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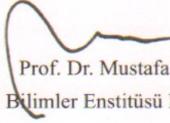
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ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın ana hedefi, diğer dünya dillerinde oldukça üretken bir şekilde kullanılan sıralı eylem yapılarını Türkçe için belirleyerek Türkçe'deki eşgüdüm (coordination) ve alt güdümleme (subordination) gibi yapılardan ayırt etmek ve anlambilimsel ve yapısal özelliklerini sergilemektir. Bu amaca ulaşmak için diğer dünya dillerindeki prototip ve prototip olmayan örnekler incelenmiştir. Ayrıca dil evrenceleri çerçevesinde şu ana kadar yapılmış olan çalışmalar incelenmiş ve diller arası örnekler karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu konuda şu ana kadar yapılmış olan sınırlı sayıdaki çalışmanın yeterli derecede açıklayıcı olmaması göz önünde bulundurularak, anlamsal ve yapısal çerçevede Türkçe için saptanan sıralı eylem yapılarının gösterdiği özellikler düşünülerek bu eylemlerin yapısal ve anlamsal ulamları oluşturulmuştur. Sıralı eylem yapısı olarak belirlenen yapıların gerek anlambilimsel gerekse yapısal özellikleri ortaya konularak Türkçe dilbilgisinin betimlenmesine katkıda bulunabilmek amaçlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın giriş bölümünde, araştırma soruları ve olası varsayımları, çalışmanın amaçları ve önemi, sınırlılıkları ve veri toplama yöntemleri belirtilmiştir.

İlk bölümde, öncelikle sıralı eylem yapılarına ilişkin tanımlama problemine yer verilmiş, yapının temel özellikleri ve Türkçe'deki benzer yapılar olan eşgüdüm (coordination) ve alt güdümleme (subordination) gibi yapılardan farkı tipolojik çerçevede tanıtılmıştır. Önemli yaklaşımlar ve sınıflandırmalar sunulmuştur.

İkinci bölümde Türkçe'deki hangi dilbiligisel yapıların sıralı eylem yapısı olduğu belirtilmiş ve Türkçe'nin örnekleri konunun dil tipolojisi boyutuna ilişkin olarak ilettikleri ortak anlam ve yapısal özellikler çerçevesinde sınıflandırılmıştır.

Son bölümde ise yapının tam resmini ortaya koymak amacıyla sıralı eylem yapısı olarak tanımlanabilecek yapıların oluşum kuralları, sergiledikleri dilbilgisel süreçler, eşgüdüm (coordination) ve alt güdümleme (subordination) gibi yapılardan farklılıkları ve temel eğilimleri belirlenmiştir.

Her ne kadar kapsayıcı bir çalışma amaçlanmış olsa da bu son derece ilgi çekici ve henüz açıklığa kavuşturulmamış konunun her yönüyle tek bir çalışmada ele alınması imkânsızdır. Sıralı eylem yapılarının özellikle anlambilimsel ve işlevsel motivasyonları, farklı türleri için dilbilgiselleşme eğilimleri, tek bir dilde yer alan birden fazla sıralı eylem yapıları ve bilişsel ve kavramsal bağdaşımları araştırmaya değer konulardır.

Key words: sıralı eylem yapısı, sözcükleşme, dilbilgiselleşme, asimetrik, simetrik

SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF TURKISH SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

ABSTRACT

This study aimed at providing a descriptive account of SVCs in Turkish in typological perspective from the point of the universal parameters outlined by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006). In the first chapter of our study, the section I.1 was allocated to introduce the definition of serial verb construction term with the problems and criteria regarding defining, the semantic relations between serializing verbs and differentiating SVCs from other serial-like constructions.

In section I.2, serial verb constructions were introduced in terms of typological profile. Following Aikhenvald (2006), the SVCs were evaluated on the basis of parameters such as composition, contiguity and wordhood of components and marking of grammatical categories. In terms of their composition, serial verb constructions can be analyzed in two broad classes as symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions. Symmetrical serial verb constructions are composed of two or more verbs each come from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. Asymmetrical serial verb constructions are composed of a verb from a grammatically or semantically closed (restricted) class. Corresponding to the contiguity of components it is possible for verbs within a serial verb construction to be next to each other, or a different constituent may come between them. Wordhood of components means that components of serial verb construction may or may not be composed of independent grammatical or phonological verbs. On the marking of grammatical categories what is observed is that the categories like person of the subject and object(s); tense, aspect, modality; negation; or valency

changing may be marked just once for the whole construction called as single marking; or can be marked on every component (known as concordant marking).

In this section, some formal and semantic features were also dealt such as single predication of SVCs, mono-clausality, prosodic features of SVCs, sharing single tense, aspect, modality, expressing one event, sharing core and peripheral arguments, in order to achieve a restrictive definition.

In section II.2, semantics of asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verb constructions and their subtypes –asymmetrical SVCs: direction and orientation, aspect, extent, and change of state, secondary concept serialization, complement-clause taking verbs, increasing valency and specifying arguments, reducing valency, comparatives and superlatives, event argument serial verb constructions; and symmetrical SVCs: sequences of actions, cause-effct, manner, synonymous SVCs- were presented. These subtitles were discussed in chapter II for Turkish serial verbs. When Turkish serial verbs were discussed under these labels, it was observed that only some of these categories were valid for Turkish. The serial verbs in Turkish could be grouped as direction and orientation SVCs which are constructed by motion verbs; aspect, extent, and change of state serialization which imply progressive and inchoative aspect; coordinate serial verb constructions expressing two simultaneous actions; secondary verb type serialization consisted of the minor verb '*git-*'; concomitant actions which have a temporal relation between each other; manner SVCs in which the first event describes the way the event occurs; resultative serial verb constructions where the first verb precedes the second verb as the natural outcome of the first verb; synonymous verb serialization which are formed mostly from reduplicated verbs. Certain expressions consisting of 'gel-'and 'git-' such as

geçip git- 'go by/pass over', *uçup git-* 'disappear', *akıp git-* 'keep going' were conceived as lexicalized.

The last section, section III, was devoted to formal analysis of Turkish SVCs. The contiguity of serial verbs, wordhood of the components of a serialization, marking of grammatical categories and argument sharing of these verbs, tense, aspect, and modality values of the verbs, negation of the construction, the grammaticalization and lexicalization processes of these serialized verbs, and lastly the order of the constituents were expressed.

Key words: serial verb construction, lexicalization, grammaticalization, asymmetrical, symmetrical

CONTENTS

ABBRIVIATIONS

3SG	third singular person
1SG	First person singular
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
ANT	anterior
AOR	aorist
ART	article
CAUS	causative
CG	common gender
CL	clasifier
COND	condition
COMPL	completive
COP	copular
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
ELEV	elevational
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
exc	exclusive

FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GM	generalizing modality
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INC	incomplitive
INDEP	independent
INDIC	indicative
INFER	infered
LEX. V.	lexical verb
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NFUT	non-future
NOM	nominative
O	transitive object
OBJ	object
PART	particle
PER/PF	perfect
PL/pl	plural
PLN	placename
POT	potential
POST V.	post verb

POSS   possesive

PRES   present

PRE. V.   preverb

PSN   personal name

PST   Past

REAL   realis

REC   recent

REDUP   reduplicaiton

REF   reflective

REM   remote

REP   reported

S   intransitive subject

SU   subject

TOP.NON.A/S topical non-subject

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INTRODUCTION

Most of the world languages are commonly observed to have property of combining more than one verb to refer a single event or process. More than one verb refers to a single action rather than a series of related actions clustering around one meaning. Turkish has also this property. These structures are defined linguistically as serial verb construction, serial verbs, verb serialization or just serialization. Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) have been come across in many languages, especially West African Languages, Southeast and East Asian languages and Creole languages (Wu, 2006). This structure has a couple of different definitions in linguistic perspective. Eaton (2003) asserts from Payne (1999) that "an SVC can be described as a 'mono-clausal structure in which two or more verbs are juxtaposed without connectives'." She adds that tense/aspect/mood marking tends to appear on the first verb only and all the verbs in the structure undertake the same tense, aspect and mood. In line with this definition, Durie (1997: 291 quoted by Wechsler: 2003) said that:

> a single serial verb complex describes what is conceptualized as a single event: this is repeatedly reported to be a clear intuition of native speakers, and can be demonstrated through semantic analysis. It follows that a serial verb complex can often be best translated into a nonserializing language using a single, mono-verbal clause.

According to the definition by Nishiyama (1998) more than one lexical verb tends to be seen in a simplex clause in patterns as in (1);

(1)   Femi ti   Akin   subu

                push   fall

        'Femi pushed Akin down.'   (Yoruba)

If needed to give examples from more world languages, the first example comes from Mandarin Chinese. Serial verbs commonly seen in Mandarin language are classified as

resultative and parallel verbs. As in the two examples below, in resultative constructions second verb is seen as a result of the first verb.

(2)   (a) Wǒ bǎ chá bēi dǎ pò le

     I tea cup hit- break- PST (aspect)

   'I broke the tea cup.'

   (b) tā bǎ mén lā kāi le

      3SG door pull- open- PST (aspect)

   'S/he opened the door (by pulling)'

         (Demirci: 2006 cites from Li, 1989: 54-70)

Parallel constructions revive from the actions which are expressed by a single verb at first and then started to be used as two different verbs in the progress of time. While the verb of "al-" is used to express by the monosyllable *mǎi* verb formerly, it is described by *"gòu-mǎi"* verbs in Modern Mandarin. Both of these verbs mean "to buy".

   (c) Wǒ de   gōngsī gòu- mǎi shāngpin

    I GEN company buy- buy- goods

   'My company buys goods.'

   (d) Wǒ de   gōngsī mǎi   shāngpin

    I GEN company   buy-   goods

   'My company buys goods.'

            (Demirci, 2006: 125)

Likewise, Kwa language is rich in serial verb constructions. While some of the examples include verbs both of which lose their core meanings and totally turn into idiomatic constructions (3b), in some of them two verbs form a new meaning without losing their central meanings (3a).

   (3) (a) Ï-de poáno noá baá

<div style="padding-left: 2em;">

3SG-take   table   DET.   come

'S/he is bringing the table.'

(b) Me-   gyeá   no   dä

1.SG-   take-   3.SG-load   eat-

'I believe in him/her.'

(c) Aémmaá   yñá   adwuáma   maá   Kofä

Amma   do-   work   give-   Kofi

'Amma works for Kofi.'
</div>

Mongolian has also serial verb constructions.

<div style="padding-left: 2em;">

(4)   (a) güicü   aroba

run-gerund   enter-PST.1SG

'S/he entered the room running.'

(b) biçicü   ögbe

write-gerund   give-PST. 1SG

'S/he notes for others.'

(Poppe 1974: 161-162).
</div>

It is seen that serial verb constructions occur in Tetun Dili language which is spoken in East Timor.

<div style="padding-left: 2em;">

(5)   (a) Ohin   hau   hakarak   fo   hatane   ba   imi

today   I   want-   give-   know-   DAT.   you.PL

kona   ba   ema   Timor   oan   nia   moris   loron-loron nian

touch-   DAT. people Timor   seed   POSS.   life   day-day   POSS.

'Today, I want to talk about the daily lives of East Timor people.'

(b) Nia   halai   sa'e   ba   foho

S/he   run-   rise-   DAT.   mountain
</div>

'S/he ran towards the mountain.'

Serial verb constructions taken as common grammatical structures in many languages such as East and Southeast Asian languages, West African languages, Oceanian languages, some Creole languages, and Central American languages prompt many scholars to study this subject. Eaton (2003) has studied serial verbs in Sandawe which is a Cohesian language spoken in central Tanzania. With her study named "Are there serial verb constructions in Sandawe?" she analyzes the functional and formal properties of multiple verb constructions in terms of prototypical features of serial verb constructions and introduces the similarities and differences of these two constructions. Agbedor (1994) examines SVCs in Ewe, a Kwa language of Ghana, following the principles of Government and Binding theory and he exhibits the problematic examples that do not fit this framework. And he posits an alternative model for SVCs.

Nishiyama (1998: 175-176) argues for an essential structural similarity between Japanese V-V compounds and serial verbs in Kwa languages. He aims to show in his study "Verb Serialization in Ewe" that V-V compounds and serial verb constructions share an underlying structure. In similar lines, Sebba (1987) and Baker (1989) examplify these constructions as follows:

Serial verb constructions;

(6) Femi ti   Akin subu

        push   fall

'Femi pushed Akin down.' (Yoruba)

Japapanese V-V compounds;

(7) (a) John-ga   Bill-o   osi-taosi-ta

           -NOM   -ACC   push-topple-PST

'John pushed Bill down.'

(b) John-ga   niwatori-o   naguri-korosi-ta

     -NOM   chicken-ACC   beat-kill-PST

'John beat and killed a chicken.'

Two examples above show that both of the constructions have only one subject, a unique tense value and there is not any covert coordination and subordination.

Although this topic attracts a considerable attention in many languages, the situation is not same for Turkish. There are not many studies on this topic. One of the studies on SVCs in Turkish belongs to Demirci (2006) in which he compares the V-V compounds in Japanese and their Turkish counterparts with respect to their structural and semantic properties. Another study comes from Aksan and Aksan (2005). They investigate the role of the serial verb constructions and compound verbs to the aspectual value of the sentence. Csato (2003) is also one of the scholars who are interested in serialized verbs in Turkish. She comments on the aspect of the -Ip+verb costructions which have developed from postural verbs such as '–E dur' and '-Ip dur' which have aspectual value, referring to the process of being grammaticalized as tense-aspect-modality (TAM) particles. In the grammaticalized postverb and a lexical verb combination, the grammaticalized postverb modifies the meaning of the lexical verb. Postverbs such as *git* 'go', *dur* 'stand/stop', and *kal* 'stand/stay' define the temporal properties of the event preceded by the lexical verb. The postverb *git-* in (8) conveys the meaning that the action is carried out to its endpoint. The contribution of postverb *dur-* is to specify durativity with habitual aspect meaning, whereas the postverb *kal-* describes a phase of an action. The grammaticalized verb is the first verb in the construction. The grammaticalized postverbal markers *A converb* and *Ip converb* gain the aspect marker property and they are placed before the postverb.

(8)   Unut-tu   git-ti.

     forget:PST   go:POST.V:PST

     '(S)he forgot it completely.'

(9)   Sabah-a   kadar   sancı-lar içinde kıvran-dı   dur-du.

morning:DAT   until   pain:PL   in   writhe.LEX.V:PST stand.POST.V:PST

'(S)he was writhing in pain until morning.'

(10)   ayak-lar-ı-nı   döşeme-ye   sür-üp   dur-uyor-du

foot:PL:3POSS:ACC   floor:DAT   rub.LEX.V:IP.CONV   stand.POST.V:YOR.PST

'(s)he was rubbing his feet on the floor.'

(11)   uyu-ya   kal-dığ-ı-nı   gör-d-üm

sleep.LEX.V   stay.POST.V:DIK.PART:3POSS:ACC   see:PST:1S

'I saw that (s)he fell asleep.'   (Csato, 2003: 106-107)

The converb *-Ip* sometimes functions as a preverb with a different type of syntax as follows:

(12)   Tut-up   çık-tı.

take-hold of.PRE.V:CONV   leave:LEX.V:PST

'(S)he left (with a sudden decision).'

The verb *tut-* in the construction signals that the action described by that verb was carried out unexpectedly, with a sudden decision, or not in an appropriate way (Csato, 2003: 107).

Purpose and significance of the study

The aim of our study is to determine the consecutive constructions in Turkish that can be defined as serial verb construction and present an analysis of the formal and semantic properties of these constructions within the framework of typological issues. We will search for common descriptive and explanatory generalizations about the serialization process as discussed by linguistic universals. Following cross-linguistic examples from different languages of the world, the study aims to present characteristics of semantic and formal manifestations of Turkish serial verb constructions on the basis of universal typology. In order to reach our aims, we will investigate existing cross-linguistic studies on this topic concentrating on determining these constructions and their

characteristics which differentiate them form other constructions. We will try to establish the universally observed peculiarities of serial verb constructions that correspond to Turkish serializing constructions.

To be able to contribute to the contemporary studies on Turkish grammar, we aim to accommodate the place and function of serial verb constructions in Turkish. In this sense, as not fully defined category of Turkish, serial verb constructions are considered to assist teaching of Turkish as native and second language.

Research questions

The semantic and formal properties of Turkish serial verb constructions are going to be investigated through the following questions:

1. What are the characteristic features of serial verb constructions?

2. What sorts of serial verb constructions can be observed in Turkish?

3. What are the formal properties of SVCs in Turkish?

4. Can the serial verb constructions in Turkish be accommodated in accordance with the shared meanings that expressed by the serial verbs in the construction?

