

Event structure of the light verb *lart* ‘seat’ in Poshkart Chuvash¹

1. Introduction

- ❖ Chuvash features complex predicates – constructions consisting of two verbal forms but denoting a single event, as in (1):

(1) *vaεə εur-za ka-rʲ-ə*
V. sleep-CV_SIM go-PST-3SG
‘Vasya fell asleep.’

- ❖ A complex predicate consists of the governed verb in the converbial form, which is responsible for the lexical content of the event (thus it is called a **lexical verb**) and the main verb which functions as a grammatical modifier (it is called a **light verb**)
- ❖ In Chuvash, there are many light verbs with different actional, directive and valence-changing functions (see, for instance, [Shluinsky 2006a; Lebedev 2016; Golosov 2020])
- ❖ My talk is dedicated to semantics and selective restrictions of the light verb *lart* ‘seat’ in the Poshkart dialect of Chuvash
- ❖ All the data² were collected during the fieldwork in the Chuvash village Poshkart (Maloye Karachkino) in the Chuvash Republic in August 2019 and March 2020

2. Data

2.1. Basic properties of the light verb *lart* ‘seat’

- ❖ As a lexical verb, *lart* denotes situations of seating or putting:

(2) *vaεə vaz-in-e sēdel εi-n-e lart-rʲ-ə*
V. vaze-P_3-OBJ table surface-P_3-OBJ seat-PST-3SG
‘Vasya put the vase on the table.’

- ❖ As a light verb, it is grammaticalized into a telicizing operator that forms punctual complex predicates:

¹ The research is supported by the grant RFBR 20-512-14003 «Language diversity in Volga Sprachbund. Typology of grammatical phenomena and language contacts».

² All the examples were collected via elicitation method: I either asked consultants to translate a Russian stimulus into Chuvash or asked them whether a stimuli in Chuvash is acceptable and got its translation into Russian in case it was interpretable.

I count examples acceptable if at least 3 consultants accept them. If there were some native speakers that reject the example, I made a special note x/y above it: x is a number of consultants who accepted the sentence, and y is a number of asked native speakers.

Other notes: * -- sentence is ungrammatical, ? – sentence is more or less acceptable, but not very natural, ok – sentence is grammatical (used only in the contrast contexts), p – preliminarily acceptable sentence (asked on less than 3 informants).

(3) a. *vaɕə pilək minut-ra ɛi-ze lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. 5 minute-loc eat-CV_SIM seat-pst-3sg
 ‘Vasya ate enough in five minutes.’

b. **vaɕə pilək minut ɛi-ze lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. 5 minute eat-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘Vasya satisfied his hunger by eating for five minutes.’

c. *vaɕə pilək minut-ra ɛi-ze lard-at*
 V. 5 minute-LOC eat-CV_SIM seat-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Vasya will eat enough in five minutes.’

d. **vaɕə pilək minut ɛi-ze lard-at*
 V. 5 minute eat-CV_SIM seat-NPST[3SG]
 Intended: ‘Vasya is satisfying his hunger by eating for 5 minutes’.

- ❖ The general semantic property of complex predicates with *lart* is that they denote **change of state of the undergoer of an action on some scale**, like in (4):

(4) *vaɕə su əzət-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. water heat-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya heated the water.’

- ❖ The degree of change must be contextually high and significant:

(5) a. *vəl numaj ěɛ-se lart-rʲ-ə*
 3SG many drink-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘He drank a lot’.

b. #*vəl sagal ěɛ-se lart-rʲ-ə*
 3SG little drink-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘He drank little’.

(6) a. *ebě numaj xot ɛēt-se lart-r-əm*
 1SG many paper tear-CV_SIM seat-PST-1SG
 ‘I tore a lot of paper’.

b. %*ep³ sagal xot ɛēt-se lart-r-əm*
 1SG little paper tear-CV_SIM seat-PST-1SG
 Intended: ‘I tore paper a little’.

