

**Reflexive/Anticausative verbal marker & Aspectual light verb interactions in Telugu**

**CONTRIBUTIONS:** The Dravidian verbal suffix *-kun/-koL* in Telugu/Tamil/Kannada takes on a host of roles –anticausative, detransitive, middle, reflexive, affective. Earlier analyses have tried to unify the various roles, with one syntactic/semantic contribution of this marker –[L01] as a specifier-less *v* with causative semantics, [S12] as a middle marker with an affective semantics and a raising syntax. Using novel data featuring Telugu *-kun* and aspectual light verb (AspLv) combinations, we show that such unification is not warranted, and that there are two positions for *-kun* –one, below AspLv, for the detransitivizer/anticausativizer, that we analyze as the head of expletive VoiceP [A15], and the other, as AFF of AFFECTIVEP, above AspLv, for the affective/reflexive, in the middle field location of [S12] with affective semantics/raising syntax. This bifurcation delivers a more perspicuous explanation for the different properties of the various roles of *-kun* than attempts at unifying all the roles into one position/meaning. However, this is not a case of accidental homophony, but a result of a semantic grammaticalisation path.

**ASPECTUAL LIGHT VERBS IN TELUGU TRACK SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY:** AspLvs only compose with ‘like’ predicates –unaccusative completive *poo* ‘go’ with unaccusatives, and transitive completive *veyyi* ‘throw’ with transitives –selectional restrictions that impose a ‘matching’ requirement on the argument structure of the main verb that they compose with, which [R08] terms the *Light Verb Constraint*, (1)-(2).

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|-----|----|------------------------|----|------------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| (1) | a. | siita america poo-indi | b. | icu karig-i-poo-indi         | c. | *siita cadiv-i-poo-indi  |
|     |    | Sita America went-3FS  |    | ice melt-PERF-GO-3FS         |    | Sita read-PERF-GO-3FS    |
|     |    | Sita went to America.  |    | ‘The ice melted (finished).’ |    | Intended: ‘Sita read.’   |
| (2) | a. | siita banti vees-indi  | b. | *icu karig-i-vees-indi       | c. | siita cadiv-i-vees-indi  |
|     |    | Sita ball threw-3FS    |    | ice melt-PERF-THROW-3FS      |    | Sita read-PERF-THROW-3FS |
|     |    | Sita threw the ball.   |    | Intended: ‘The ice melted.’  |    | ‘Sita read (finished).’  |

**ANTICAUSATIVE -kun:** Transitives are detransitized to anticausatives using *-kun*, (3). Unaccusatives optionally take *-kun* to form anticausatives, (4). Middles are also formed with *-kun*, (5).

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|-----|----|---|----|--|
| (3) | a. | door terisee-nu / niillu kaasee-nu        | b. | door turusu-kun-di / niillu kaasu-kun-ai |
|     |    | door open-1s water boiled-1s              |    | door open-KUN-3FS water boil-KUN-3NP     |
|     |    | ‘(I) opened the door / boiled the water.’ |    | ‘The door opened / the water boiled.’    |
| (4) | a. | shirt enDin-di / addam pagilin-di         | b. | shirt enDu-kun-di / addam pagulu-kun-di  |
|     |    | shirt dried-3FS mirror broke-3FS          |    | shirt dry-KUN-3FS mirror broke-KUN-3FS   |
|     |    | ‘the shirt dried / the mirror broke.’     |    | ‘the shirt dried / the mirror broke.’    |
| (5) | a. | ii book tēliggā ammu-kun-Tun-di           | b. | ii book tēliggā ammu-ku-poo-tun-di       |
|     |    | this book easily sell-KUN-PROG-3FS        |    | this book easily sell-KUN-GO-PROG-3FS    |
|     |    | ‘This book sells easily.’                 |    | ‘This book sells-off easily.’            |

**ANTICAUSATIVE -kun COMPOSES WITH THE NON-AGENTIVE ASPECTUAL LV AND OCCURS BELOW IT:** (5b), (6).

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|-----|----|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | mancu karugu-ku-poo-indi      | b. | door turusu-ku-poo-indi       | c. | shirt enDu-ku-poo-indi        |
|     |    | snow melt-KUN-GO-3FS          |    | door open-KUN-GO-3FS          |    | shirt dried-KUN-GO-3FS        |
|     |    | ‘The snow melted (finished).’ |    | ‘The door opened (finished).’ |    | ‘The shirt dried (finished).’ |

**AFFECTIVE / REFLEXIVE -kun:** With transitives and unergatives, *-kun* delivers an affected interpretation, mostly self-benefactive, (7a)-(7b), but also self-malefactive, (7c).

