow for verb serialization and other multi-verb constructions. One group of languages with a construction that bears a striking resemblance to Uyghur *-(i)p* is Central Khoesan. In the Central Khoesan language Khwe, all non-final verbs SVCs require a juncture morpheme which otherwise “relates some derivational suffixes and the past suffixes to the verb stem” (Kilian-Hatz 2006: 111). A morpheme that appears between the surface position of verb stems and tense morphology, and that takes the place of tense morphology in multi-verb constructions, sounds suspiciously similar to an Event head. Indeed, the resemblance between the Khwe juncture morpheme, glossed as ‘II’ in (787), and Uyghur *-(i)p* in (788) is apparent.

- (787) tí [ʔgì-é yaà-gòè]
 1SG be.late-II come-I-FUT
 “I will come later.” (xuu) (Kilian-Hatz 2006: 113)

- (788) Men kéchikip kélimen.
 Men kechik-(i)p kel-i-men
 1SG be.late-(I)P come-NPST-1SG
 “I will come later.”

Similarities between the verb-linking strategies in these two languages, and what conditions their availability in some languages but not in others, is a ripe topic for future research.

This dissertation demonstrates that two heads associated with event structure (Event and InnerAspect) may be overtly realized in multi-verb constructions in the Turkic language Uyghur. Inserting morphemes into these heads is a strategy for satisfying the inflectional needs of verbs in an agglutinative language. Event and Inner Aspect projections may serve as the complement of or adjoin to other verbal categories, or be coordinated in the case of Event Phrases, demonstrating that there is not just one syntactic structure that gives rise to multi-verb constructions.

The analyses I have proposed amount to claims about how syntax can manipulate events. An event can modify the description of how another event was performed by adjoining to it. Alternatively, an InnerAspect phrase, which contains a portion of an event, can carry out a similar function through adjunction. Two events may be coordinated to express simultaneous or sequential readings. An event may also be selected as the complement of

an auxiliary verb, which expresses iteration of the entire event or targets the beginning point of an event for an inceptive reading. The InnerAspect portion of an event, containing its endpoint, may also be the complement of a Voice head which fills in information about how an agent performed the action.

I mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation that Uyghur $-(i)p$ constructions do not meet the strictest cross-linguistic definitions of SVCs because a construction-specific morpheme $-(i)p$ appears between two verbs or verb phrases. The findings of this dissertation suggest that the need for an overt morpheme reflects the inflection patterns of the language rather than a necessarily different underlying structure between $-(i)p$ constructions and other SVCs. Rather than needing a specific parameter to explain why some languages allow verb serialization while others do not, perhaps serialization can be explained by looking at a language’s inflectional requirements and inflectional strategies. It may also be instructive to analyze a language’s multi-verb constructions in terms of the combinatory possibilities of events and subevents.

5.3 Outstanding Issues in Uyghur Multi-verb Constructions

This dissertation has undertaken a detailed investigation of the usages of the $-(i)p$ suffix as a verb linker. However, one usage of $-(i)p$ that has not been addressed here is its role in the formation of what appears to be the complementizer *dep*. This complementizer is formed, at least diachronically, by the combination of the verb *de* ‘to say’ and $-(i)p$. Unless a finite clause is embedded by the verb *de* itself as in (789), *dep* always appears between the embedded finite clause and the matrix verb embedding it (as in (790)).

- (789) Ahmet [profesor ketti] didi.
 Ahmet [profesor ket-di-0] de-di-0
 Ahmet [professor leave-PST-3] say-PST-3

“Ahmet said that the professor left.” (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014: 382)

- (790) U [sizni bazargha ketti] dep bilidu.
 U [siz-ni bazar-ga ket-di-0] dep bil-i-du
 3SG [2SG.FORM-ACC market-DAT leave-PST-3] COMP know-NPST-3
 (S)he/they knows that you left for the market.” (Major 2014: 19)

In this dissertation, I have ignored *dep* constructions under the assumption that they are embedded clauses headed by a grammaticalized complementizer rather than $-(i)p$ constructions (Shklovsky and Sudo 2014, Major 2014). However, Major (2018) argues in

more recent work that *dep* is still the verb ‘to say’ embedding a clausal complement in combination with *-(i)p*. The status of *-(i)p* in *dep* constructions is left as a topic of future work.