(7) a. *səmalʲot pin kilometr vęc-se lart-sa*
 plane 1000 kilometer fly-CV_SIM seat-CV_SIM
 ‘A plane flew one thousand kilometers.’

³ The pronunciation of the first singular personal pronoun is variative.

- b. #*səmalʲot ikĕ kilometr vĕε-se lart-rʲ-ə*
 plane 2 kilometer fly-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘A plane flew two kilometers.’

❖ Light verb *lart* has restrictions on the argument structure of the lexical verb:

- It combines with transitive, agentive and stative lexical verbs, but does not combine with verbs denoting an uncontrolled change of state:

- (8) a. *vaεə oj soxala-za lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. field plow-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya plowed the field.’

- b. *vaεə numaj sek-se lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. many jump-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya jumped enough.’

- c. *vaεə εur-za lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. sleep-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya slept enough.’

- d. **kĕbe tip-se lart-rʲ-ə*
 shirt dry-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘A shirt dried’.

❖ In combination with patientive lexical verbs, a synonymous light verb *lar* ‘sit down’, inchoative variant of *lart* ‘seat’, is used [Golosov 2020]:

- (9) a. *man εyε tip-se lar-tĕ-əε*
 1SG.GEN hair dry-CV_SIM sit.down-PST-3PL
 ‘My hair dried.’

- b. *su əzən-za lar-tĕ-ə*
 water heat-CV_SIM sit.down-PST-3SG
 ‘The water heated.’

❖ The exact set of rules determining the distribution of *lart* is to be established, but preliminary generalization is that it combines only with verbs with an external argument (transitives, unergatives and states)

❖ Main two meanings that complex predicates with *lart* have are as follows:

- The meaning of saturation, as in (10):

- (10) *vaεə εi-ze lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. eat-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya ate enough.’

- The meaning of high effect on the object, as in (11):

(11) *vaeə* *εan-in-e* *mətək-la-t-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. sleeve-P_3-OBJ short-VBZ-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya shortened his sleeves.’

- ❖ However, both these meanings are associated with some gradual change of of an argument
- ❖ Further, I will show how *lart* deals with different types of verbs that already denote a kind of gradual change (**incremental** verbs), as well as with different kinds of verbs that lack a gradual change of a participant in their denotation

2.2. Light verb *lart* ‘seat’ in combination with incremental verbs

2.2.0. Brief introduction to incrementality ⁴

- ❖ A notion of incrementality was introduced in works of Manfred Krifka [1989, 1992] as such a property of the verb that there is a one-to-one correspondence between subparts of denoted event and a property associated with one of the arguments:

(12) *John ate an apple.*

- ❖ In (12), there is one-to-one correspondence between parts of the eating activity and parts of an apple

- The more John eats, the less apple is left

- ❖ The verb *eat* in (12) belongs to one of the types of incremental predicates – it is a verb with incremental theme, i.e. an argument which changes its state part-by-part proportionally to the event

- ❖ Another kind of an incremental theme predicate is *burn* in (13):

(13) *The house burned.*

- ❖ The next type of incremental property of incremental verbs are verbs with incremental property, as in (14):

(14) *John cooled the water.*

- ❖ In contrast to the verbs of the previous type, there is no correspondence between an event and parts of the objects

- ❖ Rather, there is a scalar property which changes incrementally to the progress

⁴ This paragraph is mainly based on discussion in [Tatevosov 2015].

of an event

- The more John cools, the cooler the water is

- ❖ The last type of incremental verbs are verbs with an incremental path, such as *run* in (15):

(15) *John run to the station.*

- ❖ In (15), there is a one-to-one correspondence between an event of moving and the path of the moving, so it is neither a theme nor a property changed proportionally to the event
- ❖ A path can be referred to via PP denoting a destination point, as in (15), or via NP/QP denoting a path itself, as in (16):

(16) *John run a mile.*

- ❖ Different kinds of the incremental verbs have different aspectual and other structural properties, see [Tatevosov 2015] for more details
- ❖ Let us see how *lart* behaves with different types of incremental verbs

