

SVCs in three-participant Events: Argument Structure and Lexical-syntactic Interface

2009 Role and Reference Grammar
University of California, Berkeley, August 7-9, 2009

Anna Riccio
Dip. del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico
Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" - Italy
ariccio@unior.it

Semantic categories of three-participant events

- (a) *Agent causes recipient to receive theme*
 - Verbs of Change of Possession: Give Verbs
 - Verbs of Sending and Carrying: Send verbs; Bring and Take
 - Verbs of Throwing: Throw verbs
 - (b) *Agent causes theme to move to location*
 - Verbs of Putting: Put Verbs
 - (c) *Agent intends to cause recipient to receive theme*
 - Verbs of Change of Possession: Verbs of Obtaining (Get Verbs)
 - Verbs of Creation
 - (d) *Agent acts to communicate information to recipient*
 - Verbs of Communication: Verbs of Transfer a Message
- (Margetts & Austin 2007; Croft 1985; Pinker 1989; Levin 1993; Goldberg 1995)

Defining SVCs...

1. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION AS A SINGLE PREDICATE
2. MONOCLAUSALITY OF SERIAL CONSTRUCTIONS
3. PROSODIC PROPERTIES OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS
4. SHARED TENSE/ASPECT, MOOD, MODALITY, AND POLARITY VALUE
5. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION AS 'ONE EVENT'
6. SHARING ARGUMENTS IN SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS
 - a. SWITCH-FUNCTION SVCs
 - CAUSE-EFFECT SVCs
 - CAUSATIVE SVCs
 - SIMULTANEOUS EXPERIENCER SVCs
 - SWITCH-FUNCTION CONSECUTIVE
 - COMPLEMENT CLAUSE SERIALIZATION
 - b. CUMULATIVE SUBJECT SVCs
 - c. EVENT-ARGUMENT SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS
 - d. RESULTATIVE SVCs

(Aikhenvald 2006: 1-60)

+SVCs/-SVCs

•Structural continuum

Verbal compounds > Nuclear serial verbs > Core serial verb > Clause chains > subordination clauses > Coordination clauses

(Crowley 2002:18)

(4) Koiari (Dutton 1996: 19)

Hama mi-me da mo-mil
hammer take-SS 1SG give.2SG.IMPER-SG.OR
'Give me the hammer'

10

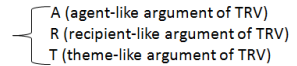
Overview

1. Three-place predicates - Three-participant events
Semantic categories of SVCs
2. SVCs
3. RRG: Argument Structure and Lexical-syntactic Interface
4. Summary and conclusions

2

Three-place predicates : Three-participant events

Sub, Obj, Obj2



Examples:

- (1) a. *I give/send/bring/show/throw, etc. a book to Mary*
- b. *I put the book on the table*
- c. *I buy a book for Mary*

etc.

3

Overview

1. Three-place predicates - Three-participant events
2. SVCs
 - Studies on SVCs
 - Definition(s) of SVCs
 - + SVCs/-SVCs
 - Input SV
 - Semantics of SVCs
 - R-type serialized P
 - T-type serialized P
3. RRG: Argument Structure and Lexical-syntactic Interface
4. Summary and conclusions

5

Studies on SVCs

- **West Africa** (in particular the Kwa group and Atlantic Creoles)
 - [Rils (1854), Stewart (1963), Ansre (1966), Welmers (1968), Stahlke (1970), Hyman (1971), Bamgbose (1974), Givón (1975), Van Leynsele (1975), George (1976), Creissels (1977), Thomas (1978), Sebba (1987), McWhorter (1990), Lord (1993), Lefebvre (1994), Ikoro (1995), Stewart (2001), Kari (2003), Amha & Dimmendaal (2006)]
- **South-East Asia** (Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai and Mon-Khmer groups)
 - [Jacob (1968), Matisoff (1969), Liem (1979), Suwilai (1987), Seuren (1990), Durie (1995), Li & Thompson (1981), Diller (1985), Matthews & Yip (1994), Matthews (2006), Diller (2006), Malchukov (2007)]
- **America** (central, southern and northern area)
 - [Déchaine (1987), Salamanca (1988), Craig & Hale (1988), Zavala (2006); Everett (1986), Payne & Payne (1990), Aikhenvald (2006); de Reuse (2005)]
- **Oceania** (Austronesian languages, Papuan, Melanesian pidgins and Australian languages)
 - [Foley (1986), Jasen *et al.* (1978), Rivierre (1983), Foley & Olsen (1985), Bisang (1986), Green (1987), Eather (1990), Lane (1991), Bradshaw (1993), Early (1993), Hamel (1993), Evans (1995), Green (1995), Osumi (1995), Mtyshen & Veenstra (1995), Durie (1998), Mc Kay (2000), Schultze-Berndt (2000), Crowley (2002), François (2004), Ross (2004), Hajek (2006), Baird (2008), Bowden (2008), Heeschen (2008)]

