A Restructuring Analysis of Uyghur Bleached V2 Constructions

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Introduction

The Turkic language Uyghur has a productive strategy of linking multiple verbal constituents within a sentence using the suffix *-(i)p*. This suffix appears in complementary distribution with finite inflection, and it is only the final verb (V2) in an *-(i)p* construction that must be inflected for tense and person. (1) shows the non-final verb (V1) *oyna* 'to play' marked by *-(i)p*, followed by the inflected V2 *qayt* 'to return.' I call this an *-(i)p* construction.[1]

(1) Ular meydan-da putbol oyna-(i)p yataq-ga qayt-di-0
    3PL field-LOC football play-(I)P dorm-DAT return-PST-3
    'They played soccer on the field and came back to the dorm.'

This paper discusses cases in which V2 is semantically bleached of its lexical meaning. For example, the V2 *tur* in (2) does not mean 'to stay', but instead means that the action of writing denoted by V1 *yaz* keeps happening.[2] I call this construction a 'bleached V2 construction'.

(2) Tursun öy-i-ga pat-pat xet yaz-(i)p tur-i-du
    Tursun home-3.POSS-DAT often letter write-(I)P stay-NPST-3
    'Tursun often writes letters home.' (Tuohuti 2012: 360)

Up to twenty-one Uyghur verbs have been proposed to be capable of undergoing such bleaching (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003). However, some bleached V2s are rarely used in modern Uyghur or are arguably better analyzed as having fully grammaticalized into suffixes. Table 1 lists the bleached V2s considered in this paper along with their lexical meanings and informal characterizations of their bleached functions.

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[1] All examples come from fieldwork unless otherwise cited.

[2] I will continue to gloss bleached V2s by their lexical meanings in the absence of a conventionalized notation for their bleached functions.

Table 1: Bleached V2s, their Lexical Meanings and Bleached Functions

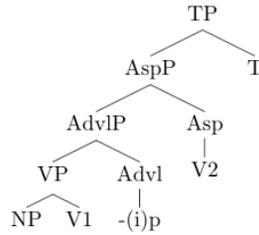| Bleached V2	Lexical Meaning	Bleached Function
baq	to raise	conative, to try
bol	to be, become	completion, content satisfaction (McKenzie et al 2018)
chiq	to ascend	thorough completion of action
kel	to come	iteration from past to present
ket	to leave	complete change of state, inchoative
qal	to remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative
qoy	to put	completion with salient result, careless performance
tashla	to throw	completion, sudden or accidental action
tur	to stay, stand, live	iteration, continuation

In this paper, I argue that the bleached V2s listed here actually occupy one of two different clausal positions: the *v* light verb head or the higher Aux(iliary) head. The *-(i)p* suffix that precedes V2 in turn realizes one of two different functional heads: InnerAsp(ect) within the verbal domain, or an Event head outside the verbal domain. I first review two previous analyses of bleached V2 constructions in section 1. In section 2, I give arguments for considering these constructions to be monoclausal. Section 3 discusses an asymmetry in passivization pattern among bleached V2s, and section 4 discusses correlations between passivization patterns and aspect and argument structure. Section 5 lays out the paper's main proposal, section 6 walks through a few predictions made by the proposal, and section 7 concludes.

1 Previous Analyses

Previous analyses of the bleached V2 construction in Uyghur essentially fall into two camps: the adverbial head approach (Tuohuti 2004, 2012, 2017, Muzaipai'er 2014, 2017) and the embedded clause approach (Bridges 2008). The adverbial head approach places the bleached V2 in an aspectual head that selects a so-called "adverbial phrase" (AdvlP) headed by *-(i)p* as its complement.[3] The AdvlP in turn selects the verb phrase as its complement. This structure is shown in tree 3.

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[3] Calling *-(i)p* an "adverbial" head here is a holdover from Tuohuti's (2004) analysis of *-(i)p* constructions in which both verbs retain their lexical status, such as example (1). Lexical V2 constructions have been analyzed by Tuohuti (2004, 2017), Muzaipai'er (2014, 2017) and Tash and Sugar (2018) as involving some form of adjunction. Calling *-(i)p* an "adverbial" head in bleached V2 constructions is essentially just a terminological issue.