I also mentioned in section 4 of chapter 1 that there are two suffixes, *-ghach* and *-ghili*, that appear in the same general syntactic context as *-(i)p* (on non-final verbs followed by an inflected verb) but are associated with more specific meanings than *-(i)p*. A [V1-*ghach* V2] constructions expresses that an actor performed V2 while in the process of performing V1.

- (791) Mektepke barghach téléphone pulini töliwetsingiz
 Mektep-ga bar-ghach téléphone pul-i-ni töl-iwet-sa-(i)ngiz
 School-DAT go-GHACH phone money-3.POSS-ACC pay-COMPL-COND-2SG.FORM
 boptiken.
 bol-ptu-iken
 be-PST.NARR-EVID

“While you are going to school can you stop and pay the telephone bill? (lit.: It’d be good if you could pay the phone bill on your way to school.)” (5000 common words, ANKI file)

-ghach shows several characters of the Event rather than InnerAspect head identified in this chapter, the first being that it allows an additional verb selecting its own object to be predicated of the same subject as in (791). Like the Event head *-(i)p*, *-ghach* can attach to a passivized verb, but two verbs of a *-ghach* construction cannot be passivized by one passive morpheme.

- (792) Men doxturgha körüngesch bazargha bardim.
 Men doxtur-ga kör-in-ghach bazar-ga bar-di-m
 1SG doctor-DAT see-PASS-GHACH market-DAT go-PST-1SG

“I went to the market on my way to be seen by the doctor.”

- (793) *Téléfon puli mektepke barghach tölendi.
 Téléphone pul-i mektep-ga bar-ghach töl-in-di-0
 Phone money-3.POSS school-DAT go-GHACH pay-PASS-PST-3
 Intended: “The phone bill was paid on the way to school.”

Furthermore, *-ghach* can be followed by the high V2 *tur*, but not by low V2s like *qoy*.

- (794) Méni saqlighach turung!
 Men-ni saqla-ghach tur-ing
 1SG-ACC wait-GHACH stay-IMP.2SG.FAM
 “Keep waiting for me!”

- (795) *Kitab oqughach qoydum.
 Kitab oqu-ghach qoy-di-m
 Book read-GHACH put-PST-1SG
 Intended: “I read up a book.”

The *-ghili* suffix, which is used to express a purpose, also shows Event head behavior. Notice that the [Obj2 Obj1 V1 V2] pattern of (796) resembles that of event SVCs discussed in chapter 2.

- (796) Bazargha kiyim alghili bardim.
 Bazar-ga kiyim al-ghili bar-di-m
 Market-DAT clothes buy-GHILI go-PST-1SG
 “I went to the market to buy clothes.” (5000 common words, ANKI file)

Like *-ghach*, *-ghili* can also be followed by the high V2 *tur*, although this usage appears to be limited to certain dialects. Curiously, the combination of *-ghili* + *tur* expresses an inchoative meaning rather than iteration. *-ghili* cannot be used with low V2s like *qoy*.

- (797) Rena gül kāshtilighili turdi.
 Rena gül kāshtili-ghili tur-di-0
 Rena flower embroider-GHILI stand-PST-3
 “Rena began embroidering flowers.” (Aihemaiti 2013: 156)

- (798) *Rena gül kāshtilighili qoydi.
 Rena gül kāshtili-ghili qoy-di-0
 Rena flower embroider-GHILI put-PST-3
 Intended: “Rena embroidered up some flowers.”

The *-ghach* and *-ghili* suffixes thus show similar behavior to *-(i)p* when it fills the Event head. While additional study is needed to fully flesh out the properties of these other

suffixes, the facts presented here suggest that $-(i)p$ is not alone in its ability to realize the Event head. The fact that alternative suffixes are available gives further evidence that $-(i)p$ occupies a specific syntactic head rather than being a dissociated morpheme as in Embick and Noyer (2001) or Meral (2012). The lack of more specific content for $-(i)p$ compared with $-ghach$ or $-ghili$ suggests it may be a default Event head, inserted in the absence of a more specific feature bundle in a Distributed Morphology model (Halle and Marantz 1993).

This dissertation has focused on one family of constructions in one language. It is my hope that further research may reveal more cross-linguistic connections between multi-verb constructions and event structure.

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