5. How can the presence of serial verb constructions affect the use of overt coordination in Turkish?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are presupposed:

1. The first verb in serial verb constructions is considered the major verb. The second verb in the construction imparts the tense-aspect-mood specialities of the event denoted by the major verb. Taking the first verb in the construction

as major verb and the second verb denoting tense-aspect mood features signals that this subject is an interface between semantics and syntax.

2. The compound verbs, post-verb and pre-verb constructions, and gerunds in Turkish form serialization in Turkish.

3. Turkish serial verb constructions tend to be both contiguous and non-contiguos. Only the serialization forms which are constructed by those lexicalized (idiomatic) expressions should be contiguous. Contrary to these lexicalized serial expressions, coordinated sequential actions traditionally tend to be non-contiguous in that they may be intervened by the object complements. The components of serial verbs, in general, can be individually used as free forms; however, they behave like a single element when appear in a serialized construction. Compatible with the common tendency, subject sharing is a characteristic feature for Turkish serialized verbs.

4. It may be possible to accommodate the serial verb constrictions with respect to the meanings conveyed by the serial verbs in the construction.

5. It is presupposed that the existence of serialization confines the use of overt coordination.

Limitations

This study will include only verb-verb compounds. Compounds that is composed of a verb and a noun like "*yardım et-, kabul buyur-, arz eyle-*"will be omitted. In other words, compound verbs to be discussed in this study are the structures which are composed of two or more verbs. The compunds such as "*yığılıp kaldım, kaçıp geldim, alıverdim*" in Turkish will form the basic topic of the study. Except from these examples

noun-noun and noun-verb compounds will not be included in the study. Also, the serializing constructions involving the verb *ol-* is not in the scope of the study.

Data collection technique

The data for the serial verb constructions in Turkish is constituted of 289 sentences driven from TNC (Turkish National Corpus). Only the written corpus, composed of novels, could be able to be retrieved since the corpus was in the stage of foundation. Thus, different types of genres and spoken examples could not appear in the main scope of the data. In addition to this, Turkish dictioanaries, internet sources, realized and intuitional language use examples, electronic sources and native speaker judgements appear in the data.

The method of analysis

As it is mentioned before in this study formal and semantic analysis of Turkish serial verb constructions will be discussed depending on typological issues. In addition to language universals and language typology principals, Aikhenvald and Dixon's (2006) assertions and the basic framework will be followed. Firstly, it is determined which language uses or categories may be able to be considered as SVCs in Turkish. It is also vital to detect which structures are prominent or what the common properties can be thought for these constructions in Turkish.

This research is mostly dependent on the studies containing reliable linguistic data, rather than dwelling on a single formalistic approach. Putative serial verb constructions in Turkish will be underlined in the cross-linguistic examples which are reached at inductive generalizations and the presumptive serial verb constructions will be examined within its full grammatical context. We will present an overview of SVCs in

Turkish depending on cross-linguistically reified parameters in typological aspect, explaining generalizations regarding the types of SVCs and their expected behaviors. Data description and classification are going to be made upon comparing and contrasting the studies in different prototypical serializing languages. Turkish serial verb constructions are not to be expected to bear necessarily all of these properties but they may share some of these properties. Our study follows a scalar or continuum type approach to SVCs which can be more or less prototypical in both maximal and minimal levels. Our aim is to locate Turkish serial verb construction examples on this continuum scale.

Organization of the study

As the first step of our study, we will present the discussions regarding the criteria for determining the serial verb constructions and the controversies on the definition of this construction in the literature. In this chapter, we will also present the basic characteristics of serial verb constructions through the typological terms and contemporary studies on SVCs. We will introduce the classifications cross-linguistically proposed by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006).

Chapter II and III, in turn, concentrate on the determination of the semantic and formal considerations of SVCs by revealing their prominent characteristics that distinguish them from other structures which are very similar to SVCs such as coordination and subordination in Turkish. In this chapter, comparing Turkish SVCs with cross-linguistic counterparts, we will provide semantic and formal classifications of the serial verb constructions according to the semantic and formal commonalities they denote. In addition to semantic interpretation, the general formal realizations of these structures will be shown and the possible problematic structures will also be described.

Within this process, Aikhenvald and Dixon's (2006) typological assertions, classifications and parameters on SVCs will be used throughout the study. Presenting an overview of the classifications and parameters of Aikhenvald and Dixon, resembling structures in Turkish will be identified. Their functions will be argued in terms of semantic and formal aspects.

In the conclusion, we will display the full picture of the realization of serial verb constructions in Turkish and we will also reflect the degrees of productivity of SVCs and their functions. We will also make a point of the effect of SVCs on using other grammatical categories in Turkish.

CHAPTER I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

I. 1. Defining serial verb constructions

Despite the wide variaton in terminology it is still not clear what is meant by the expression serial verb. Most writers accept that there is a lack of consistency between definitions of serial verbs. Lord says that "defining a serial verb construction is a sticky business" (Lord, 1993:1 cited by Crowley, 2002: 10). Especially comparing serial verbs cross-linguistically is more problematic since there are languages such as Chinese as Sebba (1987: 1) expresses defining even verbs is problematic. Researchers who discribe closely related languages in West Africa have treated locative verbs, post-verbs, postverbal prepositions, locative copulas and co-verbs as serial constructions since they exhibit similar kinds of serial verb-like behavior (Lord, 1993: 11-20 cited by Crowley, 2002: 10). Crowley (2002: 10 cites from Sebba 1987: 1) points out those writers interested in serial verbs take any verb-verb sequences as serial verbs so long as the second verb is not overtly marked as an infinitive. On the other hand, some researchers use the term serial verb to refer to constructions denoting sequential events that are expressed by two linked unmarked verbs.

Although these statements are true for defining serial verb constructions, what is needed is a more explicit set of principles regarding what sort of verb-verb sequences should be treated as serial verbs. In this respect Crowley presents Sebba's (1987: 39 cited in Crowley, 2002: 12) more explicit set of criteria in the recognition of serial verbs on his Saranan data:

- Both verbs must be lexical verbs in that they must both be able to function independently within a clause as verbs in their own right.
- Both constituent verbs within the serial construction – if there is any possibility of the two being conceived as expressing independent events – must be interpreted as having the same categories of tense-aspect-mood.

- There must be no marking of a clause boundary between the two verbs.
- There should be no conjunction appearing between the two verbs. (2002: 12)

In line with these criteria, Crowley (2002: 12) continues that in contrast to non-serializing languages such as English, where the separate verbs are normally considered to present a multi-clause construction with either subordination or coordination, in a serializing language a single clause should be denoted by two or more verbs. The closest construction to be taken as SVC in English as follows:

  (13) Go get the book.

     I'll go get the book.

There is not a strong evidence to take this construction as SVC since the same meaning could be expressed by means of a subordinator or coordinator:

  (14) Go and get the book.

     Go to get the book.

Another construction should not be treated as SVC comes from Afrikaans:

  (15) Evelyn leer praat.

     'Evelyn learns to speak.'

Even though this sentence includes verb-verb sequence, it is the first verb which is inflected, while the second verb in the construction occurs in a morphologically unmarked infinitive form. Rather than forming SVC, this sequence should be easily taken as subordination.

 Crowley (2002: 12) argues that another criterion for verb serialization to be put forth suggests that the activities denoted by each of the verbs are taken as tightly linked semantically, rather than being completely separate events. He proves that the independently inflected verbs in Paamese can be linked to create the serial verb construction below:

(16)   loloh   loda:sil   loloh   ras:sil

        lo-loho   lo-daasili   lo-loho   raasili

1PL.INC:REAL-run   1PL.INC:REAL-disperse   1PL.INC:REAL-run   disperse

    'We ran.'   'We dispersed.'   'We ran in all directions.'

The act of 'running' and 'going in all directions' inherently related to each other in that they are both subcomponents of a single overall event rather than being totally separate events. On the other hand, the verbs in the first two examples are inflected separately, in the serial verb construction there is only a single inflectional prefix for subject over the whole construction.

There is a discrete negative marker in Pamese, one of the forms is 'ro-' which is prefixed to the beginning of a verb and the other is '-tei' which is attached to the second of the two verbs:

(17)   lorolohtei   loroda:siltei

        lo-ro-loho-tei   lo-ro-daasili-tei

1PL.INC:REAL-NEG1-RUN-NEG2   1PLINC:REAL-NEG1-disperse-NEG2

    'We did not run.'   'We did not disperse.'

In the case of serial verbs, the prefixed negative marker is marked on the first of the serialized verbs, while the suffix is marked on the second of the two verbs.

Along similar lines, the suffixed nominalizer '-en' is marked only on the final component of a serial verb:

(18)   lohoen   ta:silien

        loho-ene   taasili-ene

run-NOM	disperse-NOM
'running'	'dispersal'

In serialization:

loh	ra:silien
loho	raa:sili-ene
run	disperse-NOM

'running in all directions'

In a serializing language, we would expect that there will be a wide variety of semantic relationships between the sub-events that are denoted by means of verb-verb sequences. For instance, it is possible to say in Paamese :

(19)	nimatil	vul	a:i
	ni-matilu	vuli	aai
	1SG:DIST.FUT-sleep	break	plank

'I will sleep on the plank, thereby breaking it.'

The SVCs with the sub-labels which represent general semantic meanings denoted by the verbs in the sequence can be given. For example, serial verb construction may express grammatical meanings introducing an argument, a "beneficiary" me.

Baule (Kwa, Niger-Congo: Aikhenvald cites from Creissels 2000: 240)

(20)	ɔ̀-à-fà	í	swǎ	n	à-klè	mĩ
	he-ANT-take	his	house	DEF	ANT-show	me

'He has shown me his house' (take-show)

Serial verb constructions sometimes just form lexical idioms as in (21).

Igbo (Igboid, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo: Aikhenvald cites from Lord 1975: 27)

(21)	ɔ̀	tìwàrà	étéré	à

| | he | hit-split.open-TENSE | plate | the |

'He shattered the plate'

One verb in an SVC describes the effect of the other as in the following example:

Taba (Austronesian: Bowden (2001: 297) is quoted by Aikhenvald, 2006)

(22)	n=babas	welik	n=mot	do
	3sg=bite	pig	3sg=die	REAL

'It bit the pig dead'

Serial verb construction introduces sequences of actions as in (23) and (24):

Alamblak (Papuan area: Bruce 1988: 27 is quoted by Aikhenvald, 2006)

(23) wa-yarim-akhɨta-n-m-ko

IMP-ELEV-get-put-2sg-3pl-ELEV

'Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up there'

Dâw (Makú, Northwest Amazonia, Aikhenvald, 2006)

(24)	yõ:h	bə:-hãm-yɔw
	medicine	spill-go-happen.staright.away

'The medicin spilt straight away.'

Horn (2001: 4-5) is one of the writers who thinks that serial verb construction term is an ill-defined and often misinterpreted phenomenon despite its long-running grammatical analysis and considerable attention it has gotten. He lists four factors with respect to the failure of the development of an adequate theory of verb serialization. The first and biggest problem, according to Horn, is the lack of any systematic restrictive notion related to the SVC phenomena and the absence of the parameter that allows some languages to have this kind of construction and not others. Second problem is that it has been considered that there is very little morphological inflection in many of the

languages in which SVC phenomena occur. This causes many analyses of so-called SVCs fail to systematically present obvious language-internal evidence for verbal status. One cannot be sure that if the verbal sequence labeled SVCs actually does not have any marker of coordination or subordination. Third, the immediate consequence of deprivation of overt morphology in serializing languages is difficulties in differentiating SVCs from constructions involving clausal embedding, like control constructions and causatives. The absence of overt markers of coordination and subordination between the verbs arise the question of which one is underlyingly SVC. Fourth, there is a recent tendency which ignores the descripitive definition of SVCs including two or more verbs without any marker of coordination and subordination. Thus, as a consequence of down-playing the significance of certain particles conveying clear conjunctive meanings in analyzing SVCs cross-linguistically, overt conjunctions, covert coordinations and sentences including particles indicating clausal embedding are taken as SVCs and this makes it more difficult to provide an overall restrictive definition of SVC term.

Apart from defining these constructions distinguishing them from other close forms is another challenging topic. In distinguishing serial verb constructions from other serial-like constructions, Stewart points out "serial verb constructions may be provisionally defined as a single clause in which two or more finite verbs occur without any marker of coordination or subordination, sharing a single structural (and semantic) subject and a single object" (2001: 12) He also sets various sequences of surface verbs in search of these constructions such as NP V NP V and NP V V NP. This complex verbal construction should refer to a single clause in a serializing language in contrast to both subordinate and coordinate multi-clause constructions. Likewise, Crowley (2002: 17-18) believes that SVCs can be differentiated from subordination and coordination as long as there is no overt sentence-level connectives between the various verbal components in

case of serial verb constructions. In case of any evidence of subordinators or coordinators, even if as an optional version, it should be concluded that there is a complex sentence rather than a single clause. It has also been observed that serialized verbs should constitute a single intonational unit, contrary to subordinate and coordinate clauses. Clarifying this point Aikhenvald (2006) gives an example from Alamblak as follows:

Alamblak (Papuan area: Bruce 1988: 27)

> (25)   wa-yarim-akhɨta-n-m-ko
>
>   IMP-ELEV-get-put-2sg-3pl-ELEV
>
> 'Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up there'

Serial verb constructions introducing sequences of actions involve a zero coordinator or a zero subordinator. Crowley (2002) asserts that nonserializing languages such as English in which the occurences of seperate verbs is mostly thought to imply a multi-clause construction involving either subordination or coordination, but in a serializing language a single clause may involve two or more verbs. Likewise, similar verb-verb sequences in Turkish should not be treated as serial verbs because the same meaning can be expressed through a coordinator or subbordinator appearing between two clauses.

As we mentioned before, the method of our study will be dependent on language universals and typology in addition to notions by Aikhenvald (2006). In the following sub-sections, Aikhenvald's notions and classifications will be stated in details.

I.2. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective

Aikhenvald defines serial verb constructions as "a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination,

subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort" (2006: 1). Aikhenvald proposes an overview of serial verb constructions based on crosslinguistically attested parameters of variation, formulations of generalizations regarding the types of SVCs and their expected behaviour in order to provide a unified framework for the analysis and interpretation of this structure. Some general remarks about SVCs follow that serial verb constructions refer to what is conceptualised as a single event. These structures are monoclausal; their intonational properties (their prosodic features) are same as those of monoverbal clauses, and they share just one tense, aspect and polarity value. They may also have core and other arguments in common. It is necessary for each component of an SVC to be able to occur on its own. Within an SVC, the individual verbs may take the same or different transitivity values. Serial verb constructions widespreadly occur in Creole languages, in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea (Aikhenvald, 2006: 1).

Aikhenvald presents an overview of the properties related to serial verb constructions covering their structural and semantic properties. With respect to structural characteristics he attests that SVCs can convey grammatical meanings as in (26) where an SVC presents an argument: a "beneficiary" *me*. One verb in a serial verb construction may define the effect of the other as in (28). SVCs may describes the sequences of actions, as in (29) – (31); or just constitute lexical idioms, as in (27). They may be composed of two or more than two verbs as in (29) and (31).

Baule (Kwa, Niger – Congo: Creissels 2000: 240 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

> (26)   ɔ̌-à-f à   í   swǎ   n   à -klè   mĩ
>
>   he-ANT-take   his   house   DEF   ANT-show   me
>
>   'He has shown me his house' (take-show)

Igbo (Igboid, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo: Lord 1975: 27 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(27) ó tí -wà -rà étéré à

 he hit-split.open-TENSE plate the

 'He shattered the plate'

Taba (Austronesian: Bowden 2001: 297 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(28) n=babas welik n=mot do

 3sg=bite pig 3sg=die REAL

 'It bit the pig dead'

Alamblak (Papuan area: Bruce 1988: 27 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(29) wa-yarim-ak-hɨta-n-m-ko

 IMP-ELEV-get-put-2sg-3pl-ELEV

 'Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up there'

Dâw (Makú, Northwest Amazonia, Aikhenvald, 2006)

(30) yõ:h bə:-hãm-yɔw

 medicine spill-go-happen.staright.away

 'The medicine spilt straight away.'

Tariana (Arawak, Northwest Amazonia cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(31) phia-nihka [phita pi-thaketa] pi-eme

 you-REC.PAST.INFER 2sg+take 2sg-cross+caus 2sg-stand+caus

 ha-ne-na hyapa-na-nuku

 DEM-DISTAL-CL:VERTICAL hill-CL:VERTICAL-TOP.NON.A/S

 ha-ne-riku- ma-se

 DEM-DISTAL-CL:LOC-CL:PAIR-LOC

 'Was it you who brought that mountain across (lit. take-cross-put.upright) (the river) to the other side?' (asked the king)

As Aikhenvald puts it serial verb constructions have a variety of forms. They may include several phonological and grammatical words, as in examples (26), (28), and (31); or construct one word, as in (27); or other constituents may interrupt them, as in (26) and (28). All components of a serial verb construction may take the same subject as in (26 – 27), and (29 – 31) or they may introduce another argument in common: in (28) the object of the first component ('bite') is the same as the subject of the second one ('die').