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|-----|----|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------|----|-----------------------|
| (7) | a. | doosa veesu-kun-aanu          | b. | navvu-kun-aanu           | c. | paapam ceesu-kun-aanu |
|     |    | dosa threw-KUN-1s             |    | laugh-KUN-1s             |    | sin made-KUN-1s       |
|     |    | ‘(I) made a dosa for myself.’ |    | ‘(I) laughed to myself.’ |    | ‘I committed a sin.’  |

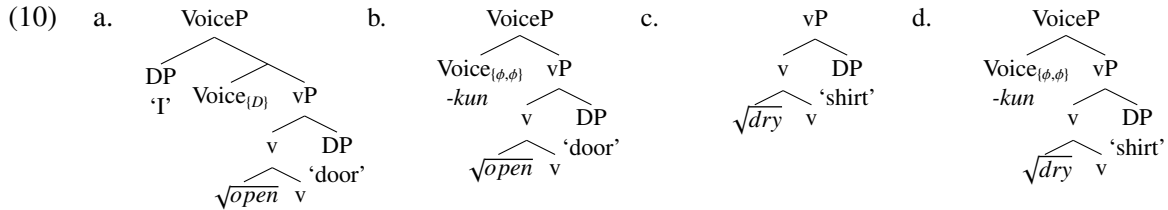
*-kun* is necessary for anaphorizing pronouns, i.e. contexts where they are reflexivized and bound within the local domain. Without *-kun* the pronouns must be free within the local domain (8).

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|-----|----|--|----|--|----|---------------------|
| (8) | a. | vāDu vāDini koTTēDu                        | b. | vāDu vāDni koTT-kun-āDuc.                            | c. | vāDu koTT-kun-āDu   |
|     |    | he him hit-3MS                             |    | he him hit-KUN-3MS                                   |    | he hit-KUN-3MS      |
|     |    | ‘He <sub>i</sub> hit him <sub>*i/j</sub> ’ |    | ‘He <sub>i</sub> hit him <sub>i/*j</sub> (himself).’ |    | ‘He hit (himself).’ |

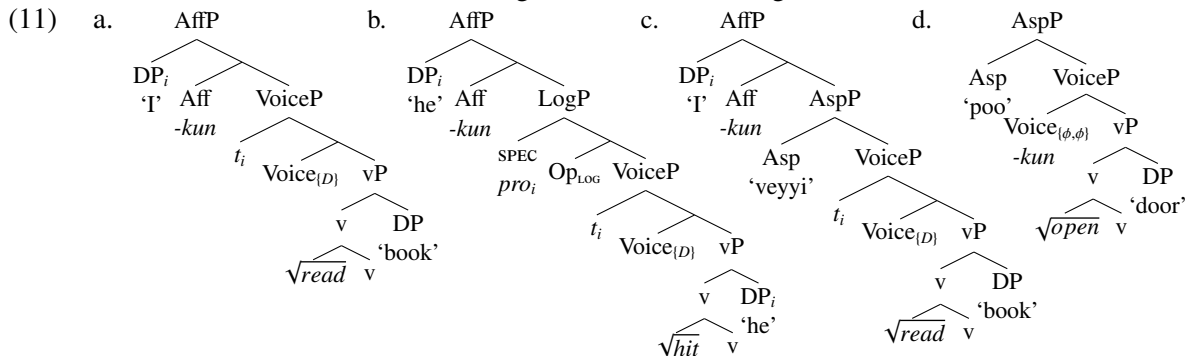
**AFFECTIVE / REFLEXIVE -kun COMPOSES WITH THE AGENTIVE ASPLV AND OCCURS ABOVE IT:** (9).