(3)

```
                              TP
                          ┌───────┐
                        AspP      T
                     ┌────────┐
                   AdvlP      Asp
                 ┌──────┐      │
               VP      Advl    V2
              ┌──┐      │
            NP   V1   -(i)p
```

This structure places all bleached V2s in the same position. Although Tuohuti and Muzaipai'er do not discuss the presence of voice morphology in these constructions, the structure should predict a fixed ordering between voice and aspect heads. However, Bridges (2008) finds that *-(i)p* and bleached V2s show variable ordering vis-a-vis voice morphology. I turn to her analysis next.
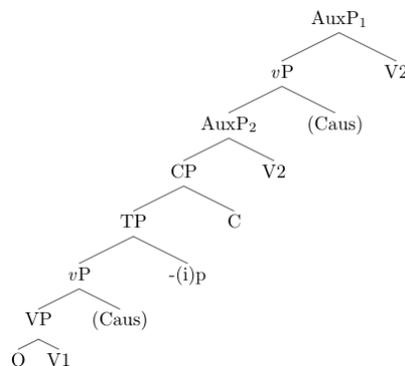
The embedded clause approach is based on two observations. The first is that *-(i)p* appears in complementary distribution with tense morphology, leading Bridges (2008) to speculate that *-(i)p* is a defective T head. The second observation is that causative morphology may appear on either V1 or V2 (depending on the V2 selected). (3) shows causative morphology attaching to V1 followed *-(i)p* and V2 *tur*, while (4) shows causative morphology attaching to V2 *bol*.

(4) Men-ga   tamaq-ni   ye-guz-(i)p   tur-di-0
     1SG-DAT   food-ACC   eat-CAUS-(I)P stay-PST-3
     '(S)he kept making me eat food.' (Bridges 2008: 66)

(5) Men-ga   tamaq-ni   ye-(i)p bol-guz-di-0
     1SG-DAT food-ACC   eat-(I)P   be-CAUS-PST-3
     '(S)he made me finish eating.' (Bridges 2008: 66)

Putting the above two observations together, Bridges posits two AuxP positions, one above and one below the matrix causative voice head, and suggests that *-(i)p* heads a defective TP selected by C.

(6)