According to Aikhenvald (2006), SVCs in a language are expected to have most of these properties. She follows a scalar or continum type prototype approach which SVCs can take either more or less proporties of prototype. She proposes a classification based on the following parameters: composition, contiguity, wordhood of components and marking of grammatical categories. In line with composition, symmetrical serial verb constructions involve two or more verbs each choosen from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. On the other hand, asymmetrical serial verb constructions consist of a verb from a garmmatically or semantically restricted class. Contiguity refers to the order of verbs in a serial verb construction. Verbs which form a serial verb construction may have to stand next to each other, or they may be interruptable by other constituents. In accrodance with the wordhood of components, components of the structure may or may not introduce independent grammatical or phonological words. As to marking of grammatical categories, verbal categories such as person of the subject and object(s); tense, aspect, modality, negation, or valency changing may be marked just one per construction which is called single marking; or can be marked on every component called as concordant marking.

Aikhenvald (2006) mentions the principles of iconic motivation which explain the semantic and functional differences between several kinds of SVCs within a

language. In accordance with these principles, if the components of SVCs are more contiguous in their surface realiazations, they are more bound together; the whole construction becomes closer to the prototypical SVC.

Identifying serial verb constructions is determined considering a combination of formal and semantic properties as follows:

I.2.1. Serial verb construction as a single predicate

An SVC functions as the monoverbal clauses do in discourse and stands for the one core functional slot in a clause. Verbs which form a serial verb construction behave jointly as a single syntactic whole. SVCs are often translated as a single predicate into non-serializing languages. SVCs cannot have seperate markers of syntactic dependency. They take just one predicate for construction. For example, if an SVC is the predicate of the relative clause, it introduces one relativizer per construction.

Kambera (Klamer 1998: 323 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(32) na   pulung   jia-ya   na   [pa-laku   ngàndi-na]

ART   word   EXIST-3sg   ARTICLE   RELATIVIZED.OBJ-go   take-3sgGENITIVE

'The gospel is what he brought' (lit. went and took (along))

The relative clause marker functions once per construction. The nominalizing suffix is attached to the last verb in an SVC, but the whole construction is within its scope. If an SVC functions as the predicate of a subordinate or embedded clause, its components can be embedded dependently. In short, serial verb constructions are affixed as if they were just one word.

Serial verb constructions differ from complex predicates and other multi-verb constructions in that none of their components can qualify as independent phonological or grammatical word and cannot stand on their own, specifically if one of them is a

dependent or nominalized form. And consequently, perfect or continuous in English which are regarded as complex forms and similarly converb constructions in Khwe are not serial verb constructions.

Aikhenvald (2006) supposes that the mono-predicative reading of serial verb constructions is justified by native speakers' intuitions. An SVC is best translated via a mono-verbal clause into a non-serializing language.

I. 2.2. Monoclausality of SVCs

In some serializing languages, SVCs form one grammatical word, so are appearently monoclausal. The monoclausal property of SVCs is a criteria seperating this strcture from coordination, juxtaposition, complement clause, subordinate clause, and other multiclausal structures. An existing overt linker -indicated by a conjunction as in Nupe or by a change in tone as in Igbo- makes a distinction between consecutive constructions and serial verb constructions in African Languages. (Aikhenvald cites from Watters 2000: 219-20). Coordinate structures involving the same elements as in SVCs can produce different meanings from SVCs. Paraphrasing an SVC with two clauses may produce an ungrammatical or a semantically odd sentence. Even if an SVC can be paraphrased with two clauses, it is inevitable to observe some semantic difference. The SVC in (28), from Taba, denotes one event: the death of a pig comes 'as a direct and immediate consequence of the pig's being bitten'. The same verbs appear in (33) but this time as coordinated predicates. In (33), a considerable time elapse between the biting event and the pig's eventual death by bleeding may be observed. The death of the pig could have appeared as an indirect consequence of having been bitten. This contrasts with the example (28).

Taba (Bowden 2001: 297-8 cited in Aikhenvald)

(33) n=<u>babas</u>   welik   n=<u>ha-mot</u>   i

    <u>3sg</u>=<u>bite</u>   pig   <u>3sg</u>=<u><small>CAUS</small>-die</u> 3sg

  'It bit the pig and killed it.'

Finally, in some serializing languages, SVCs form one grammatical word; and thus obviously considered as monoclausal.

I.2.3. Prosodic properties of serial verb constructions

A seial verb construction depicts the properties of a monoverbal clause in contrast to a sequence of clauses. In many languages clause boundaries are manifested by an intonation break; it cannot be considered that such intonation break and pause markers can appear between the components of an SVC.

I.2.4. Shared tense/ aspect /mood/ modality and polarity value

Taking shared tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values infer that independent choice or contrast in any of these catgories is not allowed to have for individual components of an SVC. This property differentiates them from all multiclausal structures.

A language may label tense, aspect, mood, or evidentiality on every verb. In Lango, both components of must have the same marking for all verbal categories such as habitual as in the example (34).

Lango (Noonan, 1992: 211–12 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(34) àcwɛ̀   à lɔ̂   rwɔ̀t

    1sg+fat+<small>HAB</small>   1sg+exceed+<small>HAB</small>   king

    'I am fatter than the king' (lit. I-fat I-exceed king)

On the contrary, aspectual and modal categories are signed one per SVC in Khwe as in (35).

(35) n|ĭí   gɛ̀ɛ-khòè-hɛ̀   yà ||'o´-à-tè

DEM female-person-3sg.f   come   die-I-pres

'This woman is about to die'

As already mentioned before, there can only appear one negator per SVC. It can either stand for the whole construction or part of the construction. On the contrary, a coordinate structure which has the same verbs with SVC can have a negative and a positive verb.

Lango (Noonan, 1992: 211 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006: 8)

(36) pé   àcwɛ̀   àlɔ̂   rwòt

NEG   1sg+fat+HAB   1sg+exceed+HAB   king

'I am not fatter than the king' (lit. I-fat I-exceed king)

In sum, according to Aikhenvald, shared tense, aspect, modality, polarity values are some of the criterias which differentiate SVCs from other double verb constructions.

I.2.5. Serial verb construction as 'one event'

Aikhenvald (2006: 10) follows Lord's (1974: 196-7) words, "the verbs in the construction all refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event". In addition, in an SVC "the action or state denoted by the second verb phrase is, in terms of the real world, an outgrowth of the action denoted by the action of the first verb phrase; the second verb phrase represents a further development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the first verb". In this respect –Aikhenvald (2006) cites similar

notions from Noonan (1985: 77; 1992: 211) that SVCs contain "just one assertion"– in contrast to coordinate and subordinate clauses. Similarly, the SVC in (28), from Taba, expresses a simple event denoted by aclausal chain, but the coordinate structure at (33) is the case of a sequence of actions where there may be semantically connected evets or not, depending on the context. At this point it is worth to define the notion of single event since the exact boundary between a single event and a macro event involving several subevents is obscure. A useful definition is provided by Schultze-Berndt (2000:36, cited in Aikhenvald 2006:10): a single event refers to "conceptual representation, as linguistically encoded, which can be assigned boundaries, and/or a 'location' in time". Aikhenvald (2006) maintains that SVCs "must relate only events which are somehow conceived as notably more commonly associated together in experience or those events which form a culturally important concatenation of events. These events are conceived of as a single unitary event." The example from Alamblak at (37) is an acceptable SVC which contains a conventionalized sequence of subevents:

Alamblak (Bruce 1988: 29 cited in Aikhenvald 2006:11)

(37) mɨyt   ritm   muh-hambray-an-m

      tree   insects   climb-search:for-1sg3pl

   'I climbed the tree searching for insects.'

   Contrarily, (38) is not acceptable in Alamblak since it is unusal for the two events to appear together and there is no clear reason for their close association since stars are observable from the ground (Bruce 1988: 29 in Aikhenvald 2006: 11).

Alamblak

(38) * mɨyt   guñm   muh-hëti-an-m

        tree   stars   climb-see1sg-3pl

      ?*'I climbed the tree seeing the stars.'

To sum up, semantically SVCs may impart one event, or several subevents closely related together, or even several subevents in sequence which are conceptualized as linked together (Aikhenvald 2006: 12).

I.2.6. Sharing arguments in serial verb constructions

Prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one argument even though SVCs with no shared arguments also occur rarely, but not non-existent. All the core and peripheral arguments in an SVC may have scope over the whole construction since they have an overall argument structure. In the example (37) from Alamblak the arguments "tree, insects, and stars" belong to the whole construction. The individual componets can be used as predicates on their own and they can have their own direct or indirect objects. On the other hand, serial verb constructions traditionally do not allow duplicate roles, that is, two different agents, two direct objects, or two instruments. All serializing languages tend to have same subjects. Sometimes different underlying subjects are embedded into the surface structure. Thus we can say that subject sharing is a feature of prototypical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 14).

II. Composition and semantics of SVCs

As it is known, an SVC composed of more then one verb although the SVC is conceived of as denoting a single action. Durie (1997: 291 cited in Wechsler: 2003) put this case in this way:

> a single serial verb complex descirbes what is conceptualized as a single event: this is repeatedly reported to be a clear intuition of native speakers, and can be demonstrated through semantic analysis. It follows that a serial verb complex can often be best translated into a non-serializing language using a single, mono-verbal clause.

In this subsection, the compositionality of SVCs which is categorized as asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verbs by Aikhenvald (2006) will be described. In addition to their compositional structure, the semantic relation between the events denoted by the constituent verbs in the serialization will be expressed.

II.1. Asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verb constructions

According to their composition, serial verb constructions are divided into two broad classes as asymmetrical and symmetrical. The asymmetrical serial constructions may be composed of one verb from a comparatively large, open or unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted class. Asymmetrical serial verb constructions designate a single event expressed by the verb from a non-restricted class. The verb form closed class (restricted class) produces a modificational specification which means in general it is a motion or posture verb communicating direction, or indicating a tense-aspect meaning to the whole construction. An example for directional or deictic, asymmetrical SVC comes from Cantonese:

(39)   Lei^5 lo^2 di^1 saam^1 lai^4

          you   take   PL   clothing   come

          'Bring some clothes'

The motion verb 'come', second verb of the structure contributes directional specification to the SVC that is 'take come' means 'bring'.

Durie (1997) is cited as having defined the terms a 'major' verb stands for a verb from an open class, the 'minor' verb is the verb from a grammatically restricted class.

Aikhenvald (2006:22) states in Durie's (1997: 331-5) words, unlike asymmetrical SVCs, symmetrical SVCs are chosen from unrestricted class. Different

from asymmetrical SVCs, the order of components tends to be iconic, demonstrating the temporal sequence of subevents.

Instead of being headed as in the way asymmetrical constructions are, all components of symmetrical constructions have equal status in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the whole construction. Symmetrical serial constructions frequently tend to get lexicalized and gain idiom-like property.

II.2. Semantics of asymmetrical serial verb constructions

Asymmetrical serial verb constructions which imply a wide variety of meanings form a range of semantic groups as discussed in the following lines.

II.2.1. Direction and orientation

In this kind of serial verb construction the minor verb is generally chosen from the verbs of motion or movement with orientational semantics. The minor verb also may indicate the location of the event. In example (31) above, from Tariana, the first part of the SVC is composed of the major verb 'take' and the minor verb implying direction 'make cross'. The menaing of the construction as a whole is 'take across' (Aikhenvald 2006: 22).

II.2.2. Aspect, extent, and change of state

Asymmetrical serial verb constructions indicate aspectual meanings. Motion or posture verbs carry progressive, continuative, or habitual meanings.

In Khwe, the verb 'become' as a component of SVC imparts change of state. Completion verbs impart completive aspect, as does *kaba* 'finish' in Kristang below.

Kristang (Baxter, 1988: 213 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(40)	kora	yo	ja	chega´	nalı´	eli	ja	<u>kaba</u>	bai
	when	1sg	PER	arrive	there	3sg	PER	<u>finish</u>	go

'When I arrived there he had gone.'

II.2.3. Secondary concept serialization

Dixon (1991: 88 quoted in Aikhenvald: 2006) mentions a class of 'secondary concepts' which can occur as affixes in some languages, as separate lexemes in some, and as SVCs in others. These concepts contribute 'semantic modification' of some other verbs which they are in a syntactic or a morphological construction. They involve obligation, probability, pretend-type, beginning type (including 'begin', 'continue', 'finish'), trying-type ('try', 'attempt'), and negators. Asymmetrical serial verb construction may include verbs describing such secondary concepts in the minor slot, as in Tariana in which the major verb precedes the minor verb. In Kristang, the verbs acha 'receive' and toka 'touch' impart obligation as minor verbs in SVCs.

Kristang (Aikhenvald, 2006: 23 quotes from Baxter, 1988: 213)

(41)	eli	ja	<u>acha</u>	bai	Singapore
	he	PER	<u>receive</u>	go	Singapore

'He has to go to Singapore'

Aikhenvald (2006: 24) states that "what secondary verbs have in common is their semantic dependency: they cannot occur on their own without an additional verb for which they provide semantic modification".

II.2.4. Serialization of complement-clause-taking verbs

Serialization of verbs of speech is considered as a subtype of verb serialization as a complementation strategy. In Ambae a verb of speech must produce an SVC with *vo* 'say' to introduce a direct speech complement, as in (42).

Ambae (Aikhenvald, 2006 cites from Hyslop, 2001: 299)

(42)   no-mo   maraga   no-mo   veve   lawe-a   no-vo   'Mese!'

              1sgs-real   get.up   1sgs-real   tell   dat-3sgo   1sgs-say   Don't

              'Then I got up and said to him, Don't!'

II.2.5. Increasing valency and specifiying arguments

Serial verb constructions may be used as valency increasing mechanisms, as a means of marking causatives, benefactives, instrumentals, and comitatives or sociatives. At the same time they may be used for specifiying arguments introducing direct objects and various other arguments.

In valency increasing SVCs, the verb 'give' produce causative constructions as in (43) from Tetun Dili:

Tetun Dili

(43)   labele   <u>fó</u>   <u>sai</u>   lia   ne'e!

              NEG.can   <u>give</u>   <u>exit</u>   voice   this

              'You can't reveal this matter!'

Benefactive SVCs add beneficiary and recipient roles as in (44) from Saramaccan:

Saramaccan (Byrne, 1990: 152 quoted in Aikhenvald, 2006: 26)

(44)   Kófi   bi   <u>bái</u>   dí   búku   <u>dá</u>   dí   muyé

              Kofi   TENSE   <u>buy</u>   the   book   <u>give</u>   the   woman

              'Kofi had bought the woman the book.'

Instrumental SVCs often consist of the verbs 'take' or 'hold' as in (45):

Tetun Dili

(45)   abó   lori   tudik   ko'a   paun

         grandparent take   knife   cut   bread

              'Grandfather used knife to cut the bread.'

Commutative or associative SVCs are formed with a verb which means 'be with' as in (46) from Dumo:

Dumo

(46)   neh   [la   Allan   tàe]   dasi.

         1sg   1sgSU.be.with   PSN   1sgSU.go.to   PLN

         'I went to Dasi with Allan.'

II.2.6. Reducing valency

Serial verb constructions may carry out a passive-like function such as in (47):

Kristang (Baxter, 1988: 211)

(47)   aké   pesi   ja   toka   kumí   di   gatu

         that   fish   PER   touch   eat   SOURCE   cat

         'The fish got eaten by the cat.'

II.2.7. Comparatives and superlatives

Serial verb constructions implying comparative and superlative meanings are constructed by the verbs meaning 'exceed' as in (48) from Goemai. The superlative and comparative markers in the construction have been evolved from once minor verbs in SVCs.

Goemai

(48)   kuma   <u>f'yer</u>   <u>ma</u>   ni

           also   <u>become.big(SG)</u>   <u>surpass</u>   3SG

           'And (he) has grown bigger than him.'

II.2.8. Event-argument SVCs

Event-argument SVCs involve a verb from a large open class and another verb, from a semantically and grammatically closed class, which presents a manner modification to the event as a whole (see example (30) from Dâw).

II.3. Semantics of symmetrical SVCs

II.3.1. Sequences of actions or concomitant actions related together

In SVCs, the order of components is iconic which means that the oerder of the events occurs in a temporal sequence as in (49):

Ewe

(49)   Áma   <u>â-ɖa</u>   nú   <u>ɖu</u>

           NAME   <u>POT-cook</u>   thing <u>eat</u>

           'Ama will cook and eat.'

II.3.2. Cause-effect SVCs

The verbs in this type of symmetrical serial verb constructions exhibit an iconic constituent order, on this sense; they are similar to causative serial verb constructions. In cause-effect serialization, the verb of causation precedes the verb denoting the effect or result as in the example (28) from Taba.