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|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (9) | a. | neenu doosa vees-eesi-kun-aanu         | b. | vāDu vāDini koTT-eesi-kun-aaDu                                  |
|     |    | I dosa threw-THROW-KUN-1s              |    | he him hit--THROW-KUN-3MS                                       |
|     |    | ‘I finished making a dosa for myself.’ |    | ‘He <sub>i</sub> hit him <sub>i/*j</sub> (himself) (finished).’ |

**OUR ANALYSIS:** ASP<sub>LV</sub> interaction with *-kun* reveals that both semantically –composition with agentive vs. non-agentive ASP<sub>LV</sub> –and syntactically –a difference in ordering of *-kun* w.r.t ASP<sub>LV</sub> –there are two structures/semantics for *-kun*. **ANTICAUSATIVE:** We propose that the anticausative/middle *-kun* is spell-out of expletive non-active VOICE [W15], [A15], (10). Expletive VOICE has no at-issue semantics, only a weak scalar implicature approximating to *by itself*, in opposition to its lexical causative counterpart [S16].



**AFFECTIVE:** We propose that the higher/outer occurring affective/reflexive *-kun* is the spell-out of an AFF(ective) light verb, occurring in the middle field above ASPECTP, which assigns an affected interpretation to the DP in its Spec, (11a). The Spec needs to be an agent. This is a semantic/thematic restriction imposed by the AFF head. So a semantically intransitive structure cannot satisfy the requirement of AFFP, and an unaccusative DP is never raised to Spec of AFFP. Since the argument of AFF has to be an agent, it cannot be base-merged but raised from a lower position (like Spec of VOICEP), where it gets assigned an AGENT  $\theta$ -role. This derives the affected reading, and mirrors the insight of [S12] for Tamil *-koL*.



**REFLEXIVE:** For the reflexive interpretation that this *-kun* is necessary for, we propose that it is due to the Perspectival/Logophoric phrase (LogP) (that has succeeded in accounting for the characteristic distribution and properties of anaphors that are perspectival/exempt [S12, C17]). This LogP occurs outside the spellout domain of the phase (the pronoun cannot be bound within the spellout domain, a Condition B violation), (11b). Binding by the special *pro*-form (*pro<sub>LOG</sub>*) in the SPEC of LOGP leads the pronoun, which must obligatorily refer outside the clause in other structures, to obligatorily co-refer within the clause. The role of *-kun* in this licensing is to raise the DP from VOICEP to its Spec position from where it can perspectivally antecede the *pro<sub>LOG</sub>*, (11b). *-kun* itself has no reflexive syntax/semantics [S12], but it is necessary to create the structural conditions for (LOGP) binding. The presence/absence of LOGP determines whether the reading with this *-kun* is reflexive/affective. **ASP<sub>LV</sub> INTERACTION:** The AFF head *-kun* is merged above ASP<sub>LV</sub>, occurs with an AGENT in the structure, and thus takes the semantically transitive ASP<sub>LV</sub> -VEYYI, (11c). The expletive VOICE *-kun*, on the other hand, is merged below ASP<sub>LV</sub>, in a structure that does not have an AGENT, and thus takes the semantically intransitive ASP<sub>LV</sub> -POO, (11d).

**CONCLUSION:** The anticausative with *-kun/-koL* in Dravidian shares features with that of Romance, Germanic & Greek [A15] –null truth-conditional contribution, an additional non-argument introducing structural layer, diagnosed by occurring below and modified by the semantically intransitive ASP<sub>LV</sub>, and contains a causative event. We thus analyze it along similar lines [A15]. The reflexive with *-kun/-koL* in Dravidian, on the other hand, is quite different from that in Romance/Germanic/Greek –it can involve anaphorization of normal pronouns, not only (special) reflexive morphemes. It also exhibits semantic transitivity, diagnosed by modification via the semantically transitive ASP<sub>LV</sub>, and occurring above it. Whereas the syncretism in those languages calls for a unification of structure, it does not in Dravidian. Our analysis respects this division. We treat this *-kun* as an affective light verb with raising syntax [S12].

**REFERENCES:** [A15] Alexiadou *et al.*: External arguments in transitivity alternations [C17] Charnavel: Apparent Exemption from Condition A [L01] Lidz: Argument structure of verbal reflexives. [S12] Sundaesan: Context & (co)reference in the syntax & its interfaces [S16] Schäfer & Vivanco: Anticausatives are weak scalar expressions, not reflexive expressions. [W15] Wood: Icelandic Morphosyntax & Argument Structure.