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                                    AuxP₁
                                 ┌─────────┐
                                vP         V2
                            ┌────────┐
                          AuxP₂    (Caus)
                       ┌────────┐
                      CP        V2
                   ┌──────┐
                 TP        C
              ┌──────┐
             vP     -(i)p
          ┌──────┐
        VP   (Caus)
       ┌──┐
      O   V1
```

This structure predicts that bleached V2 constructions should show multiclausal behavior. In the following section, I argue that bleached V2 constructions actually show monoclausal behavior.

2 Monoclausality

One key difference between the adverbial head and embedded clause approaches is that the former assumes that both V1 and V2 occupy positions in the same clause, while the latter assumes that V2 selects a complement as large as a full clause (CP). I provide evidence in this section that the adverbial head approach is on the right track regarding monoclausality.

If -*(i)p* in a bleached V2 construction were some variety of tense head, we would expect that its complement could include the aspectual domain below tense. However, it is only possible for V2, not V1, to host aspectual morphology.

(7)   Xet   yaz(*-iwat)-(i)p   tur(-iwat)-i-men
       Letter   write(*-PROG)-(i)p stay(-PROG)-NPST-1SG
       'I'm continuing to write letters.'

Licensing of negative concord item (NCI) objects also provides evidence for the monoclausality of bleached V2 constructions. An NCI expresses negation in tandem with a sentential negation marker (Kuno 2007). Uyghur NCIs seem to be subject to the Clausemate Condition, which requires that an NCI be in the same clause as the negator that licenses it (Oyakawa 1975, Muraki 1978, Kato 1985). (8) shows that the NCI object in an embedded clause may be licensed by the embedded verb but not the matrix verb, suggesting that the Clausemate Condition applies in Uyghur as well.

(8)   a.   Abliz [héchneme   ye-ma-di-m]   de-di-0
           Abliz [nothing eat-NEG-PST-1SG]   say-PST-3
           'Abliz said he didn't eat anything.'

      b.   *Abliz [héchneme   ye-di-m]   de-ma-di-0
           Abliz   [nothing   eat-PST-1SG]   say-NEG-PST-3
           Intended: 'Abliz didn't say he ate anything.'

(9) shows that negation of either V1 or V2 licenses an NCI object, indicating that neither verb is in a separate clause from the object.[4,5]

(9)   a.   Ular héchneme ye-ma-(i)p   baq-di-0
           3PL nothing   eat-NEG-(I)P raise-PST-3
           'They tried not to eat anything.'

      b.   Ular héchneme ye-(i)p baq-ma-di-0
           3PL nothing   eat-(I)P raise-NEG-PST-3
           'They didn't eat anything.'

Finally, a multiclausal structure should include multiple Voice heads, meaning that each transitive verb should be separately passivized to yield a passive reading of the

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[4] The ability to negate either V1 or V2 could be taken as an argument against the construction's monoclausality. However, it has been proposed cross-linguistically that negation may merge in a number of different positions within a clause (Cinque 1999, Hagstrom 2000, Visonyanggoon 2000). There is not space to address this issue here, but it is taken up in forthcoming work.

[5] I follow Muzaipai'er (2014) in assuming that the surface pronunciation of -*may* as negation of V1 is underlyingly represented by the negative morpheme -*ma* followed by -*(i)p*.

whole construction. Indeed, when two transitive verbs in an *-(i)p* construction retain their lexical meaning, they may be separately passivized.

(10) 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.'

However, when V2 is bleached, then only one of the two verbs may be passivized. Transitive V1 is interpreted as passivized in (11) despite the passive suffix attaching only to the bleached V2.

(11) Roman yaz(*-il)-(i)p qoy-il-di-0
    Novel write(*-PASS)-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
    'A novel was written up.'

Due to the fact that both verbs must share aspect and voice markers and the fact that negation of either verb may license an NCI object, I consider bleached V2 constructions to be monoclausal. I therefore pursue a monoclausal analysis, but one that allows bleached V2s to occupy two different positions based on data discussed in the following section.

3 Passivization Data

Both Cinque (2003) and Fukuda (2012) note that verbs which select verbal complements show differential behavior amongst themselves with respect to passivization. The latter shows that some Japanese aspectual verbs are capable of the long passive, in which the passive morpheme follows V2, but cannot select a passivized complement. This is the case for *oe* `finish', which is followed by the passive marker -*rare* in (12).