II.3.3. Manner SVCs

Traditionally, in symmetrical serial verb constructions, one verb may describe how the action of the other verb was carried out as in (50) from Toqabaqita:

Toqabaqita

(50)	wela	e	qiliano-na	taqaa	baqu
	child	3SG:NFUT	pile.soil.around-3:OBJ	be.bad	banana

'The child piled the soil around the banana tree badly.'

The order of the components in manner SVCs is determined by language specific grammatical rules, thus the order of the sub-events is not iconic (Aikhenvald, 2006: 30).

II.3.4. Synonymous serial verbs

Synonymous verb serialization refers to the repetition of the same action. The verb in the construction refers to the repetition of the same action as in (51), or focuses on the duration of the action, or intensifies the action. The meaning of the construction may be idiomatic and the order of the components again is not iconic (Aikhenvald, 2006: 30).

Khwe

(51)	ʼṍ	tíyò	ǁé	[≠é- é	≠ é]		kyaó!
	DEM	then	1pl.CG	pay.attention-II	pay.attention(.IMP)		after

'let us really pay attention the next time.'

CHAPTER II: SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SVCs IN TURKISH

II.1. Introduction and background to Turkish serial verbs

Prior to the analysis of tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers on Turkish verbs, it should be useful to mention about basic properties of Turkish verbs. Our description is based on classifications provided by Lewis (2000) and Göksel and Kerslake (2005). The distinction between derivational and inflectional morphemes is fuzzy, that is, not clear cut in Turkish. Conventionally, morphemes that can be followed by the infinitive marker –*mek* are thought derivational. –*Dir/t* (causative), *-Il* (passive), *-(y)A* (abilitative), *-(mA)* (negation), and *-(y)Abil* (potentiality) are classified as derivational morphemes. Besides derivational morphemes, inflectional morphemes are tense markers such as –*DI, -sE, -mIş, -Iyor, -yEcEG, -Ir/-Er;* aspect markers *-DI, -mIş, -sA, and(A/I)r/-z;* copular markers –*(y)DI, -(y)mIş, -(y)sA,* agreement markers appearing in two paradigms, *k*-paradigm for definite past and conditional (*-DI* and *-sE*) and secondly the *z*-paradigm for all other TAM morphemes, and as the last inflectional morpheme *-DIR* generalizing modality. In Turkish, the tense, aspect, and modality markers are hosted by the final conjunct (the main verb in the construction) in a specific order given below:

1	2	3	4	5
			Copular markers	
-(y)A (possibility) -DIr (generalizing)	-(y)Abil (possibility)	-DI (perfective)	-(y)DI (past copula)	-
	-(y)Iver (non-premediative)	-mIş (perfective/ evidential)	-(y)mIş (evidential copula)	modality
	-(y)Agel	-sA (conditional)	-(y)sA (conditional copula)	
	-(y)Ayaz	-(A/I)r/-z (aorist)		
	-(y)Akal	-(y)AcAK (future)		
	-(y)Adur	-(I)yor (imperfective)		
		-mAlI (obligative)		

-mAktA (imperfective)

-(y)A optative

By the characteristic feature, suffixes which belong to the same column cannot co-occur on a single stem. Apart from imperative forms and 3rd person optative forms, finite verbs necessarily contain a suffix from position 3 above:

(52)   Geç-**ti**-n.

pass-PF-2SG

3

'You've passed.'

(53)   Bitir-e-me-**miş**-tir.

finish-PSB-NEG-PF-GN

1   **3**   5

'S/he *has* probably not been able to finish [it]'.

(54)   Oku-yabil-**ecek**-miş.

read-PSB-FUT-EV:COP

2   **3**   4

'Apparently s/he will be able to read [it]'.

The markers in position 4-5 can be suffixed directly to a subject complement, to *değil* or to the existential expressions *var/yok* in nominal sentences.

(55)   Yazın Paris-te-**ydi**-k.

Paris-LOC-P:COP-1PL

4

'We *were* in Paris during the summer.'

(56)   Mutlaka zamanı var-**dır.**

existent-GM

5

'I'm sure s/he has the time.'

Lastly, non-finite verb forms have to contain a subordinating suffix; however, they can also bear suffixes from positions 1 and 2.

(57)   otur-**abil**-mek

      sit-PSB-VN

2

To be *able* to sit [down]'

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 77-78).

As one of the main concern of our study, Turkish serializing constructions which are composed of suffixes –(y)Iver, -(y)Agel, -(y)Adur, -(y)Ayaz, and -(y)Akal should be dwelled on. All of these suffixes attach to lexical verbs in the non-final position in the construction. Although they attach to the non-final verb but share the all tense-aspect-modality suffixes marked on the final conjunct. These argument sharing patterns will be discussed in details with the other serial verb constructions such as – Ip+verb and inflected verb and –ArAk+verb and inflected verb structures in the following subsections. About the semantics of these suffixes, it can be said that –(y)Iver indicates the rapidness and suddenness of an action.

(58)   … canım pastayı elinden düşür-üver-di.

      drop-Iver-PF

'S/he has dropped the lovely cake away.'

-(y)Agel shows that the action denoted by the verb is habitual and common.

(59)   Bu toplantılar yıllardır sür-egel-ir.

      continue-Agel-AOR

'These meetings have been going on for years.'

Another meaning conveyed by -(y)Agel is that it indicates suddenness of an action as in (60).

> (60)   Askerdeki kardeşi çık-agel-di.
>
> > appear-Agel-PF
>
> 'His/her brother in the army turned up.'

-(y)Adur and -(y)Akal explain the continuity of an action.

> (61)   Çocuk yüzüme bak-akal-dı.
>
> > look-Akal-PF
>
> 'The child stared at my face.'

> (62)   Sen gid-edur ben birazdan gelirim.
>
> > go-Adur
>
> 'You keep going and I'm coming soon.'

-(y)Ayaz indicates that the action which is performed is about to occur but it did not.

> (63)   Ayağım takılınca düş-eyaz-dı-m.
>
> > fall-Ayaz-PF-1SG
>
> 'I was about to fall down.'

The subordinating suffixes –(y)Ip and –(y)ArAk which attach to lexical verbs in the non-final position is the other means of creating serialization. These suffixes attach to the non-final verb but share the all tense-aspect-modality suffixes marked on the final conjunct. These argument sharing patterns will be discussed in details in the following subsections. These two suffixes also named as coordination suffixes (by Göksel and Kerlake, 2005) since they conjoin two individual events. With respect to inside nature of the events which are denoted by these suffixes, it can be said that –Ip+verb constructions traditionally refer to the sequences of related actions (64) and/or it describes how the

main event in the construction occurs (65). When it is attached to the verb *dur-,* it presents a repeated action as in (66).

(64)   …beni   al-ıp   hastane-ye   götür-dü.

        I-ACC   get-Ip   hospital-DAT   take-PF

        '(S)he took me off to the hospital.'

(65)   … taze   hurma   iste-se   koş-up   getir-ecek-ler.

         fresh   date palm   want-COND   run-Ip   bring-FUT-**3PL**

    'if   (s)he   wanted   fresh   date   palm,   they   would   bring   [it]   right

    after.'(intended)

(66)   Yürü-yüp   dur-uyor ama zayıfladığı yok.

        walk-Ip   stand-IMPF

    '(S)he keeps walking, but (s)he does not lose weight.'

II.2. Semantic realization of Turkish serial verb constructions

In this section, the emphasis will be heavily on the semantic properties of different types of so-called serial verb constructions in Turkish and their subtypes. From a general perspective, the semantic relation between the events denoted by the constituent verbs of the serialization will be presented within two broad classes as symmetrical and asymmetrical; and their subtypes structurally categorized ones such as coordinate, aspect, secondary verb type, lexicalized collocations, and synonymous types; and semantically categorized ones like cause-effect, sequences of actions, direction and orientation, and manner. Following Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006), depending on their composition serial verb constructions will be examined within two broad classes as symmetrical and asymmetrical. The following section will be devoted to discuss each of these in turn, but it might be useful to provide a brief definition with their basic characteristics first.

Symmetrical serial verb constructions are composed of two or more verbs each come from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. Unlike asymmetrical ones, the order of components in symmetrical serial verb constructions may be iconic, showing the temporal sequence of subevents (Aikhenvald, 2006 cites from Durie, 1997: 331-5). Symmetrical serial verb constructions are headed in a different way from those of asymmetrical ones: all their components possess equal status, that is, none of them governs the semantic or syntactic properties of the whole construction. Symmetrical serial verb constructions mostly get lexicalized and become idiom-like.

Alamblak (Aikhenvald, 2002: 1 follows Bruce, 1988: 28)

(67)   mɨyt   ritm   muh-hambray-an-m

         three   insects   climb-search:for-1sg-3pl

         'I climbed the three searching for insects.'

Parallel examples from Turkish are seen below:

(68)   Biz köyde açlıktan kırılıp giderken burada herkes <u>yiyip içiyor</u>.

         'While we are suffering from hunger in the village, those who living in here eat and drink.'

(69)   Ülke, ucuz ama son derece zevkli yapı malzemeleriyle <u>dolup</u>

         <u>taşıyor</u>.

         'The country is swimming with the cheap but extremely pleasant construction materials.'

Asymmetrical serial verb constructions contain one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class such as motion verbs or posture verbs, and they also may include one verb from a large, open, or unrestricted, class. The transitivity value of an asymmetrical SVC is similar to the verb from an open class. This verb can function as the head of the structure, both semantically and syntactically (Aikhenvald,

2000: 22). The verb from an open class will be referred to the 'major verb'. The term 'minor verb' will be thought as the verb from a grammatically closed class (terms quoted by Aikhenvald: 2006 from Durie: 1997). In the following subsections, the semantics of symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions are discussed in detail in line with the typological principles proposed by Aikhenvald (2006).

II.2.1. Asymmetrical serial verb constructions

As we mentioned before serial verb constructions are analyzed in two classes in terms of their compositions. They may include one verb from open class (unrestricted) and another one from a restricted class (closed class). These are the asymmetrical serial verb constructions. Asymmetrical serial verb constructions express a single event denoted by the verb from an open class. The verb from a restricted class represents a modificational specification. It is mostly a motion or posture verb conveying direction or contributing a tense-aspect meaning to the construction. A directional, or deictic, asymmetrical SVC in Cantonese is demonstrated below:

Cantonese

(70)   lei   lo   di   saam   lai

         you   take   PL   clothing   come

         'Bring some clothes'

The motion verb 'come' as V_2 expresses directional meaining: 'take come' means 'bring'.

(71)   Saatimi çıkarıp attım.

         'I've shed my watch.'

(72)   Bu hep böyle sürüp gidecek.

         'This is going to persist all along.'

(73)   Beyaz bir çöl şeridi, çalıklar ve okyanusun arasına sıkışmış, <u>uzayıp</u>

<u>gidiyordu</u>.

'A white string of desert, caught between the bushes and the ocean,

was <u>dragging on</u>'.

The motion verbs 'çıkar(ıp) at- , sür(üp) git-' and the posture verb 'uzay(ıp)

git-' denote a directional meaning.

II.2.2. Semantics of asymmetrical serial verb constructions

Asymmetrical serial verb constructions convey a wide variety of meanings.

We find three types of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Turkish listed in

Aikhenvald (2006): direction and orientation type, the aspect type, and the secondary

verb type. The lexicalized examples of our data will be analyzed separately in the

following sections.

II.2.2.1. Direction and orientation

The minor verb in the construction is usually a movement or motion verb

bearing orientational meaning. Optionally, the minor verb may specify to the location of

the event or to path.

Goemi (Hellwig, 2000: 105 in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(74)   yool   k'ûût mûaan de long/<u>doe</u>   <u>kat</u>   long   yin: (…)

rise (SG) just   go(SG)   VICINITY chief <u>come</u>   find   <u>chief</u>   SAY

'(He) just rose (and) went to the chief (and he) found the chief here, saying that: (…)'

Hellwig (2000) defines this type as deictic SVC which is an example of

asymmetrical serial verb construction. The verb *doe* 'come' precedes a non-motion verb

kat 'find'.

Christa Kilian-Hatz (2000: 114-116 in Aikhenvald, 2006) applies Aikhenvald's label for direction and orientation into serial verb constructions in Khwe under the three subtitles: 'movement', 'position', and 'direction'.

(75a.) Djiri   [yàkx'áà-à- tè]   (75b.) djiri   [cì   kx'áà-à- tè]

Monkey   come   drink-I- PRESS   monkey   arrive   drink-I- PRESS

when coming/arriving, Monkey drinks   when coming/arriving, Monkey

drinks

In Khwe the two verbs *yaà* ('come') and *ciì* ('arrive') express movement as the first verbs in the constructions. These two movement verbs reveal that the actor is moving or has moved onto the stage as in the example above.

The position of the actor is expressed by the three posture verbs 'stand', 'sit', and 'lie' which perform as the first verbs of the constructions and accompanied by intransitive or transitive major verbs.

(76)   xàmá   [tɛ́-ɛ́   ‖gàrà-á-tè   thámá]

3sg.M   stand-II   write-I-PRES   letter OBJ

'He writes a letter in standing position'

(77)   xàmá   [n‡ũ-á   ‖gàrà-á-tè]

3sg.M   sit-II   write-I-PRES

'He writes (a letter) in sitting position'

(78)   xàmá   [‖óè-è   ‖gàrà-á-tè]

3sg.M   lie-II   write-I-PRES

'He writes (a letter) in lying position'

In the direction type the second verb is considered as modifying the first verb, major verb like an adverb. These types of SVCs are always contiguous and they can

act like lexicalized collocations. They may be taken as a kind of compound conveying the result of the conjoint of the single events.

(79)   xùú 'leave' > 'away'; as in: cέε-ε xùú ('take' – 'leave') 'take away'

            ‖x'áé 'meet' > 'together (of: persons)'; as in: djà-ró ‖x'áé

                            ('work' - 'meet') 'work together'

In Turkish, unlike the direction and movement types, the position type is not used frequently.

(80)   …öne doğru <u>uzanıp şişinerek</u> uzun uzun ötüyordu.'

            'The rooster was crowing at length by leaning forward and expanding.'

(81)   Cinci Hanı'na yakın bir yere oturup yiyeceğiz.

            ' We are going to eat (our meal) sitting at the Cinci Inn.'

(82)   '… bir öğrenci hareketi içinde tanışan kızla oğlan oturup hayatlarını düşünürler.'

            'The girl and the boy who met each other in a student movement sit and   think about their life.'

(83)   ' … köylüler dizçöküp zavallı adamın ruhu için dua etmeye başladılar.'

      '… the peasants knelt down and started to pray for the soul of the poor man.'

The first verbs of the serialization in the examples above 'uzanıp şişinerek' and 'oturup' describe how the actor does the action. The serial verbs 'uzanıp şişinerek' show the leaning forward position of the actor, while in the second and third examples the minor verb 'oturup' expresses the sitting position. Besides, in the first example the serialization construction has more than one serial verb which describe the main action;

'uzanıp' and 'şişinerek'. The last example denotes the kneeling down position of the actor. The major verbs in the serialization may be both transitive and intransitive. Distinguishing the serial constructions in Turkish is nearly impossible. There is no clear-cut boundary between the SVCs types. For example, the conjunctive converb -(y)Ip and the manner converb -(y)ArAk carry out an adverbial function modifying the major verb of the construction. From this aspect, these converbial markers bear a resemblance to the manner serial verb constructions where the first verb describes the way second action is performed in case of sequence of actions. In Turkish grammar these converbial suffixes are classified as non-finite adverbial clauses (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 467).

Csato describes Turkish serial verb constructions as consisting of a lexical verb and a postverb. She states that postverbs have developed from postural verbs like dur- 'stand', and from verbs representing a phase of an action such as kal- 'stay, remain', movement verbs git- 'go' or gesture verbs as ver- 'give'. The SVCs may be composed of the suffixes –(y)A or –(y)Ip. The lexical verb with these suffixes is subordinated to the postverb (2003: 106).

(84)   iç-e   dur-

         drink.LEX.V-A.CONVERB   stand.POST.V

         'keep drinking'

(85)   ayak-lar-ı-nı   döşeme-ye   sür-üp   dur-uyor-du

         foot:PL:3POSS:ACC floor:DAT   rub.LEX.V:IP.CONV   stand.POST.V:YOR.PST

         '(s)he was rubbing his feet on the floor.'

(86)   uyu-ya   kal-dığ-ı-nı   gör-d-üm

         sleep.LEX.V   stay.POST.V:DIK.PART:3POSS:ACC   see:PST:1S

         'I saw that (s)he fell asleep.'

(87)   Sonra   sol-up   gid-iyor.

later   get pale.LEX.V:IP.CONVERB   go.POST.V:PRES

‘(S)he is getting completely pale.’