2.2.1. Light verb *lart* ‘seat’ in combination with verbs with an incremental property

- ❖ This class of the lexical verbs shows the least semantic change in combination with the light verb, since such predicates already denote a scalar change of an argument:

(17) a. *vaεə at-in-e tazat-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
V. boot-P_3-OBJ clean-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
‘Vasya cleaned his boots.’

b. *vaεə tεaʃk-a ʃu-ba tol-dar-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. cup-OBJ water-INS fill-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
‘Vasya filled cup with water.’

c. *vaεə ʃu əzət-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
V. water warm-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
‘Vasya heated the water.’

d. *vaεə εan-in-e mətək-la-t-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
V. sleeve-P_3-OBJ short-VBZ-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
‘Vasya shortened his sleeves.’

2.2.2. Light verb *lart* in combination with verbs with an incremental theme

- ❖ The behavior of the light verb in this lexical domain is inconsistent
- ❖ In combination with **verbs of creation**, the light verb *lart* denotes a contextually relevant endpoint:

(18) a. *vaɕə ɕavraʂka yger-ze lart-rʲ-ə*
V. circle draw-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya drew a circle'.

b. *papi ʂarf ɕik-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
grandma scarf tie-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Grandma knitted a scarf.'

- ❖ In combination with **verbs of destruction**, *lart* behaves inconsistently
 - I have three verbs in my sample denoting an incremental destructive change of state of the object: *ɕondar* 'burn', *erëlder* 'melt' and *kajdar* 'erase'
 - Each verb behaves in combination with *lart* in its own way
- ❖ In combination with the verb *ɕondar* 'burn', light verb *lart* denotes a situation of high destructive effect on the object, but the object still exists:

(19) *vaɕə kastrʲulʲ-a ɕon-dar-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. saucepan-OBJ burn-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya burnt the saucepan.'

- ❖ In combination with the verb *erël* 'melt', the light verb forms complex predicate denoting with a completive meaning:

(20) *vaɕə pər erël-der-ze lart-rʲ-ə*
V. ice melt-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya melted ice (completely)'.

- ❖ Finally, light verb *lart* hardly combines with the verb *kajdar* 'erase', but in idiolects where such a complex predicate is still possible it denotes a completion of the action:

(21) *%vaɕə ygertɕäg-e kaj-dar-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. drawing-OBJ go-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya erased a drawing'.

- ❖ There is one more destruction verb – *synder* 'extinguish' – which combines with *lart* and forms a complex predicate with a completive meaning:

(22) *vaεə* *vod-a* *syn-der-ze* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. fire-OBJ extinguish-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya extinguished the fire.’

❖ However, it is very hard to establish whether *syn-der* ‘extinguish’ is a verb with an incremental theme, not a verb with an incremental property

❖ In combination with most incremental theme verbs denoting the other types of change of state, light verb *lart* also has a completive meaning, i.e. it denotes a full coverage of an incremental theme:

(23) a. *vaεə* *oj* *soxala-za* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. field plow-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya plowed a field.’

b. *vaεə* *karda* *sərla-za* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. fence paint-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya painted the fence.’

c. *vaεə* *oraj* *ʂəl-za* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. floor sweep-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya swept the floor.’

❖ The only exceptional cases are verbs that belong to the class of ingestives, namely *εi* ‘eat’ and *ěε* ‘drink’:

(24) a. *vaεə* *εi-ze* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. eat-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya ate enough.’

b. *vəl* *numaj* *ěε-se* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 3SG many drink-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘He drank a lot.’

❖ In combination with such verbs, *lart* has a saturative meaning, i.e. the complex predicates denote a moment of the agent’s saturation rather than the moment of the patient’s disappearance

❖ If the full coverage of an object is specified, the usage of the light verb *lart* is prohibited:

(25) **vaεə* *pədēm* *εərbe* *εi-ze* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. totally soup eat-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘Vasya ate all the soup.’