(12) 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.' (Nishigauchi 1993:79 in Fukuda 2012)

Other Japanese aspectual verbs cannot be followed by a passive morpheme, but their complement can. This is the case for *owar* `end' in (13).

(13) Sono machi-ga koogekis-are-owar-ta
    that city-NOM attack-PASS-end-PST
    'That city was done being attacked.' (Matsumoto 1996:178 in Fukuda 2012)

Uyghur bleached V2s show strikingly similar behavior to what Fukuda calls Japanese aspectual verbs. Although bleached V2 constructions have in common that only one passive marker is allowed, they vary in the passive marker's location. Bleached V2s like *qoy* can undergo a long passive in which the passive suffix attaches to V2, but cannot select a passivized complement.

(14) a. Roman yaz-(i)p   qoy-il-di-0
    Novel   write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
    'A novel was written up.'

  b. *Roman   yaz-il-(i)p   qoy-di-0
     Novel   write-PASS-(I)P put-PST-3
     Intended: 'A novel was written up.'

Other bleached V2s like *tur* may select a passivized complement, but cannot undergo the long passive.

(15) a. Roman yaz-il-(i)p   tur-di-0
    Novel   write-PASS-(I)P   stay-PST-3
    'A novel kept being written.'

  b. *Roman   yaz-(i)p   tur-il-di-0
     Novel   write -(I)P   stay-PASS-PST-3
     Intended: 'A novel kept being written.'

Table 2 summarizes the bleached V2s under discussion in terms of whether they can be passivized themselves (long passives) or can select a passivized complement.

Table 2: Bleached V2s Divided According to Passivization Pattern

Passivization Pattern	Bleached V2	Bleached Function
Long passive	baq	conative, to try
Long passive	chiq	thorough completion of action
Long passive	qoy	completion with salient result, careless performance
Long passive	tashla	completion, sudden or accidental action
Passivized complement	kel	iteration from past to present
Passivized complement	ket	complete change of state, inchoative
Passivized complement	qal	unexpected change of state, inchoative
Passivized complement	tur	iteration, continuation
Long passive/passivized complement[6]	bol	completion, content satisfaction

4 Event and aspect correlation

In his discussion of Japanese aspectual verbs, Fukuda also notes the following generalizations about Japanese aspectual verbs: those that undergo the long passive select accomplishments as complements, while those whose complement may be passivized

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[6] McKenzie et al (2018) have argued on semantic grounds that there are two distinct variants of bleached V2 *bol*. It is possible that bleached *bol*'s variable semantic behavior correlates with its variable syntactic behavior, but that issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

select achievements. A similar set of generalizations seem to hold of Uyghur bleached V2s.

In the first place, bleached V2s that undergo the long passive, such as *qoy*, generally require agentive subjects.

(16) Tursun roman   yaz-(i)p   qoy-di-0
     Tursun novel   write-(I)P   put-PST-3
     'Tursun wrote up a novel.'

(17) *Qar   yagh-(i)p   qoy-di-0
     Snow   precipitate-(I)P   put-PST-3
     Intended: 'It snowed up.'

These bleached V2s also appear in accomplishment predicates, as indicated by the felicity of *in*-adverbials. The locative time adverbial (*bir hepte-da* 'in one week' in (18)) in Uyghur indicates that a process reaches an endpoint within the specified amount of time.

(18) 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 up the novel in one week.'

Bleached V2s capable of selecting a passivized complement like *tur*, on the other hand, allow both agentive and non-agentive subjects.

(19) Tursun roman   yaz-(i)p   tur-di-0
     Tursun novel   write-(I)P   stay-PST-3
     'Tursun kept writing novels.'

(20) Qar   yagh-(i)p   tur-di-0
     Snow   precipitate-(I)P   stay-PST-3
     'It kept snowing.'

Aspectually, there appear to be two classes of V2s that can select a passivized complement. V2s like *tur* express iteration of events and are incompatible with *in*-adverbials, indicating atelicity.

(21) *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 kept blinking their eyes for a minute.'

The second type of V2 that can select a passivized complement expresses inception of new events or states and is compatible with *in*-adverbials, like *qal* in (22). In this case, however, adding the adverbial yields an inceptive interpretation such that there is no process; instead, the action begins after the specified amount of time.