All of the postverbs above have the modifier function and the meaning of lexical verbs is described by the postverbs.

Direction type is used more productively in Turkish. Different verbs can be exemplified as follows:

(88)   Saatimi <u>çıkarıp attım</u>.

‘I threw my watch away.’

(89)   Bir gün <u>çıkıp gelmişti.</u>

‘One day, s/he has turned up.’

(99)   Her yere kırmızı boyalar <u>döküp</u> bizi beklemiştin.

‘You had waited pouring down paints everywhere.’

It is the first verb of the construction which indicates direction. The minor verb (first verb) modifies the second verb. Some of the verbs; ‘çıkarıp at-‘, ‘dönüp bak-‘, ‘uzayıp git-‘, ‘çıkıp gel-‘, ‘sönüp git-‘ may be lexicalized and they may have to be contiguous. The non-contiguous verbs such as ‘koşup söyle-‘, ‘döküp bekle-‘ show the succession of single events with two verbs. They modify the major verb and they can be combined with a coordinate conjunction ‘and’. But as Lewis (2000: 178) states, in Turkish instead of using two verb-stems with similar suffixes adjacently or combined by ‘and’ such as *koştu söyledi* ‘he ran, he said’ or *koştu ve söyledi* ‘he ran and he said’, -Ip may be added to the first verb-stem. The main function of the suffix ‘–Ip’ is to demonstrate the two events occurred successively without any time lag between the two events. Other than the two verbs ‘uzayıp git-‘, ‘sönüp git-‘, most direction verbs are transitive.

(100)   Bir bahçe duvarına tırmanıp ona el salladım.

'I waved my hands climbing on a garden wall.'

(101)   Bakın o zaman nasıl <u>koşa koşa gelecekler.</u>

'You'll see then how they will come running.'

The verbs of movement type can be considered as three different subgroups. One group is composed of lexical verbs such as 'kayıp git-', 'geçip git-', 'sürüp git-', 'akıp git-', 'çıkıp git-', 'geçip git-' in which simultaneous actions are described. These intransitive verbs combine with transitive verbs. The second category includes the consecutive actions following one another, such as 'alıp kaçıver-', 'çıkarıp…sok-', 'yaklaştırıp sor-', 'tırmanıp el salla-', 'fırlayıp çık-', 'alıp kaçıver-', 'geçerek otur-'. The last group is the one where the reduplicated verbs follow the major verbs, as in 'sallanıp sallanıp dur-', 'koşa koşa gel-' (These reduplicated verbs acting as adverbs also appear in Göksel and Kerslake, 2005).

II.2.2.2. Aspect, extent, and change of state

As Aikhenvald (2006) puts it, asymmetrical serial verb constructions convey aspectual meanings such as progressive, continuative, or habitual meanings. Khwe (Christa Kilian-Hatz, 2000: 116 in Aikhenvald, 2006)

(102)   xàmá   [thám   à   ‖ <u>gàrà</u>-ná   <u>tɛ́</u>-ɛ̀-tè]

3sgM   letter   OBJ   write-II   stay-I-PRES

'He is writing a letter'

In the example above, progressive aspect is imparted by the intransitive verb 'stay' as a minor verb.

Another aspectual meaning comes from Kristang, a Portuguese-based creole (Aikhenvald cites from Baxter 1988: 213);

(103)   kora   yo   ja   chegá   nail   eli   ja   <u>kaba</u>   <u>bai</u>

when 1SG   PER   arrive there 3SG   PER   <u>finish</u> <u>go</u>

'When I arrived there he had gone.'

The verb of completion *kaba* 'finish' in Kristang imparts completive aspect. Following the classification by Aikhenvald (2006), we observe two different types of aspect SVCs in Turkish conveying progressive aspect and inchoative aspect.

II.2.2.2.1. Progressive aspect 'do continuously'

The progressive aspect is expressed by the postverbial constructions *–Ip dur-* and *–A dur-* which mark the successive repetitions of the same actions in addition to durativity reading.

(104)   Kendi kendine <u>konuş-up duruyordu.</u>

        '(S)he kept on talking to himself/herself.'

(105)   Bak-ıp durdu.

        '(S)he kept on staring.'

(106)   Sen raporu <u>yaz-adur</u>, ben müdürü görüp geleyim.

        'You keep going on writing the report; I will go and see the manager.'

Aksan and Aksan (2009) point out that these postverbal constructions are one of the formal devices encoding event plurality. The intrinsic semantic feature of these verbs represents plurality of action such as in *konuşup dur-* 'keep on talking', *bakıp dur-* 'keep on staring/looking', *yaza dur-* 'keep on writing' which is classified as repetitive events. These verbs denote to the realization of series of identical actions stretching out different periods and become unlimited in duration. Verbs expressing series of actions regularly reoccur after relatively short intervals and are identical to themselves

throughout the entire period of their performances. So it is a fuzzy job to generalize about lexical meanings since their inherent meanings may correspond with many of the plural categories. The postverbial suffix *-Ip dur-, -A dur-* may lead conative, excessive, and durative readings (2009).

Generally speaking, the postverb constructions of Turkish such as '-Iver-', '-A kal-, -A dur-' '-A gel-', '-A yaz-' convey aspectual meanings. The serial verb constructions formed with '–A kal-' and ' –A dur-' as in '*yaza-dur, bak-akal*' present durative aspect. The other SVCs involving '-Iver-' and '-A gel-' as in '*çök-üverdi and çık-ageldi*' reveal punctual aspect. Following Lewis (2000: 191), we can say that the serial verb '-Iver' denotes a rapid or sudden action.

(107)   Köprü çöküverdi.

         ' The bridge suddenly collapsed.'

(108)   .... yıllar sonra çıkagelmişti işte.

         '….he came up after years.'

The last serial verb suffix '-A yaz-' implies defective aspect as in English (*I almost fell.)*. The verb '-Ayaz' serves to express that the action is nearly performed but it did not occur.

(109)   İşe giderken yolda düşeyazdım.

         ' I was about to fall down while going to work.'

The serializing postverb '-Ip dur-' may be considered to indicate two different aspectual readings. 'Ip dur-' in *konuşup dur* 'keep on talking' and *bakıp dur* 'keep on looking' express habitual aspect. 'Ip dur-' in *yaza dur* transmit durative aspect because of the lexical aspectual meaning of the first verb '*yaz-a*'.

These aspectual values can be subject to temporal interpretation by the time of the event. These serial verb constructions containing postverbs indicate the temporal

properties of the event expressed by the lexical verbs. The postverb –*A kal*- 'stay/remain' imparts the meaning that the looking and staying events occur for a while or continuously. The postverb –*A dur*- conveys the progressive aspect of the writing event. In the second clause of the same sentence, the converbial suffix –Ip performs the function of a conjunctional (coordinative) verb. Moreover, it presents an iconic temporal interpretation. The firs verb *gör*- 'see' occurs before the verb *gel*- 'come'. The same meaning can be paraphrased by the expression *Ben müdürü göreyim ve geleyim,* 'I will go and see the manager'. The postverb –*Ip dur*- and *A gel*- as we explained before, express repetitive meaning and the emphasis is on the duration of these actions. They occupy the second slot of the verb construction. These minor verbs expressing different aspectual meanings can be both transitive and intransitive.

    (110)   Kavga edenlerin haline <u>bak-akaldı</u>.

                'He remained looking at those who are fighting.'

    (111)   Sen raporu yaz-adur, ben müdürü gör-üp geleyim.

                ' You keep going on writing the report, I will go and see the manager.'

    (112)   …<u>söylen-ip durdu</u> arkasından.

                ' …she kept grumbling behind her.'

    (113)   … oyununa <u>uyagelmişlerdi</u>. (Gencan, 2001: 344)

                '…they kept complying with his/her delusion.'

II.2.2.2.2. Inchoative aspect 'start doing'

The inchoative aspect is expressed by the verbs *başla*- and *koyul-,* both meaning 'start', occupying the second slot of the construction.

    (114)   Onlar da iştahla yemeye koyuldular.

'They started to eat heartily, too.'

(115)   …. ekmeğin arasına bir dilim beyaz peynir sıkıştırıp yemeye

başladı.

'(S)he got some cheese into the bread and started to eat.'

II.2.2.3. Coordinate SVCs

Some coordinate converb constructions are observed to form serialization. The serialized verbs below describe subevents happening simultaneously during the same period of time.

(116)   Hiçbir yere gitmeyip evimde oturacağım.

'I am not going anywhere and I am staying at home'

(117)   ….sonra geç saatlerde yeniden arayıp çağırdı.

'….later (s)he called back and asked me to come.'

(118)   Şurada birkaç saat anlayış göstererek oturamıyordu.

'(S)he couldn't show some patience and sit here for a few hours.'

(119)   Masa başına geçip birkaç satır yazmak isterim.

'I want to write a few lines after sitting at the table.'

The verb combinations in these examples above are similar to coordinate converb constructions which are labeled by Bisang (1995) as such, because of their coordinative function. These coordinate constructions refer to parallel events of the one rather important event which can lead to further extension of the same action. The coordination describes the different aspects of the major event. The coordinate SVC is used to signal a temporal relation between two or more subevents and the nature of this relation is determined by the lexical aspect of the verbs involved receiving either a sequential or a simultaneous interpretation. Bisang explains the function of this type in

Hinds' (1986) words, "the purpose of this construction is to indicate that the actions or states so described are representative of other semantically similar actions or states" (Bisang, 1995: 162).

II.2.2.4. Secondary verb type

The secondary verb type in Turkish involves the verb 'git-' which has a major verb as complement. The minor verb *git-* 'go' codes an instance of the change of state. It undergoes a gradual movement. The minor verb '*git-*' can precede the major verb or follow it. Secondary verbs mainly come from a closed class with a few members. There is no a formal restriction regarding the slot of this verb in the construction. The only restriction is that it only takes verbal complements instead of nominal compliments.

(120)   Ancak durum giderek kötüleşiyor.

'But the situation is getting worse.'

(121)   ….telsizden gelen sesler giderek netleşiyor.

'….the sounds coming out of the radiophone is getting clearer.'

II.2.3. Semantics of symmetrical serial verb constructions

Unlike the asymmetrical SVCs, the components of symmetrical serial verbs all are chosen from open unrestricted classes of verbs. By their semantics, symmetrical serial verbs can be divided into four different subtypes; sequences of actions, manner, cause-effect, and synonymous verbs. The semantic relationships between the components of serial verb constructions can be summarized as follows.

II.2.3.1. Sequences of actions or concomitant actions related together

Aikhenvald (2000) asserts that the order of components is iconic following the temporal sequences of subevents. The sequential SVC from Ewe brings about a sequential reading occurring one another.

Ewe (Aikhenvald, 2000: 28)

(122)   Áma   âd̠a   nú   d̠u

NAME   POT-cook   thing   eat

'Ama will cook and eat'

In Turkish, the serializing suffix '-ıp' mostly expresses sequential interpretation. The subevent can co-occur in a temporal sequence which can be interpreted in two ways; sequential and simultaneous. These constructions can convey specific semantic roles such as manner, path or instrument components of a complex motion event.

(123)   …saçlaını bir makas olsa kökünden kesip atacaktı.

'If s/he had sicissors, she would cut away his/her hair.'

(124)   Bugün adaya gidenler, başınızı kaldırıp çamlara bakın.

'Those who went to the isle, raise your heads and look at the pine trees.'

(125)   Yıllardır sabah erkenden giyinip işe koşmuştur.

'For years, s/he has put on and run to work early in the morning.'

The serializing suffix -(y)Ip may simultaneously express both successive actions and the way how the action is performed. In this respect the example below belongs to both sequences of concomitant actions and manner types.

(126)   O gece birbirlerine sarılıp sakin ve derin bir uyku uyurlar.

'At that night they hugged each other and had a deep sleep.'

The serializing suffix -(y)Ip may illustrate simultaneous actions.

(127)   … hiç bir yere gitmeyip evimde oturacağım.

'I will stay at my home, I won't go anywhere.'

(128)   …acınacak halimiza bakıp gülüyor.

'S/he is laughing at our deplorable situation.'

II.2.3.2. Manner

This type may be interpreted as the first event describing the way the other event occurs. Manner serializations may lead to a simultaneous interpretation at the same time. The first verb (V_1) presents manner. The function of '-ArAk' suffix in the serial constructions is regularly manner type.

(129)   … garsonun kahveleri getirmesine bakarak oturuyorlar.

'They are sitting by looking at the waiter's serving the cups of

coffee.'

(130)   … uzun sure orada kalmış, küfrederek bağırıp çağırmıştır.

'…s/he has stayed there for long period of time (and) bawled out

by swearing.'

(131)   … mektuplarını teker teker yırtarak çöpe attı.

'… s/he has thrown away his/her letters after s/he tore them one by

one.'

II.2.3.3. Resultative/cause-effect serial verb constructions

In resultative serial verb constructions, the first verb in the construction takes place first and at the end of the first verb occurs naturally. The semantic reading of this type may be fuzzy since it belongs to manner type.

(132)   … iki yıl once yazılmış seçim sloganları silinip gitmişti.

'The election slogans which were written two years ago were wiped away and disappeared.'

(133)   … sen kendi kendini yiyip bitiriyorsun.

'… you are worrying yourself to death.'

II.2.3.4. Synonymous verb serialization

It would be more correct for Turkish to label this category as identical verb sequences where the same actions appear. These identical verb sequences can carry out two different functions. The reduplicative verbs in the series below express repetition of the same action.

(134)   … dalıp dalıp giderdim o saatlerde.

'… I used to ruminate at that times.'

(135)   … rahatsız etmekten korka korka çaldım kapıları.

'… I knocked the doors faint-heartedly so as not to disturb anyone.'

(136)   … bakın o zaman koşa koşa nasıl gelecekler.

'… you'll see then how they will come back running.'

(137)   … dalgaların etkisiyle sallanıp sallanıp duruyorlardı.

'… they were keeping on hovering by force of the waves.'

The last example above focuses on the duration of the action which is performed.

II.2.3.5. Lexicalized collocations

Turkish has lots of lexicalized collocations that are mostly idiomatic. Among our data, this lexicalized SVC type constitutes the loosest type of juncture. Among the lexicalized forms, the imperative forms such as "Tut at, Çek çıkar" should be taken as the

most lexicalized and the most serial forms, thus they should be appear on the nearest edge to the serial verb forms on the continuum scale. These collocations may be considered as SVCs intensifying one single event. Other than imperative serial verb constructions, certain expressions consisting of 'gel-'and 'git-' such as *geçip git-* 'go by/pass over', *uçup git-* 'disappear', *akıp git-* 'keep going', *çıkıp gel-* 'turn up', *çekip git-* 'go/walk away', go through lexicalization process. There is no direct relation of modification between the two verbs since they are considered as conventionalized activities conceived as single integrated events. These lexicalized collocations imply that the action performed is near to completion. On that sense, having a natural endpoint they show telic aspect. They express movement and change of state. These serialized verbs in the examples have lexicalized as a unit, losing their meanings as individual verbs. The combinations of verbs have developed idiomatic meanings which cannot be detected by the total of the individual verbs in the serialization.

(138)   Yaşam geçip gidiyor.

          'The life is passing over.'

(139)   ….sıkıntısı böyle bir anda uçup gidebilir miydi?

          'Could his uneasiness disappear in a minute?'

(140)   Günler akıp gider.

          'Days (time) keep going.'

(141)   Birgün nereden bulmuşsa bulmuş çıkıp gelmişti işte.

          ' …one day he turned up unexpectedly.'

(142)   ….en azından ben çekip gidecektim.

          '….at least I was going to walk away.'

It is worthwhile to mention in this context, that reduplicated forms can be considered as stacking constructions which code single, unitary events. They modify the major verb. From this perspective they belong to manner type.

(147)   … dalgaların etkisiyle <u>sallanıp sallanıp duruyorlardı.</u>

'… by the force of waves, they were keeping on swaying.'

(148)   Bakın o zaman nasıl <u>koşa koşa gelecekler.</u>

'You will see how they will come back running'

Among the lexicalized postverbs which form serialization, the postverb *A yaz-* also forms a single, unitary meaning, different from its literal meaning. In Turkish, this postverb is not very frequent, it is often considered as a frozen form.

(149)   İşe giderken yolda <u>düşeyazdım</u>.

'I was about to fall down while going to work.'

Table 1 below summarizes all types of serial verb constructions and their meanings in Turkish.