❖ The same saturative meaning of complex predicates with *lart* arises in combination with verbs with an incremental object that does not change its state during the event:

(26) *vaεə* *kino-zam* *pək-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. film-PL watch-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya watched films enough’.

- ❖ For example, (26) asserts that the agent got saturated watching the films, but nothing about the coverage of the set of films is said

2.2.3. Light verb *lart* in combination with verbs with an incremental path

- ❖ In combination with these verbs, the light verb forms complex predicates that at the first glance operate on path scale:

(27) a. *vaεə* *vizē* *kilometr* *iʂ-se* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. 3 kilometer swim-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya swam three kilometers.’

b. *vaεə* *për* *kilometr* *tεop-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. 1 kilometer run-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya run one kilometer’.

c. *səmolət* *pin* *kilometr* *vëε-se* *lart-sa*
 plane 1000 kilometer fly-CV_SIM seat-CV_SIM
 ‘A plane flied one thousand kilometers.’

- ❖ However, it is not clear whether the scale *lart* operates on here is actually a path scale, because e.g. some consultants translated (27c) in Russian using the verb *налетать*, which roughly means ‘to accumulate (some number of kilometers or hours) in the baggage of experience’
- ❖ So maybe it is a scale of accumulation rather than a proper path scale?
- ❖ Judging by the preliminary data, *lart* is possible in the context with a proper incremental path argument:

(28) *vaεə* *kil-den* *pucla-za* *ʂkola* *side*
 V. home-ABL begin-CV_SIM school to
tεop-sa *lart-rʲ-ə*
 run-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya run from home to school.’

- ❖ Thus, in combination with incremental path lexical verbs *lart* forms a complex predicate either with an incremental path reading, or with an accumulative “experiential” reading
- ❖ Here we are finishing with the incremental lexical verbs and are about to know how *lart* deals with non-incremental lexical verbs

2.3. Light verb *lart* in combination with non-incremental lexical verbs

- ❖ The complex predicates formed from such verbs differ in their meaning depending on whether the object undergoes change during the event or not
- ❖ In combination with non-incremental verbs denoting a durative change of state of the object, the formed complex predicates denote a telic process of accumulation of that object:

(29) a. *vaɛə numaj xot ɛët-se lart-rʲ-ə*
V. many paper tear-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya tore a lot of paper.'

b. *vaɛə numaj kajək tit-sa lart-rʲ-ə*
V. many bird catch-CV_SIM seat-PST-SG
'Vasya caught a lot of birds.'

c. *vaɛə vodə ɛor-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. wood chop-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya chopped a lot of wood.'

- ❖ If the lexical verb denotes a durative event, but does not have a patientive object, the complex predicate has a cumulative interpretation, often with a saturativity inference
- ❖ Thus, in combination with transitives with non-incremental theme object, as well as with activities and states, the light verb *lart* forms complex predicates denoting that the agent made the action enough:

(30) a. *vaɛə tɛdɛk ʂərʂla-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. flower smell-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya saturated smelling the flower.'

b. *vaɛə numaj sek-se lart-rʲ-ə*
V. many jump-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya jumped enough'.

c. *vaɛə ɛur-za lart-rʲ-ə*
V. sleep-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
'Vasya slept enough'.

- ❖ In these cases, the accumulator of effect is not an object, but rather is a subject: for instance, (30a) denotes a moment when Vasya becomes somehow affected smelling the flower
- ❖ Finally, light verb *lart* generally does not combine with verbs denoting a momentary change of state on a binary scale:

(31) a. **vaɕə* *ɣarik* *sek-ter-ze* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. balloon burst-CAUS-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘Vasya burst the balloon.’

b. **vaɕə* *ɕělëg-e* *top-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. hat-OBJ find-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 Intended: ‘Vasya found the hat.’