(22) 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 collapse the two types of V2s capable of selecting a passivized complement into a single class whose complement is optionally telic (telicity being reflected by compatibility with the *in*-adverbial). The generalizations connecting passivization strategy, subject agentivity and aspect are summarized in table 3.

Table 3: Agentivity and Aspectual Generalizations about Bleached V2s According to Passivization Pattern

Passivization pattern	Agentive	Telic
Long passive	+	+
Passivized complement	±	±

5 Proposal

The fixed appearance of bleached V2s vis-a-vis passive morphology leads me to follow Cinque (2003) and Fukuda (2012) in positing that bleached V2s may be merged in one of two different positions in the same clause: one position dominating Voice and one dominated by Voice.

Because low V2s generally require agentive subjects, I propose that they are *v* heads responsible for introducing the external argument. High V2s, on the other hand, show no preference for subject type; thus I propose that they are higher Auxiliary heads merged after an external argument is (optionally) selected by a silent *v* head.

Recall, however, that it is not only the bleached V2 which either appears before or after the passive marker in linear order: the *-(i)p* suffix immediately precedes the bleached V2 in every case.[7] A number of authors have proposed that a functional head exists between *v* and V for the purposes of object agreement, object movement and/or encoding situation aspect (Koopman and Sportiche 1991, Travis 1991, 2010, Koizumi 1995, Bowers 2002, Collins 2003, Baker and Collins 2006). I propose that the *-(i)p* preceding a low V2 is the overt realization of this functional head. Since predicates selected by low V2s generally show telic behavior, I suggest that this *-(i)p* is in fact the Inner Aspect head of Travis (1991, 2010).

I propose that when *-(i)p* precedes a high V2, it is the overt realization of the Event head proposed in Travis (2010) to delimit an event boundary. Besides Travis' work, a clause-medial functional head which serves to mark or bind an event in the sense of Higginbotham (1985) is described by Stewart (2013) and Zhang (2017). There is also a broad consensus that a site for object agreement can exist outside the verbal domain (Kornfilt 1984, 2003, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990, Mahajan 1990, Chomsky 1991, Johnson 1991, Runner 1993, Koopman 2005, Aygen 2007 and Kahnemuyipour 2009 among others). In Uyghur as well, only marked specific objects may precede low adverbs like the celerative adverbial *téz* `quickly'.

(23) Kino   cholpan-i   xet*(-ni)   téz   yaz-di-0
     Movie star-3.POSS   letter*(-ACC)   quickly write-PST-3
     'The movie star quickly wrote the letter.' (Asarina 2011: 35)

I suggest that the Event projection which can be overtly headed by *-(i)p* in Uyghur is also the site to which specific objects move in Uyghur. I consider this head an Event head

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[7] The only material which can intervene between *-(i)p* and a bleached V2 to my knowledge are focus particles like *-la* and *-mu*.

because high V2s in Uyghur either express iteration of an entire event or mark the inception of a new event or state.

The full clausal spine I am proposing, with two locations for *-(i)p* and the bleached V2, is shown in tree 24.

(24)

6 Predictions

Positing that *-(i)p* and bleached V2s can appear in two different positions within a clause makes predictions regarding the combinatory possibilities of bleached V2s, attachment of other voice morphology, and licensing of negative subjects. I discuss a few key predictions here.

6.1 Multiple bleached V2s

Since my analysis allows V2s and *-(i)p* to occupy two respective positions (*v*-InnerAsp and Aux-Event), it also predicts that two bleached V2s should be able to appear in the same sentence as long as they follow low V2-high V2 order. Examples (25-26) show that low V2s *baq* and *qoy* may precede high V2 *tur*, but neither may follow *tur*.

(25) a. Men téléwisor-ni   ongsha-(i)p   baq-(i)p   tur-di-m
      1SG TV-ACC   repair-(I)P   raise-(I)P   stay-PST-1SG
      'I kept trying to fix the TV.' (Bridges 2008: 73)

     b. *Men   téléwisor-ni ongsha-(i)p   tur-(i)p   baq-di-m
       1SG   TV-ACC   repair-(I)P stay-(I)P   raise-PST-1SG
       Intended: 'I tried to keep fixing the TV.' (Bridges 2008: 76)

(26) a. Men bu   roman-ni   oqu-(i)p   qoy-(i)p tur-iwat-i-men
      1SG DEM novel-ACC read-(I)P   put-(I)P stay-PROG-NPST-1SG
      'I am continuing to read up this novel.' (Tuohuti 2012: 355)

     b. *Men   bu   roman-ni oqu-(i)p tur-(i)p qoy-iwat-i-men
       1SG   DEM novel-ACC   read-(I)P stay-(I)P put-PROG-NPST-1SG
       Intended: 'I am continuing to read up this novel.'