Table 1. Semantic realization of Turkish SVCs

SEMANTIC TYPES OF SVCs	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
I.Direction and Orientation		
I.1. Movement	Movement of the actor	• … en büyük isteği karısının bir an önce emekli **olup** yanı başına **gelmesidir.** • Çünkü yıllardır sabah erkenden **giyinip** işe **koşmuştur.** • bir bahçe duvarının üzerine çabucak **tırmanıp** ona el **salladım** • Ben limanda demirli teknelerden birine gizlice **atlayıp** denize açılmayı **öneriyorum**. • Vicdan da görüyor ve hemen **koşup** Akıl'a **söylüyor** • Picasso'nun tablolarından **fırlayıp çıkmış** • Başımı **alıp kaçıverdim.** • Bakın o zaman nasıl **koşa koşa gelecekler.** • Sağduyu'nun kendisini çağırdığını duyunca hemen **dönüp koşarak** onun yanına **geldi.**

I.2. Position	Position of the actor	• Bir gün bu 69 yılında bir öğrenci hareketi içinde tanışan kızla oğlan **oturup** hayatlarını **düşünürler**. • öne doğru **uzanıp şişinerek** uzun uzun **ötüyordu**. • Cinci Hanı'na yakın bir yere **oturup yiyeceğiz**. • köylüler **diz çöküp** zavallı adamın ruhu için **dua etmeye başladılar**. • Hiçbir yere **gitmeyip** evimde **oturacağım**. • odasına **kapanıp** saatlerce **ağlıyor** • Sağduyu'nun kendisini çağırdığını duyunca hemen **dönüp koşarak** onun yanına **geldi**
I.3. Direction	İndicating direction or path	• Ama şimdi tam burada saçları çok ağır geliyordu ona, bir makas olsa hiç acımadan kökünden **kesip atacaktı**! • …bir zaman yürürken herkes **dönüp bakardı**. • ve bir sabah vakti beni **alıp** Kartal'daki Kızılay Hastanesi'ne **götürdü**. • Kadınlardan biri bir ara yüzünü Nasreddin'e **yaklaştırıp sordu**. • eleştirileri ile, bize, acınacak halimize **bakıp gülüyor** • bir bahçe duvarının üzerine çabucak **tırmanıp** ona el **salladım**. • beyaz bir çöl şeridi, çalılıklar ve okyanusun arasına sıkışmış, **uzayıp gidiyordu**. • Küçük sandal, karanlık suya tutulan güçlü ışığı **izleyerek** koya **giriyordu**.
II.Coordinate SVCs	Extension of the same action	• koskoca bir ülkede yaşayan yaklaşık onaltı kültür ve bunların simgelerine **boşverilip,** lale figürü tanıtıma **taşınmış**. • yaşam sevincinizi yitirmeyin ve biraz açgözlü **olup** hayata dört elle **sarılın**. • Ben biraz daha baskı **uygulayıp** atölye öğrencilerimi **görevlendirdim**. • her yolculuk öncesi müthiş hüzünlenirim, hani bıraksalar, hiçbir yere **gitmeyip** evimde **oturacağım**. • Masa başına **geçip** birkaç satır **yazmak isterim** • yine ortadan kaybolduğun günlerin birinde hiç tanımadığım biri **arayıp** hastaneye gelmemi **söylemişti**. • Şurada birkaç saat ona anlayış **göstererek oturamıyordu**. • sonra geç saatlerde yeniden **arayıp çağırdı**.
III. Aspect		
III.1. Continuous aspect	'do continuously'	• kendi kendine **konuşup duruyordu**.*

III.2. Inchoative	'start doing'	• Onlar da iştahla **yemeye koyuldular.** • Karı koca köyde bir ev **alıp** sadece toprakla uğraşmanın hayalini kurmaya **başlarlar** • dağılmış 45'liklerin arasından birini **seçip** çalmaya **başladı,** • kırık bir dal parçasını **alıp**, havuzdaki yapraklarla oynamaya **başladı** • ikinci defa saptanmış tıbbi bir özelliği **belgeleyip yayınlamaya koyulmuştum.** • Fotoğraf makinesinin takısını **unutuverip** ıslık **çalmaya başladı.** • ekmeğinin arasına bir dilim beyaz peynir **sıkıştırıp yemeye başladı**.
IV. Secondary Verb Type	Auxiliary verb 'go'	• Ancak durum **giderek kötüleşiyor.** • …telsizden gelen sesler **giderek netleşiyor.**
V. Lexicalized Collocations	Action near to completion	• Yaşam **geçip gidiyor** • Sıradan günlerin ağır sıkıntısı böyle bir anda **uçup gidebilir miydi.** • herkes **çıkıp gidiyor** • öteki odalar ziyaret saatlerinde **dolup taşıyordu.** • Günler **akıp gider.** • Belki de insan büyük acıları yaşadıktan sonra sımsıkı tutunduğunu sandığı şeyler avucundan **kayıp gidiyor.** • onun sandalyelerini bile **alıp gidiyorlardı.** • Biz köyde açlıktan kırılıp giderken burada herkes **yiyip içiyor.** • beyaz bir çöl şeridi, çalılıklar ve okyanusun arasına sıkışmış, **uzayıp gidiyordu.** • Bir gün nereden bulmuşsa bulmuş **çıkıp gelmişti** işte. • Çocukların sesleri bile bu dingin görüntüde, kemanın bütün koyu kaplayan çizgilerinde **eriyip gidiyordu.** • Kurstan sonraki ilk uçuşta yaramışsa bile bir sonrakinde bu yarar **uçup gitmişti.** • Böyle ilginç tıbbi bir olay kayda kuyda geçmeden **sönüp gidiyordu**. • Ayrıntılar soluk, sözcükler **silinip gitmiş.** • bu ancak böylece **sürüp gidecek.** • yeni bir başlangıcın heyecanı çabucak **solup giderdi.** • eğer gerçekten çok sevseydin herşeyi **bırakıp giderdin** • Belki de bıraksalardı da sürmeyecekti, en azından ben **çekip gidecektim** • yaşam kavgası pek çok şeyi değiştirmiş, çocukluk döneminin saflığını ve sıcaklığını **silip**

		süpürmüştür. • Uzun süre orada kalmış, **küfrederek bağırıp çağırmıştır.**
VI. Sequences of Actions	Iconic temporal relation of subsequent (consecutive) events, V_1 precedes V_2	• Bugün adaya gidenler, başınızı **kaldırıp** çamlara **bakın.** • hepsinin içinden en güzellerini **seçip** anıların bahçesinde yürüyüşe **çıkalım** • Anadolu sahasında Hoca, papuçlarını **çıkarıp** koynuna **sokar.** • Yaşamımda ilk kez elime kâğıt kalem **alıp** gecekonduların yoğun bulunduğu bölgelere **gittim.** • ve bir sabah vakti beni **alıp** Kartal'daki Kızılay Hastanesi'ne **götürdü** • Çünkü yıllardır sabah erkenden **giyinip** işe **koşmuştur.** • gece birbirlerine **sarılıp** sakin ve derin bir uyku **uyurlar.** • ... en büyük isteği karısının bir an önce emekli **olup** yanı başına **gelmesidir.** • Tatsız gevezenin biri Hoca'yı yolda **çevirip** laflamaya **başlamış.** • Komşu kadınlar hocanın yattığı odanın içine **dolup,** gevezelik **ediyorlardı.** • Kadınlardan biri bir ara yüzünü Nasreddin'e **yaklaştırıp sordu.** • eleştirileri ile, bize, acınacak halimize **bakıp gülüyor.** • Nasreddin Hoca'yı, Anadolu'nun yetiştirdiği espritüel bir mizah ustası **deyip** bir kenara **atamazsınız.** • bir bahçe duvarının üzerine çabucak **tırmanıp** ona el **salladım.** • Rotamızı **tayin edip** bizi **yönlendiriyorlar.** • ...limandaki teknelerden birine gizlice atlıyor ve demir **alıp** yola **çıkıyoruz.** • hayallerine **son verip** gözlerini **açtılar.** • Kibir, mor şalını **çıkarıp** söğüdün dalına **bağladı.** • hepsinin içinden en güzellerini **seçip** anıların bahçesinde yürüyüşe **çıkalım.** • mezar taşlarına ne yazılacağını **belirtip taşınıyorlar** • **...** benim de adımı yazar olarak eklemiş ve tebliğleri o şekilde **bastırıp dağıtmıştı.** • Bazen kendi giysilerini **giyip geliyordu.** • Kara şövalye **gelip** iğne **yaptı.** • Efsanede kaya hiç değilse Sisyphus'u **ezerek geçmez.** • topu üç kişiyi **çalımlayarak** rakip kaleye **götürür.**
VII. Manner	Simultaneous actions	• gece birbirlerine **sarılıp** sakin ve derin bir uyku **uyurlar.** • binanın camlarını taşlayıp kırmıştır • Hem çok ucuz olurlar hem de her gün aynı kişilerle bir şeyler **atıştırıp** günü **tartışırsınız.** • eleştirileri ile, bize, acınacak halimize **bakıp**

		gülüyor.
		• telsizden sesler geliyor ve **susup** can kulağıyla **dinliyoruz**.
		• kucaklarına **çıkıp** kendini **sevdiriyordu**
		• Bu kadar **uğraşıp hazırladım**
		• kışın çilek veya taze hurma istese **koşup getirecekler.**
		• odasına **kapanıp** saatlerce **ağlıyor**
		• bu tatlı düşten uyandıkları için biraz üzüleceklerini ama sonra yeniden başlayacaklarını **düşünüp gülümsedi.**
		• Bu öneriyi hep birlikte **sevinç çığlıkları atarak kabul ettiler.**
		• Gözlerim **parıldayarak** "Evet" **dedim.**
		• Kimi zaman da çevredekilerin konuşmalarını **vererek** gösterme yolunu **izler.**
		• kahve köşesine" **atarak rahatlarlar.**
		• bu problemin gerisine **düşerek gözardı ettiler.**
		• garsonun kahveleri getirmesine **bakarak oturuyorlar.**
		• Küçük sandal, karanlık suya tutulan güçlü ışığı **izleyerek** koya **giriyordu.**
		• kuyruklarını **sallayarak dolaşıyorlar.**
		• topu üç kişiyi **çalımlayarak** rakip kaleye **götürür.**
		• Önemli değil, diye **yanıtladım, somurtarak.**
		• Yeniden başını önüne **eğerek** tüm yanıtları **değerlendirdi.**
		• Sağduyu'nun kendisini çağırdığını duyunca hemen **dönüp koşarak** onun yanına **geldi.**
		• el kol **sallayıp** havaya **sıçrayarak sesleniyorum.**
VIII. Cause-Effect (Result)	Iconic simultanious actions, $V_{1=}$ cause $V_{2=}$ effect	• binanın camlarını **taşlayıp** kırmıştır.
		• kucaklarına **çıkıp** kendini **sevdiriyordu**
		• kahve köşesine" **atarak rahatlarlar.**
		• bu problemin gerisine **düşerek gözardı ettiler.**
		• en kendi kendini **yiyip bitiriyorsun.**
		• Yollarda iki yıl önce yazılmış seçim sloganları **silinmiş gitmişti.**
		• Motorlar alev alırsa hemen fark edebilirim! **diyerek avutmaya çalıştı.**
		• Tam tersine, herkesi **kışkırtarak** tehlike **yaratıyordu** o.
		• pazarda bütün külleri satar ve epeyce para **kazanarak** evine **döner.**
		• 37 güzel insan, Sivas'ın Madımak Oteli'nde **yakılarak öldürüldü.**
		• bir kahve köşesine" **atarak rahatlarlar.**
		• kimisi de bunu, kendisine verilen son bir şans olarak **görüp sevinmişti.**
		• bir süre sonra **yorulup sessizleştiler** ve sözü dalgalara bıraktılar.
		• hep birlikte **boğulup** öleceğimizi **söylüyor.**

		• Öfke, neden böyle bir saçmalığa izin verdiğimi **sorup** kışkırtmaya **çalışıyor** beni. • binanın camlarını **taşlayıp kırmıştır**.
IX. Synonymous Verbs	Repetition and duration of a single event	• Orada insanları rahatsız etmekten **korka korka kapıları çaldım.** • Bakın o zaman nasıl **koşa koşa gelecekler.** • **Dalıp dalıp giderdim** o saatlerde • Sonra **güle oynaya** hastaneden **çıkarır** ve hayat yeniden başlar. • dalgaların etkisiyle **sallanıp sallanıp duruyorlardı**

In this section, we have presented different types of SVCs in Turkish and their meanings. As we observed the most frequent serializing categories are direction and orientation, coordinate, aspect, secondary verb type, lexicalized collocations, sequences of actions, manner, cause-effect, and synonymous types. The most frequent one is lexicalized type. Our data have shown compatibility with Aikhenvald and Dixon's (2006) categories except one category, that is, comparison and contrast. The example of comparison and contrast type has not been come across. The serializing categories observed in Turkish bear different functions: temporal sequence, adverbial specification, and aspect. In the following section formal properties of SVCs and the grammatical procedures that they have undergone will be presented and a grammatical classification of serialization will be given.

CHAPTER III: FORMAL ANALYSIS OF TURKISH SVCs

III.3. Formal properties of Turkish serial verb constructions

In this section, we will present some formal properties of Turkish SVCs in comparison to some creole languages. The formal properties of Turkish SVCs will be stated according to the typological criteria and terminology set out in the first chapter by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006).

Aikhenvald outlines the formal characteristics of serial verb constructions within two main parameters: contiguity vs. non-contiguity of components of a construction, and wordhood of components: whether the components of an SVC from independent grammatical words or not.

III.3.1. Contiguity of components

Contiguous serial verb constructions do not allow any other constituents to intervene between their components. Examples of contiguous serialization are as follows:

Igbo (Aikhenvald: 2006: 7 follows Lord 1975)

(150) $\bar{\text{Ọ}}$ wà-rà   étéré   à

he   split.open-TENSE   plate   the

'He hit the plate.'

Mwotlap (Alexandre in Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006: 228)

(151)   kēy   [to-yo$\overline{\text{n}}$teg   vēglal   vēh]   na-l$\overline{\text{n}}$e

3pl   POT$_1$-hear   know   POT$_2$ ART-voice:2SG

'They might recognize your voice.'

Unlike those contiguous ones, non-contiguous SVCs allow other constituents to go in between the components as in (152) and (153).

Baule (Kwa, Niger-Congo: Creissels, 2000: 240 quoted in Aikhenvald, 2006: 2)

(152) ɔ̀-àfà   í   swă   n   àklè   mɨ̃

He-ANT-take   his   house   DEF   ANT-show

me

'He has shown me his house' (take-show)

Taba (Austronesian: Bowden (2001:297) in Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006: 2)

(153) n= babas   welik   n=mot   do

3sg=bite   pig   3sg=die   REAL

'It bit the pig dead.'

A component of an SVC can be complex: it can be composed of a verb followed by an incorporated noun as in (154) from Mwotlap and Toqabaqita.

(154) nok   [suwyeg-qen   tēy]   nu-sus

1sg   AOR:cast-net   hold   ART-shoes

'I go net-fishing with my shoes on.'

In Mwotlap, the two verbs forming an SVC must be strictly contiguous. The only exception to this rule is when the object of V_1 is incorporated. In this exceptional case, the object O_1 is suffixed to V_1 as in (154) above (Alexandre, 2006: 226). A similar case is observed in Toqabaqita.

Toqabaqita

(155) wane   e   [[kasi   biqu]   leqa]

man   3sg:NFUT   build   house   be.good

'The man is good at building houses.' (lit.: The man house-builds

well.)

In the example above, the noun *biqu* 'house' appears to go in between the two verbs, but this is not the case. The noun functions as an incorporated object of the

preceding verb and the two together form a complex intransitive verb (Lichtenberk, 2006: 260).

In Turkish, the constructions showing tendency to serialize can be contiguous and non-contiguous except for those lexicalized (idiomatic) phrases. Especially the coordinated, sequential actions tend to be non-contiguous. They are mostly intervened by the object complements.

(156)   …beni   al-ıp   hastane-ye   götür-dü.

I-ACC   get-Ip   hospital-DAT   take-PF

'(S)he took me off to the hospital.'

As for the constituent order of Turkish SVCs which consist of the lexicalized phrases like *çıkıp git-, geçip git-, akıp git-, yiyip iç-, silip süpür-, çıkıp gel-*, and the –Ip+ inflected verb constructions such as *–Ip dur-* must be adjacent. While each member of the serialization can be lexically used as free forms, when serialized they behave exactly like a single verb. The components of the constructions, that is, the –Ip+verb and the inflected verb, cannot be separated by intervening constituents. If these constructions are separated, it forces a conjoined reading as shown in the examples below:

(157)   Kitabı   okuyup   durdu.

book-ACC   read-Ip   stand/stop-PST

a. 'He was reading the book, and stood up.'

b. 'He kept on reading the book.'

(158)   Herkes   çıkıp   gidiyor.

everybody   leave-Ip   go-IMPF-PRES

a. Everybody is leaving and going off.

b. 'Everybody is going off.'