- ❖ However, there are examples, where *lart* still combines with verbs denoting momentary situation, but specific properties of these contexts is that there is specific inference of accident at least for some consultants:

(32) a. *vaɕə* *petʲ-a* *bulavkə-ba* *ter-ze* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. P.-OBJ pin-INS poke-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya pricked Petya with a pin.’

b. *vaɕə* *jid-a* *tap-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. dog-OBJ kick-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya kicked the dog (accidentally)’.

c. *vaɕə* *kostʲ-a* *ɕap-sa* *lart-rʲ-ə*
 V. K.-OBJ hit-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya hit Kostya’.

- ❖ There could be two possible views on such contexts:
 - In such cases, the light verb *lart* has another meaning (somehow connected with the notion of accident)
 - The light verb has the same meaning, and here it denotes a stronger effect on the object after an event

2.4. Data: summary

- ❖ Verb *lart* ‘seat’ grammaticalized into a telicizing light verb forming punctual complex predicates
- ❖ It combines only with lexical verbs with an external argument, while unaccusatives combine with its “inchoative” counterpart, light verb *lar* ‘to sit down’
- ❖ Complex predicates with *lart* denote a significant change of state of one of the arguments:
 - It could be an object, and then there is a meaning of accumulated effect on the object

- It could be a subject, and then there is a meaning of saturation or accumulation of effect on the subject

❖ The behavior of the light verb *lart* is summarized in the table below:

Class of the lexical verb		The meaning of the complex predicate with <i>lart</i>	
Incremental verbs	Verbs with incremental property	A change of state of the object to some contextually relevant high degree	
	Verbs with incremental path	A worthy path experience	
	Verbs with incremental theme	Verbs of destruction	Inconsistent: an effect on the object (with <i>ɛondar</i> 'to burn'), completeness of the action (with <i>kajdar</i> 'to erase' in some idiolects and with <i>erlder</i> 'to melt')
		Verbs of creation	Completeness of the action
		Verbs of impact on the object	Reaching a contextually relevant high grade on the scale
		Verbs with a non-patientive incremental theme	Contextual saturation of the agent
	Ingestives		
Non-incremental verbs	Durative	Verbs without patientive object	
		Verbs with patientive object	Accumulation of the object
	Non-durative	Suddenness of the action (could be another meaning)	

- ❖ The table shows that the distribution of the two meanings is very tricky: neither incrementality nor semantic role of an argument can predict which meaning will appear with the corresponding lexical verb
- ❖ In the analysis part, I will propose a formal analysis which could predict the distribution of the meanings without any additional assumptions – it is called **the first phase syntax**

3. Analysis

3.1. Introduction to the first phase syntax

- ❖ The first phase syntax [Ramchand 2008a] is a formal theory of actional decomposition, according to which the structure of event is represented via some combination of three subeventual heads:
 - *init* introduces an **initiation (causative) subevent** and the source of the causative activity – **Initiator**
 - *proc* introduces a **subevent of process or change of state** and the core participant involved in the process – **Undergoer**

- *res* introduces a **resultant state** of the event and the holder of that state – **Resultee**
- ❖ The subeventual heads can take as complements eventual phrases causally related to them (for instance, *init* usually takes *procP*, while *proc* usually takes *resP*), or so-called Rhemes – non-structural arguments that influence on mereological and actional properties of the subevent
- ❖ The maximal projection of the first phase syntax is illustrated below [Ramchand 2008a: 46]:

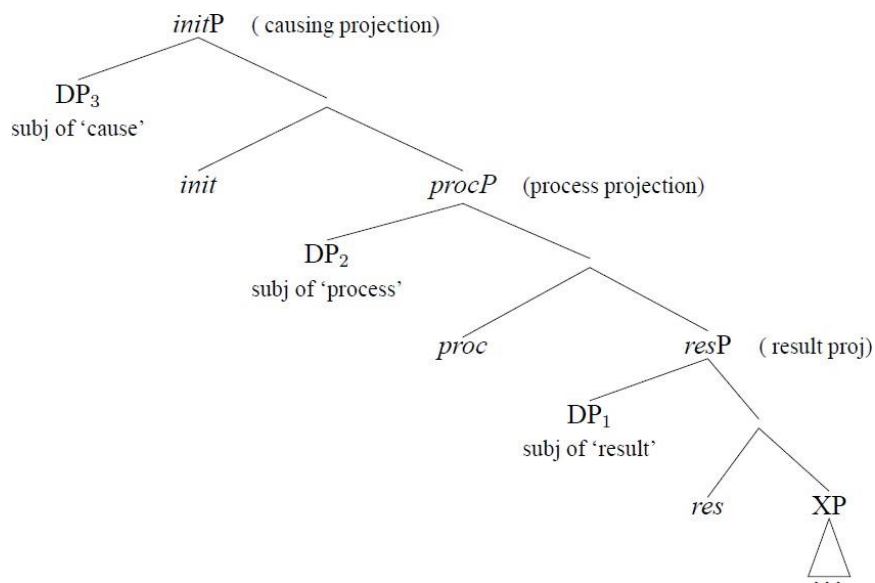


Figure 1. The first phase syntax

- ❖ In the first phase syntax, theta-roles can be assigned more than once, and a single NP can have more than one theta-role
- ❖ For instance, the only argument of the verb *arrive* gets a complex role Initiator-Undergoer-Resultee, since it is simultaneously a causer of moving, an entity that moves and a holder of a stated of a changed location
- ❖ Thus, verb classes differ in two parameters:
 - The set of subevents
 - The assignment of theta-roles
- ❖ For example, unaccusatives differ from unergatives in that the former lack *init*, while unergatives differ from usual transitives in that the former assign roles of Initiator and Undergoer to the same NP, while the latter assign them to the different NPs
- ❖ In some contexts, unergatives can assign the role of the Undergoer to the

other entities, see (33) cited from [Ramchand 2008a: 128]):

(33) a. *Karena walked the dog.*

b. *Michael jumped the horse.*

- ❖ Interestingly, some transitives, namely ingestive and creation verbs do not assign a role of Undergoer to their direct object, considering them Path arguments (a kind of Rhemes), while subject gets the role of Undergoer
- ❖ There are different arguments for that, see for instance, contrasts in (34-35), where verb *paint* behaves differently with respect to its meaning (cited from [Ramchand 2008a:20]):

(34) a. *John painted me a picture.*

b. *??John painted me a wall.*

(35) a. *John painted a wall red.*

b. **John painted a picture red.*

- ❖ This specific analysis of the verbs of creation and consumption is important for us since it will help to predict the meaning of the complex predicate, as I will show later
- ❖ The first phase syntax helps to deal with event structure derivations staying on the border between syntax and morphology, such as causatives, aspectual preverbs and, crucially, **complex predicates** [Ramchand 2008a; Ramchand 2008b; Ozarkar&Ramchand 2018; Kashkin&Dyachkov 2018; Golosov 2019a; Golosov 2019b; Golosov 2020]
- ❖ In the first phase syntax, the light verb is such a verb that has lost its lexical component of the meaning, but preserved the event structure, and this structure is responsible for the event structure of the whole complex predicate
- ❖ Simplifying, one can say (in terms of [Levin&Rappaport-Hovav 1998]) that in the complex predicate, the light verb is responsible for the event template, while the lexical verb is responsible for the lexical constant
- ❖ The event structure of the light verb should predict both its actional meaning and its selective restrictions
- ❖ In my current analysis, I will argue combining the ideas from [Ramchand 2008b; Ozarkar, Ramchand 2018] that the light verb *lart* has its own set of subevents and takes the lexical verb phrase as a complement of the lowest subeventual head (in our case, it will be *res*)

3.2. The event structure of the complex predicates with *lart*

- ❖ First, the light verb *lart* combines only with verbs with an external arguments, hence there should be an Initiator in its event structure => it also has *init* head
- ❖ Second, the complex predicates with *lart* denote a change of state of one of the participants, hence it should be an Undergoer in the structure and *proc* for the subevent of change of state
- ❖ Third, there should be a Resultee and a *res* head, which is responsible for the punctual interpretation (see, for instance, [Lyutikova et al. 2006] and for the meaning of the significant (and non-binary) degree of change
- ❖ Finally, according to the assumptions, light verb *lart* takes a lexical verb phrase as a complement of *resP*