The prediction made by my analysis that multiple bleached V2s are possible with fixed ordering thus appears to be borne out. The fixed nature of their word order also gives further confirmation that bleached V2s are functional heads, ruling out restructuring analyses based on selection by lexical heads a la Wurmbrand (2004, 2015).

6.2 Causative Voice

This paper used interaction with passive morphology to motivate an analysis in which bleached V2s appear either within or outside the domain of voice. However, section 1 alluded to findings that causative voice morphology may only follow certain V2s. Indeed, causative morphology may follow low but not high V2s. (27a) shows that low V2 *qoy* may be followed by causative morphology, while (27b) shows that high V2 *tur* may not be causativized, despite the intelligibility of its intended meaning.

(27) a. U   yighin zal-i-ni   teyyarla-(i)p qoy-dur-di-0
        3SG meeting hall-3.POSS-ACC prepare-(I)P a put-CAUS-PST-3
        '(S)he had (someone) prepare the meeting hall.'

   b. *U   yighin zal-i-ni   teyyarla-(i)p tur-guz-di-0
        3SG   meeting hall-3.POSS-ACC   prepare-(I)P stay-CAUS-PST-3
        Intended: '(S)he had (someone) keep preparing the meeting hall.'

Causative morphology, like passive morphology, may follow a low V2 but not a high V2, lending further support to an analysis which places one group of bleached V2s within and another outside the locus of Voice.[8]

6.3 NCI subject licensing

Recall from section 2 that both V1 and V2 may be negated, and that negation of either verb licenses an NCI object. NCI subject licensing shows an asymmetry depending on which verb is negated. Negation of both high V2s and low V2s licenses an NCI subject.

(28) a. Héchkim   xet yaz-(i)p   qoy-ma-di-0
        Nobody   letter write-(I)P   put-NEG-PST-3
        'Nobody bothered writing a letter.'

   b. Héchkim   xet   yaz-(i)p   tur-ma-di-0
        Nobody   letter   write-(I)P   stay-NEG-PST-3
        'Nobody kept writing letters.'

However, negation of V1 licenses an NCI subject only when V2 is a 'high V2'.

(29) a. *Héchkim   xet   yaz-ma-(i)p   qoy-di-0-ghu
   Nobody   letter   write-NEG-(I)P   put-PST-3-EMPH

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[8] Although only low V2s may be followed by causative morphology, both low V2s and high V2s may select a causativized V1. There are a number of options to explain this phenomenon: one is to argue that a causative head may select a root, bare verb or phase as in Pylkkänen (2008); another would be to argue that the Turkic causative morpheme is a *v* (Lyutikova and Tatevosov 2014), and that *v* heads may stack as in Harley (2008); yet another would be to argue that some Uyghur causatives are lexically formed (Tash and Zhang 2015). I do not go into the details of this issue here.

Intended: 'Nobody bothered writing a letter!'

  b. Héchkim   xet yaz-ma-(i)p   tur-di-0-ghu
     Nobody   letter write-NEG-(I)P stay-PST-3-EMPH
     'Nobody kept writing letters!'

This asymmetry can be explained by the structure proposed here. In the case of high V2s, we can assume that negation is merged somewhere between the subject's base position and the auxiliary, allowing the NCI subject to be licensed by c-command. Now suppose the low V2 is a *v* head and negation of V1 in (29a) must appear between V and *v*.

(30)
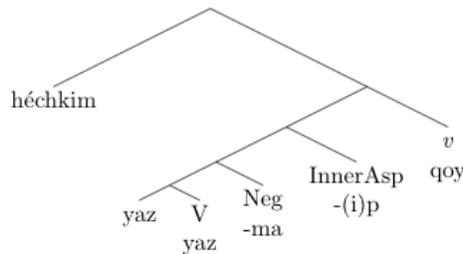
In such a configuration, the subject will never be licensed because it is not within V1 negation's c-command domain, resulting in the ungrammaticality seen in (29a).

This section has shown that analyzing bleached V2s as two types of functional heads makes correct predictions regarding the co-occurence of bleached V2s, appearance of causative morphology, and the licensing of negative subjects.

7 Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the Uyghur bleached V2 construction as filling out a monoclausal structure in which a semantic bleached verb and the *-(i)p* suffix each realize one of two respective functional heads: *v* and InnerAsp or Aux and Event. Predicates in the former case generally describe accomplishments (culminating processes with agentive subjects that are compatible with *in*-adverbials). The latter case does not show uniformity of aspect or subject agentivity, but the constructions express iteration of events or inception of new states or events. The analysis advanced here was made by generalizing over a small handful of semantically bleachable verbs, but each bleached V2 has idiosyncratic properties worthy of independent investigation. This paper also mentioned that causative morphology can appear on V1 and sometimes V2, and both V1 and V2 may be independently negated. These are significant topics left to future research.

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