It is not possible for the –Ip+verb and inflected verb construction to be admissible as the single overall event reading when the components of the serialization are split up by intervening constituents as in (159):

(159)   *Kitabı   okuyup   yolda   durdu.

         book-ACC   read-Ip   road-DAT   stand/stop-PST

         'S/he kept on reading the book in the road.'

(160)   *Herkes   çıkıp   sıksık   gidiyor.

         everybody   leave-Ip   often   go-IMPF-PRES

         'Everybody is leaving (and) often going off.'

III.3.2. Wordhood of components

Aikhenvald (2006) divides SVCs into one-word and multi-word constructions by the wordhood criterion. SVCs may consist of grammatical words in which each component could function as a well-formed predicate on its own as in (33) from Taba and in the example from Tariana.

Tariana (Arawak, Northwest Amazonia)

(161)   phia-nihka   [phita   pi-thaketa]   pi-eme

         you-REC.PAST.INFER   2sg+take   2sg-cross+CAUS   2sg-stand+

         CAUS

         ha-ne-na   hyapa-na-nuku   ha-ne-ɾiku-mase

         DEM-DISTAL-CL: VERTICAL   hill-CL:VERTICAL-TOP.NON.A/S   DEM-DISTAL-CL:

         LOC-CL: PAIR-LOC

         'Was it you who brought that mountain across (lit. take-cross-put.upright)

         (the river) to the other side?'(asked the king)

Alternatingly, the components may together form one grammatical word which is also known as compounding or root serialization such as the following:

Alamblak (Bruce, 1988 in Aikhenvald, 2006: 11)

(162) mɨyt   ritm   muh-hambray-an-m

       tree   insects   climb-search:for-1sg-3pl

       'I climbed the tree searching for insects.'

Single word SVCs are commonly used in Olutec which exhibits serialization within a word, that is to say, serial verbs form one grammatical and one phonological word. The two or more verbs in this kind of serialization share the verbal morphology which is normally associated with a single word root. There is no morphological indication of conjunction or embedding that intervene the two verbs on the surface structure.

Olutec

(163) jeʔ   btan=kay-ma:jʔ-u

       that   A1(ERG)=eat-sleep-COMPL.INDEP

        'I had it for dinner.' (Zavala, 2006: 280)

The wordhood of SVCs is a rather complex issue. As Dixon and Aikhenvald (2006: 38) assert "cross-linguistically, a grammatical word and a phonological word do not always coincide". An SVC may consist of one grammatical word and several phonological words. Alternatively, an SVC can be made up of one phonological word and which consists of several grammatical words, as do contiguous serial verb constructions in Dumo:

Dumo

(164) neh   [ana~le   a-a]

       1sg   running~1sgSU.do   1sgSU.go-REDUP

'I will run (away)'   (Ingram, 2006: 206)

Aikhenvald (2006: 38) agrees with Ingram (2006) that this complexity of wordhood may be connected to the type of SVC. For example, in Anamuxra, an asymmetrical SVC conveying conative meaning ('trying') constitutes one phonological word which is one grammatical word. On the other hand, a habitual SVC casts one phonological word and two grammatical words.

Serializing constructions in Turkish are composed of one lexical word and the suffixes such as –(y)Iver, -(y)Agel, -(y)Adur, -(y)Ayaz, and -(y)Akal which precede the lexical verb. These suffixes are marked on the minor verb in the non-final position and share all tense-aspect-modality suffixes marked on the lexical verb (major verb) in the final position.

The subordinating suffixes –(y)Ip and –(y)ArAk which attach to lexical verbs in the non-final position is the other means of creating serialization. Similarly, they share the same tense-aspect-mood markers since the two individual denote the same action. With respect to semantics of the events which are denoted by these suffixes, it can be said that –Ip+verb constructions traditionally refer to the sequences of related actions (165) and/or it describes how the main event in the construction occurs (166). When it is attached to the verb *dur-*, it presents a repeated action as in (167).

(165)   …beni   al-ıp   hastane-ye   götür-dü.

          I-ACC   get-Ip   hospital-DAT   take-PF

          '(S)he took me off to the hospital.'

(166)   … taze hurma   iste-se   koş-up   getir-ecek-ler.

            fresh date palm   want-COND   run-Ip   bring-FUT-**3PL**

          'if (s)he wanted fresh date palm, they would bring [it] right

          after.'(intended)

(167)   Yürü-yüp   dur-uyor ama zayıfladığı yok.

        walk-Ip   stand-IMPF

        '(S)he keeps walking, but (s)he does not lose weight.'

III.3.3. Marking of grammatical categories and argument sharing

As observed in most studies in serial verb languages, it is clear that constructions with juxtaposed verbs tend to become grammatical morphemes because of their highly frequent verbal roots. The frequent sorts of processes of grammaticalization within a SVC cover the cases in which a verb turns into an adposition, a valence operator (i.e. causative, applicative, and passive), a verbal classifier, or a grammatical marker of tense, aspect, mood, or direction (Zavala in Aikhenvald, 2006: 289). The paths of grammaticalizaton in Turkish will be discussed within the typological framework provided by Aikhenvald (2006). Grammatical categories marked on a predicate include the person of the subject and object(s); tense, aspect, modality, mood, evidentiality; negation; valency changing; word class changing derivations; illocutionary force; and discourse categories such as focus.

Within an SVC, each of these categories can be seen on every component, which is called 'concordant marking'. This marking may be the same on each component, or it can be only partially so. This kind of marking is called 'truncated marking'. Another possibility is that a category may be marked once per construction, as called 'single marking'. That kind of marking is only possible for SVCs which form one grammatical word. In multi-word SVCs with single marking, the single marker may either go onto the first component or onto a non-first component. The third alternative marking is 'optional concordant marking' which is found with multi-word SVCs only.

III.3.4. Subject sharing

One of the main characteristic features of SVCs is the phenomenon of argument sharing. In an SVC, the verbs in the construction (V1 and V2) must share an argument, either a subject or an object. Five types of marking are presented to show the different patterns of argument sharing in Aikhenvald (2006: 40-41):

Concordant marking of the same subject**:** This case can be explained by an example from Dumo.

Dumo

> (168)   beh   [wa   Opi   luh]
>
>   3sgfpro   3sgfsu.go   PSN   3sgfsu.come
>
>   'She came from Dali.'

> (Ingram in Aikhenvald, 2006: 210)

Concordant marking of different underlying subjects: In a limited number of languages, the components of an SVC may have different underlying subjects which employ the same subject marking. The first example comes from Akan which is from Kwa family. The two components of the SVC, *take* and *flow*, have different underlying subjects as *I* and *corn*, however they bear the same surface subject marker.

Akan: (Schachter, 1974: 258 in Aikhenvald, 2006:40)

> (169)   mede   aburow   migu   msum
>
>   1sg.take   corn   1sg.flow   water.in
>
>   'I pour corn into water (lit. [I pour (corn)]-[I flow (in water)])'

Another example comes from Tariana in which the components of serial causative constructions take the same subject marking. In the example such as the following, the underlying subjects of the two verbs in the construction are different. The subject of the verb 'order' is 'she' (the mother) and the subject of the verb 'eat' is

'children'. Both of the components take the subject of the verb of ordering. The components of an SVC in Tariana cannot have separate objects.

Tariana

> (170)   du-enipe-nuku   [duɾa   du-h̃a-pidana]
>
> 3sgf-children-TOP.NON.A/S   3sgf+order   3sgf-eat-REM.PAST.REP
>
> 'She ordered her children to eat.'
>
> (Aikhenvald, 2006: 40, 182)

Truncated same subject marking: In Dravidian languages, the components of an SVC take essentially the same subject marker. But one of the components is marked with a shortened version of person marker. As in the example from Konda (South Central Dravidian), *-a* 'first plural exclusive' marker on the first verb is a truncated version of −*ap* 'first plural exclusive' which is attached onto the second verb (Aikhenvald, 2006: 41).

Konda (Steever, 1988: 41 in Aikhenvald, 2006)

> (171)   vā-n-a   sū-n-ap
>
> come-NONPAST-1pl.exc   see- NONPAST-1pl.exc
>
> 'We will come and see.'

Optional concordant subject marking: In Taba, the person of the subject may appear on both components, or just on the first one, with no semantic difference (Aikhenvald, 2006: 41 follows Bowden 2001).

Taba: (Bowden, 2006: 41 in Aikhenvald, 2006)

> (172)   n=han   n=ait   te-su
>
> 3sg=go   3sg=ascend   NEG-POT
>
> '(S)he hasn't yet gone up'

The single marking of subject: The single marker of subject in one-word SVCs can be suffixed to the construction as in (173):

Alamblak, (Papuan area, Aikhenvald, 2006: 2 cites from Bruce, 1988)

(173) wa-yarim-ak-hɨta-n-m-ko

IMP-ELEV-get-put-2sg-3pl-ELEV

'Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up there'

Alternatively, it can be prefixed as in Lakota and Yimas. On the other hand, in multi-word SVCs, a subject marker can be preposed to the whole construction as follows:

(Tetun Dili, Hajek in Aikhenvald, 2006: 241)

(174) sira   [bá   selu]   nia

3pl   go   pay   3sg

'They went and paid him'

Or it can be prefixed to the first verb as in the example from Baule:

Baule (Kwa, Niger-Congo: Aikhenvald 2006: 2 quotes from Creissels, 2000)

(175) ɔ̃-à-fà   í   swă   n   à-klè   mĩ

he-ANT-take his house   DEF ANT-show   me

'He has shown me his house' (take-show)

A different case can be observed in Siane, a person marker can be postposed, or it can be suffixed to the last component of an SVC.

Siane (Papuan area, Aikhenvald: 2006 cites from James: 1983)

(176) HLHkoli   HLmino-an-e

hear/know   remain-2sgINDIC

'You understand, are listening'

If Turkish argument sharing pattern are to be compared with prototypical serializing languages, the single marking pattern can be considered as the closest one to Turkish person marking. Person markers in Turkish are attached to both verbal and

nominal predicates to display the grammatical person of the subject. As our focus is only on verb constructions, we will just be interested in person markers on verbal predicates while giving the characteristic realizations in Turkish. Our description about person markers will be dwelled on the depiction provided by Göksel and Kerslake (2005). They follow all other suffixes, except in a couple of cases in which they optionally or obligatorily precede another suffix. These exceptional cases are 1st and 2nd person forms with *–DIr*, verb forms with *–DI* followed by *–(y)DI* or *–(y)sA* and the 3rd person plural suffix *–lAr* ,when it appears in form which include a copular marker and *–DI* (perfective), *-mIş* (perfective/evidential) *-sA*,(conditional), *–(I)yor* (imperfective), *-(y)AcAK* (furute), *-(A/I)r/-z* (aorist), *-mAlI* (obligative), *-mAktA* (imperfective), *-(y)A* (optative). In this situation the preferred position is between the copular marker and other tense/aspect marker, but it may also appear at the end (kat-sa-**lar**-dı/kat-sa-ydı-**lar** 'if they had added [it]'). There are four groups of person markers:

Group 1:

1 st person singular	-m
2nd person singular (familiar)	-n
(formal)	-nIz
3rd person singular	-
1st person plural	-k
2nd person plural	-nIz
3rd person plural	(-lAr)

The markers in this group follow the verbal suffixes *–DI* and *–sA* and the copular markers *–(y)DI* and *–(y)sA*.

Group 2

1st person singular	-(y)Im
2nd person singular (familiar)	-sIn
(formal)	-sInIz
3rd person singular	-
1st person plural	-(y)Iz
2nd person plural	-sInIz
3rd person plural	(-lAr)

The second group markers appear after the verbal suffixes –mIş, -(A/I)r, -(y)AcAK, -(I)yor, -mAlI, -mAktA, and the copular marker –(y)mIş.

Group 3

1st person singular	-yIm
2nd person singular (familiar)	-sIn
(formal)	-sInIz
3rd person singular	-sIn
1st person plural	-lIm
2nd person plural	-sInIz
3rd person plural	-sIn(lAr)

All of these markers apart from the 3rd person forms are attached to the optative suffix –(y)A. The 3rd person forms -sIn and –sInlar attach directly to the verb.

Group 4

2nd person singular (familiar)	-sAnA
(formal)	-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA

3rd person singular	-sIn
2nd person plural	-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA
3rd person plural	-sIn(lAr)

These person markers are used in imperative forms by attaching directly to the verb stem.

As it is observed from the characteristic feature of Turkish marking the subject on the final verb at the end of the sentence, co-referential subject is common. The subject marker can occur only on the final verb; however both V_1 and V_2 share the same subject.

(177)　… taze hurma　　iste-se　　koş-up　　getir-ecek-**ler**.

　　fresh　date palm　want-COND　run-Ip　　bring-FUT-**3PL**

　　'if (s)he wanted fresh date palm, they would bring [it] right

　　after.'(intended)

Contrary to the common tendency, it is possible to see the examples of traditional concordant marking of different underlying subject pattern. –Ip can be used when conjoining two events with different subjects.

(178)　　Battaniye-ler-e sar-**ın**-ıp　　　ısınma-lar-ın-ı　　　sağlı-yor-uz.

　　blanket-PL-ACC　　　　wrap-REF-Ip　　warm up-3PL-GEN-ACC provide-IMPF-1PL

　　'We provide them with the blankets to warm up.'

In the above example, because of the reflexive suffix –(I)n the components of the construction have different underlying subjects which require single surface marking on the final verb. The subject of the verb *sarın-* is *onlar* 'they', and the subject of *sağla-* is *biz* 'we'.

III.3.5. Object sharing

Marking of objects in SVCs traditionally is not similar to that of subjects. There is no concordant object marking. In one-word SVCs, the object is marked just once per construction. This is the case in Alamblak and Yimas.

Alamblak, (Papuan area, Aikhenvald 2006: 2 cites from Bruce, 1988)

> (179)   wa-yarim-ak-hɨta-n-m-ko
>
> IMP-ELEV-get-put-2sg-3pl-ELEV
>
> 'Get them on a level plane toward me (and) put them up there'

Yimas (Aikhenvald 2006: 17 quotes from Foley and Olson, 1991-1985)

> (180) na-bu-wul-cay-pra-kiak
>
> 3sgO-3sgS-afraid-try.to.make-come-remote.past
>
> 'They tried to make him afraid as he came'

In multi-word serial verb constructions, a shared object is always marked just once regardless of whether subject marking is concordant or single (Aikhenvald, 2006: 42).

The object sharing in Turkish occurs in four different patterns. The first group contains lexicalized –Ip+verb constructions which produce both a single transitive verb with a single shared direct object as in (181) and a single intransitive verb as in (182).

> (181)   Saat-im-i   çıkar-ıp   at-tı-m.
>
> watch-GEN-ACC   take off-Ip   throw-PF-1SG
>
> 'I took off and threw away my watch.'
>
> (182)   Herkes   çık-ıp   gid-iyor.
>
> everybody   leave-Ip   go-IMPF
>
> 'Everybody is going off.'

In the second group, –Ip+verb construction involving two transitive verbs (transitive+transitive) appears. The non-contiguous verbs composed of conjunctive suffix –(y)Ip reveal two or more consecutive events with two different objects.

(183)   …beni   al-ıp   hastane-ye   götür-dü.

I-ACC   get-Ip   hospital-DAT   take-PF

'…(s)he took me off to the hospital.'

(184)   … baş-ınız-ı   kaldır-ıp   çam-lar-a   bak-ın.

head-2PL.POSS-ACC   raise-Ip   pinewood-PL-DAT   look-2PL

'Raise your heads and look at the pinewoods.'

Intransitive+transitive verb sequences appear in the third group. In this construction type there is only one direct object which belongs to the transitive verb.

(185)   … kız-la   oğlan otur-up   hayat-lar-ı-nı düşün-ür-ler.

girl-ADD   boy   sit(down)-Ip life-PL-GEN-ACC think-AOR-3PL

'The girl and the boy sit down and think about their lives.'

In the fourth group, we can see the lexicalized –Ip+verb constructions which are intransitive.

(186)   Birgün   çık-ıp   gel-miş-ti.

one day   appear-Ip   come-PF.EV-P.COP

'One day (s)he has turned up (surprisingly).'

III.3.6. Tense, Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality

By definition, all verbs within an SVC must have the same value for tense-aspect and mood. It is a frequent case that languages, especially the languages where tense, aspect, and modality are expressed morphologically, use of the same markers for

expression of these categories, although they have different functions and are pragmatically different from each other (Givon, 1991: 285).

A language may mark tense, aspect, mood, or evidentiality on every verb as long as both components of an SVC take the same marking for all verbal categories. In contrast, a language may mark tense, aspect, modality categories once per SVC. When the single marking appears, it has to take scope over the whole construction. This is the case in Turkish.