Thus, the structure of the complex predicates with *lart* is as follows:

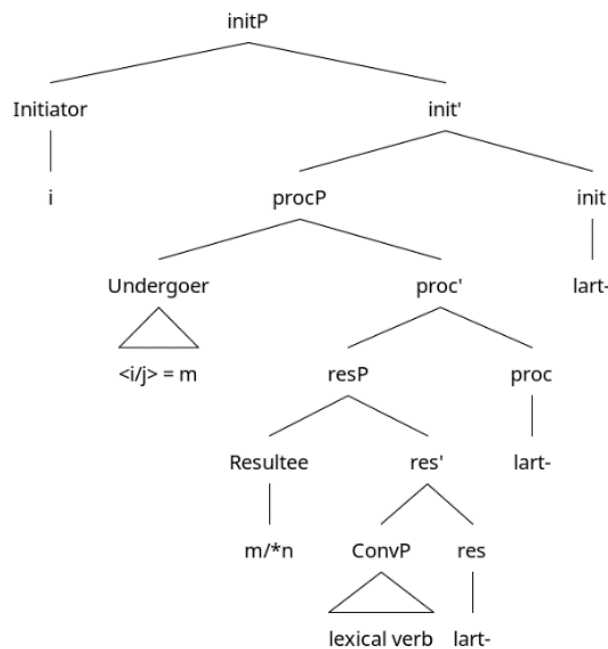


Figure 2. Event structure of complex predicates with the light verb *lart*

- ❖ The most important part of my analysis is that since the light verb *lart* can combine with both transitives and unergatives, I should leave the assignment of Undergoer and Initiator unspecified:
 - The light verb can assign these roles to different NPs or to a single one
- ❖ Interestingly, now I can unify the two meanings of the light verbs saying that the light verb *lart* **denotes an accumulated effect on the Undergoer**:
 - If Undergoer is distinct from Initiator, as it happens with transitives with a patient-like object, except ingestives and creation verbs, then the complex predicate denotes a significant effect on the object

- If Undergoer is coreferent to Initiator, as it happens with unergatives, transitives without a patient-like object, ingestives and creation verbs, then Initiator accumulates an effect on itself, which is exactly a saturative meaning

❖ Contexts like (36) need a special comment:

(36) a. *vaεə* *εip* *εēt-se* *lart-rⁱ-ə*
 V. thread tear-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya tore some threads.’

b. *vaεə* *vodə* *εor-za* *lart-rⁱ-ə*
 V. wood chop-CV_SIM seat-PST-3SG
 ‘Vasya chopped some wood.’

- ❖ I think in this case, destruction verbs are re-interpreted as creation verbs and thus the Undergoer is the subject since it changes its state of possession with respect to accumulated entity
- ❖ Remember that there are contexts where *lart* combines with the lexical verbs denoting accidental momentary events which need further investigation and are probably of a different kind

4. Conclusions

- ❖ The verb *lart* ‘seat’ grammaticalized into a telicizing light verb forming punctual complex predicates
- ❖ It (roughly) combines only with the lexical verbs with an external argument, since its “inchoative” counterpart, light verb *lar* ‘sit down’, is (preliminarily) used with unaccusatives
- ❖ The complex predicates a scalar change of one of the core participants, and the degree of change should be significant
- ❖ I offered a possible formal analysis which explains both the selection restrictions of the light verb *lart* and the meaning of formed complex predicates
- ❖ It simultaneously predicts the distribution of different meanings of the light verb *lart*, claiming that it is Undergoer what accumulates an effect during the event
- ❖ However, there are specific cases where *lart* combines with verbs denoting momentary events and has an inference of accident, and these cases need further investigation

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