In Turkish, constructions using a nonfinite verb marked by –Ip realize in different syntactic order and provide with different meanings, that is, some of these constructions propose multiple events and others occur to be a single event. We can mention mainly two different –Ip constructions in terms of their syntactic realization, that is, the order of the constituents, one type is the lexicalized non-contiguous constructions designating one single event as in (187) while the other is contiguous –Ip constructions revealing a sequence of sub-events of an overall single event as in (188):

(187)   Sabahtan beri konuş-up   dur-uyor.

                    speak-Ip   stand/stop-IMPF

         'S/he has been keeping on speaking since the morning.'

(188)   … sabah   erkenden   giyinip   işe   koşmuştur.

          morning   early   put on-Ip   work   run-PF-GM

         'After s/he has put on, s/he has run to the work early in the morning.'

The contribution of the lexical verb -Ip dur- to the aspect of the sentence is to specify the durative meaning with habitual aspect. It expresses the repetitive and ongoing state of the action. In the second example, it can be observed that the two individual events occur one after another before without time elapse. From this point of time relation between two events, they can be conceived as a single event.

Generally speaking, among the Turkish complex verb constructions involving the converbial -ErEk+verb and -Ip+verb with a lexical verb, and the simple juxtaposition, there are no paradigmatic restrictions on the aspect of these constructions. This case can be illustrated on the *-Ip+dur* constructions:

Punctual: okuyup durmuştur

Aorist: okuyup durur

Pluperfect   okuyup durduydu

Inferential past   okuyup durmuşum

Present progressive   okuyup duruyorum

The only restriction on these constructions is semantic constraint. The two verbs within the construction must express events taking place in the same time especially those for lexicalized preverb and postverb constructions such as –Ip, -ErEk, -A dur-, etc. The *ve* coordination test may illustrate the case more clearly. If tense, aspect, mood markers are the same for all conjuncts, the two VPs can be coordinated using *ve*.

(189)   … sabah   erkenden   giyinip   işe   koşmuştur.

         morning   early   put on-Ip   work   run-PF-GM

         'After s/he has put on, s/he has run to the work   early in the morning.'

(190)   …sabah   erkenden   giyinmiş   ve   işe   koşmuştur.

         Morning   early   put on-PF   and   work   run-PF-GM

         '(S)he has put on and run to the work early in the morning.'

The difference between these two structures stems from the morphological requirements on the first component. As we mentioned before, all conjuncts obligatorily take the same tense, aspect, mood markers, although they may be only overtly marked on final component. In example (189) the verb marked with –Ip may not bear any other

markers. On the other hand, the perfective marker *–mIş* in the example (190) is obligatorily repeated in the *ve* structure. Likewise the person of the verb is shared by two structures. The person marker (3 person singular), which is expressed by the absence of any suffix, can be understood in both constructions. But the generalizing modality *-DIr* is only marked on the final verb.

The expression where VPs which are coordinated do not have the same tense can produce semantically and grammatically ill forms as in example (191).

(191)   *…sabah erkenden   giyinecek   ve   işe   koşmuştur.

morning early   put on-FUT   and   work   run-PF-GM

'(S)he will put on and han run to the work early in the morning.'

To sum up, in Turkish tense-aspect-mood markers are obligatorily shared by both of the verbs in the construction, and they are marked only once taking scope over the whole construction.

III.3.7. Negation

Aikhenvald (2006: 44) recites within an SVC negation is likely to be marked once per SVC, even though other categories undergo concordant marking. Traditionally, Turkish designates negation marker on the superordinate verbs in complex sentences. Negation within Turkish SVCs is generally marked on the final verb but the verb containing –Ip is also understood to have negative meaning.

(192)   Herhalde   herkes   çık-ıp   git-me-yecek.

probably   everybody   leave-Ip   go-NEG-FUT

(= … çık-ma-yacak ve…)

leave-NEG-FUT and…

'I don't think that everybody will go off.'

The verb involving –Ip can itself receive negative marker only when the main verb does not.

(193)   Kimse   çık-ma-yıp   burda   kal-acak.

            nobody   leave-NEG-Ip   here   stay-FUT

            'Nobody will leave, (everybody) will stay here.'

Other grammatical categories such as valency changing, word class changing derivations, illocutionary force and discourse categories (discussed by Aikhenvald) are not observed in Turkish serialization constructions.

III.4. Grammaticalization

The serial verbs in Turkish tend to be grammaticalized. Among the serialization constructions the –Ip+verb constructions are of the most frequent ones and they fulfill different grammatical categories and functions.

The first type of –Ip+verb constructions is the adverbial type. They may impart coordinated actions where the –Ip+verb construction modifies the action of the matrix verb in some way. The subject of both verbs is of co-referential. The following examples illustrate the case.

(194)   … bir makas olsa saçlarını hiç acımadan kökünden <u>kes-ip at-acak-tı</u>.

                                      <u>cut-Ip throw-FUT-COP-2sg</u>

        'If there were scissors, she would cut her hair totally and throw away without feeling sore.'

(195)   … yıllardır sabah erkenden <u>giyin-ip</u> işe <u>koş-muş-tur.</u>

                        <u>put on-Ip</u>   <u>run-PERF-EVID.COP</u>

        '(S)he has run to work early in the morning for years.'

The second construction type with –Ip+verb construction provides more information about the inflected verb. In this construction type the two verbs stand in an equal relationship and denote a pair of sequential or related actions. This case can convey multiple events in relation to each other, and is exemplified as follows:

(196)   Al-ıp   ambalajından   çıkar-ıp   fırında   ısıt-ıp
yi-yor-sun.

buy-Ip   package-GEN-ABL   take out-Ip   oven-LOC   heat-Ip
eat-IMPERF-2sg

'You buy (it), take it out of the package, heat it in the oven, and eat it.'

(197)   Ali   kitabını   okuy-up   çayını   iç-ip   git-ti.

Ali book-GEN-ACC   read-Ip   tea-GEN-ACC drink-Ip   go-PST-3SG

'Ali read his book, drank some tea and went.'

The actions in the third group are the ones where the second verb (inflected verb) behaves like an auxiliary or a directional. They involve a single event, terminologically it can be labeled as 'single predicate core' (as in Johanson's terminology, 1995). It seems that the inflected verb is conveying additional information about the event structure of the verb marked by –Ip. Examples are given below.

(198)   konuş-up   dur-du.

talk-Ip   stand/stop-PST-3SG

'(S)he kept on talking.'

(199)   Herkes   çık-ıp   gid-iyor.

everybody   leave-Ip   go-IMPF-PRES

'Everybody is going off.'

Beside the one predicate construction formed by –*Ip dur,* the –Ip+inflected verb constructions can produce two predicate cores as in the example (200):

(200)   Ali kitabı al-ıp   gel-di.

          take-Ip-bring   come-PST

The other auxiliary verb is formed by the verb *git* which is followed by the serializing suffix –ArAk. The first verb in the construction behaves as an auxiliary. But the two verbs together represent a single event. The serializing suffix –ArAk contributes a gradual meaning to the event structure of the construction.

(201)   Ancak durum gid-erek   kötüleş-iyor.

            go-ArAk   get worse-PRES

    'But the situation is getting worse.'

The –Ip+inflecting verb structures, as the complex predicate formation device found in Turkish, have gone through different analyses. Lewis (2000: 190) asserts that the gerund –IP + *durmak* or *gelmek* is a type of 'compound verb construction' in which the second verb behaves as an auxiliary. Kornfilt (1997:21) examines Turkish –Ip as a type of verbal conjunction when discussing the multiple event structures (*okuyup, su içti* ['reading, he drank water'] type). According to Kornfilt, –Ip conjoins VPs.

In our analyses, the grammaticalization stages of serial constructions in Turkish can be discussed in five groups in terms of their function. The –Ip+inflected verb constructions, as the most frequent one, carry out an adverbial function modifying the coordinated actions of the construction. It can embark more information about the matrix event, especially in multiple event type constructions. Alternatively, it can appear as an auxiliary or directional resenting a single, core event. Again the inflected verb provides additional information about the event structure of the verb formed by –Ip. Within the auxiliary type, it is worth to mention the secondary verb SVCs formed by auxiliary verb

ol-. It produces adverbials when used with converbial suffix –ArAk. The second auxiliary verb type is formed by the verb *git* which is followed by the converbial suffix –ArAk, and it designates an ongoing change of state in the semantics of the matrix verb.

III.5. Lexicalization

Certain Turkish serializing constructions like *çıkıp git-, geçip git-, akıp git-, yiyip iç-, silip süpür-, çıkıp gel-* are lexicalized. These lexicalized phrases behave differently from other consecutive constructions which form serialization sequencing related events. The argument structure of these lexicalized phrases is shaped by the whole construction. They behave as single syntactic units.

(202)   Herkes   çık-ıp   gid-iyor.

            everybody   leave-Ip   go-IMPF-PRES

            'Everybody is going off.'

(203)   Birgün   çık-ıp   gel-miş-ti.

            one day   appear-Ip   come-PF.EV-P.COP

            'One day (s)he has turned up (surprisingly).'

III.6. Constituent order

Although the default word order of a Turkish sentence is known as 'Subject-Object-Verb', it is variable. Thanks to this property, Turkish is accepted as a free word order language and the syntactic functions in the sentence can be freely ordered to construct the sentence. Changing the order of the constituents it is possible to distinguish new information from background information and it helps to focus on the prominence of a certain constituent in the discourse (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 388). Despite the free word order characteristic of Turkish, there are some grammatical constraints on the word

order. It is worth mentioning the word order of serialization in Turkish at this point, especially that of –Ip postverb constructions which form serialization productively. For the single event reading to be admissible, both of the verbs in the construction must be adjacent. But this restriction is only valid for the construction verb+-Ip (or postverb –Ip) and the inflected verb. If the -Ip verb and the inflected verb are separated it leads to conjoined reading. This case is shown in the examples below:

(204)   Kitabı   okuyup   durdu.

book-ACC   read-Ip   stand-PST

a. 'He was reading the book, (and) stood up.'

b. 'He kept on reading the book.'

(205)   Kitabı   okuyup   sıksık durdu.

book-ACC   read-Ip   often   stand-PST

a. 'He was reading a book, (and) often stood up.'

b. *'He kept on reading a book often.'

(206)   Kitabı   okuyup,   yolda   durdu.

book-ACC   read-Ip   road-LOC   stand-PST

a. 'He was reading the book, (and) then stood in the road.'

b. *'He kept on reading the book on the road.'   (Bowern, 2004: 10)

Interrogatives can be an efficient test for adjacent constituent order of the serial constructions. One cannot use the interrogative particle *mI* between the –Ip+verb and the inflecting verb.

(207)   *Kitabı   okuyup   mu   durdun?

book-ACC   read-Ip   INT   stand-PST

(the admissible meaning: 'Did you keep on reading?')

As in –Ip+verb constructions, the lexicalized forms do not allow interrogative particle *mI* intervene the structure.

Only the structures involving sequences of actions are appropriate for intervening interrogative particle as in (206):

(208)   Ali   kitabını   <u>okuy-up</u>   çayını   <u>iç-ip</u>   mi   <u>git-ti</u>.

Ali   book-GEN-ACC   read-Ip   tea-GEN-ACC   drink-Ip   INT go-PST-3SG

(the intended meaning: 'Did Ali go after he read his book and drank his tea?')

All these show that the –Ip+verb constructions and the lexicalized constructions behave as a single syntactic unit.

CONCLUSION

Serial verb constructions are commonly observed in many languages, especially West African languages, Southeast and East Asian languages and Creole languages. The SVC phenomena has been defined in different terms by different writers many of whom are aware of this defining job is rather challenging despite much attention it has got so far. Although the serial verb constructions in other languages have attracted the attention of many researchers for years, the likelihood of serial constructions to be a grammatical category in Turkish has had little interest. The limited number of studies on SVCs only emphasized a limited scope of the issue being far from a complete account of serialization in Turkish. The stimulus behind our research stemmed from the similarities between the serial verb constructions in serializing languages and the tandem patterns of verb expressions in Turkish.

SVCs are considered to be deficit of a systematic definition or set of restrictive criteria. With this aspect there have been claims ranging from it being a universally available phenomenon to it being a parameterized (Horn, 2001).

Crowley presents an explicit set of criteria in the recognition SVCs following Sebba's (1987 cited in Crowley, 2002):

- Both verbs must be lexical verbs in that they must both be able to function independently within a clause as verbs in their own right.
- Both constituent verbs within the serial construction – if there is any possibility of the two being conceived as expressing independent events – must be interpreted as having the same categories of tense-aspect-mood.
- There must be no marking of a clause boundary between the two verbs.
- There should be no conjunction appearing between the two verbs. (2002: 12)

In line with Crowley (2002), Aikhenvald (2006) defines SVCs as a sequence of verbs occurring simultaneously and as a single predicate, excluding any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort". Serial verb

constructions denote to a single event, in other words as a single cognitive package within one clause and with one predicate. They are mono-clausal; their intonational properties must be the same as those of a mono-verbal clause, and they bear just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share at least one argument, core or peripheral. Each component of an SVC must be able to stand on its own. The individual verbs of an SVC may have same, or different, transitivity values.

At least as the definition of SVCs, the types also vary according to different writers. There are as many classifications of SVCs as there are researchers who work on them. For example, Aikhenvald (2006) labels SVCs as symmetrical and asymmetrical in terms of their composition and subtypes of these two broad classes in terms of their semantic reference. Horn (2001) proposes two basic types as resultative and consequential.

Our study is meant to determine the serialization constructions in Turkish and examine their formal and semantic properties based on the typological framework provided by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006). In order to reach our goal, we have studied through a comprehensive and reliable data retrieved from TNC (Turkish National Corpus) enabling us to introduce the following findings:

i. In Turkish, the –Ip+verb and inflecting verb constructions, the gerundive suffix –ArAk, lexicalized expressions like *geçip git-, uçup git-, akıp git-, gelip geç, silip süpür*, and compound verb forms with bound auxiliaries such as *–(y)Iver, -(y)Adur, -(y)Ayaz, -(y)Agel, -(y)Akal* express the series of two or more verbs having the same subject and are not combined by an overt conjunction. The first verb in serial verb constructions is conceived as the major verb. The second verb in the construction specifies the tense-aspect-mood properties of the event denoted by the major verb.

ii. In accordance with the semantic and functional commonalities and differences between prototypical SVCs, Turkish serial verb constructions should be viewed as a scalar continuum. The serial verb constructions having bound auxiliaries such as *–(y)Iver, -(y)Adur, -(y)Ayaz, -(y)Agel, -(y)Akal* and postverb/preverb constructions, and lexicalized forms like *geçip git-, uçup git-, akıp git-, gelip geç, silip süpür* are more likely to carry the prototypical properties. The case can be shown via the examples below, from the most SVCs to the least one:

Ardından bak-akal-dı-m.

'I stared at behind him.'

gid-e   dur-

'keep going'

çekti   git-ti.

'S/he left (with a sudden decision)

ne var ne yok sildi süpürdü.

'S/he devoured everything.'

Apart from these constructions, the converb −ArAk functions as a serial verb construction since it creates a state in which two events are conceived as constituent parts of a single superordinate event.

zavallı kuş a*vuçlarından uçarak kaçtı.*

'The poor bird, leaving his palms, escaped.'

On the other hand, the verb sequences which have intervening arguments tend to be less serialized as shown in the example :

*... sabah erkenden **giyinip** işe **koştu**.*

'… s/he put on and ran to work early in the morning.'

As it is understood from these examples, the range of Turkish SVCs is the SVCs having bound auxiliaries → postverb/preverb constructions → lexicalized expressions → the converb –ArAk → and verb sequences with intervening arguments.

iii.　It is possible to accommodate the serial verb constrictions with respect to the meanings which are conveyed by the serial verbs in the construction. The serial verbs in Turkish could be grouped as direction and orientation; aspect, extent, and change of state serialization; coordinate serial verb constructions; secondary verb type serialization; concomitant actions; manner SVCs; resultative serial verb constructions; synonymous verb serialization.

iv.　The serial verb constructions are not productively used in Turkish. The reason for this limited serialization is that Turkish has a rich morphological inflection system. Since Turkish has a rich inflectional and agreement morphology and converbs as a productive grammatical device, it does not allow the frequent use of serial verb constructions. But it would not be correct to say that there is no serialization in Turkish in any circumstances. There are serial-like constructions. Another reason for why serial verb constructions in Turkish are so limited is temporal closeness between the actions. The absence of time distance between the actions shows the two actions occur one anther or simultaneously and it makes them close to serial constructions.

v.　It can be said for sure that serialization as a grammatical technique confines the use of overt coordination in Turkish. As it is traditionally observed in other languages, Turkish serial verb constructions can be separated from other serial-like constructions or subordination and coordination in that in an SVC there should be no overt connectors between verbal elements. Any evidence of

subordination and coordination signals that we are dealing with a complex sentence rather than a single clause.

vi.   The constructions considered as serial verb constructions in Turkish are generally composed of action verbs, not state verbs.

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