6

Examples of SVCs

(2) Skou (Donohue 2006: 390)

Rópu ke- wé leng ni
book 3SG.NF- take.F give 1SG
'He gave me the book'

(3) Jabêm (Brashaw 1993: 151)

ae ka-kêng mo gé-déng ngoc ngalalê
1s 1sR-give taro 3sR-reach Gen1s child
'I gave taro to my child' [switch SVC]

(2) Skou (Donohue 2006: 390)

Rópu ke- wé leng ni
book 3SG.NF- take.F give 1SG
'He gave me the book'

• Relative clause

- 2.a. He took the book that he gave to me
- b. It. Prese il libro che diede a me

• Coordinate conjunction

- 3.a. He took the book and gave (it) to me
- b. It. Prese il libro e me lo diede

8

Non-Contiguous SVCs

(5) Khmer (Jacob 1968:78)

nêak ʔaoy siəuɓhʔu mɔ:k khjom
2SG take book come 1SG
'You give me a book'

(6) Haitian creole language (Andrews & Manning 1999: 105)

Emil pan liv la bay Mari
Emil take book DET give Mari
'Emil gave the book to Mary'

(7) Mooré (Givón 1975: 58)

a dika lidgã n kõ (a) Kulgã
3SG take money give (it) Kulga
'He brought money to Kulga'

12

	Input verbs	Output verbs	Input verbs	Output verbs				
1.	a) [take+go]	'give'	4. a) [take+throw]	'throw'				
	b) [take+come]		b) [throw+go-give]					
	c) [take+give]		5. a) [self-give]		'sell'			
	d) [give+come]		b) [self-take]					
	e) [give+go]		c) [take+sell]					
	f) [give+reach]		6. a) [tell-give]			'tell'		
g) [take+take-give]	b) [say+go]							
2.	a) [take+give]	'bring'	7. a) [put+give]	'put'				
	b) [take+bring]		b) [put+lie]					
	c) [take+go]		8. a) [talk+put]		'teach'			
	d) [take+come]		b) [give+know]					
	e) [take+arrive]		9. a) [give+build] b) [build-give]			'construct/build'		
	f) [take+put.on]		10. [go+keep]					
g) [bring+go]	11. [take+show]	'show'						
h) [take+come-give]	12. [buy+give]		'buy'					
i) [take+go-give]	13. [promise+tell]			'promise'				
j) [take+arrive-go]	14. [return+give]				'give back'			
3.	a) [send+give]					'send'	15. [stab+go-reach]	'write'
	b) [send+go]							
	c) [send+come]							

Table 1 - Input verbs in SV strategy

11

Contiguous SVCs

(8) Fa d'Ambu (Post 1995: 201)

Mali ma dyana ba da pe-déli
Mary take banana go give father
'Mary brought banana to his father'

(9) Sakao (Durie 1988: 10)

me-ke-lam
3sg-take-come
'he brought it' [lit. he took (and) he came]

13

Composition and semantics of SVCs

1. ASYMMETRICAL AND SYMMETRICAL SVCs
2. SEMANTICS OF ASYMMETRICAL SVCs
 - a. DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION
 - b. ASPECT, EXTENT, AND CHANGE OF STATE
 - c. SECONDARY CONCEPT SERIALIZATION
 - d. SERIALIZATION OF COMPLEMENT-CLAUSE-TAKING VERBS
 - e. INCREASING VALENCY AND SPECIFYING ARGUMENTS
 - f. REDUCING VALENCY
 - g. COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVES
 - h. EVENT-ARGUMENT SVCs
3. SEMANTICS OF SYMMETRICAL SVCs
 - a. SEQUENCE OF ACTIONS OR CONCOMITANT ACTIONS RELATED TOGETHER
 - b. CAUSE-EFFECT SVCs
 - c. MANNER SVCs
 - d. SYNONYMOUS VERB SERIALIZATION

(Aikhenvald 2006: 1-60)

14

GIVE-serialization	V1	Arg	V2	V(n)	Arg	dV
give*	give	-	come		R	x
	give	T	reach		R	x
sell*	give	T	go		T(=switch)	x
	sell	T	give		R	
return (give back)	give back	T	give		R	
	take	T	give		R	
bring*	bring	T	go		L	x
	carry	T	go		?	x
	carry	T	come		?	x
send	send	T	give		R	
	send	T	go		L	x
throw*	throw	T	come		R	x
	put	T	give		R	x
buy	buy	T	give		R/B	
	build	R	build		T	
tell	build	T	give		B	
	tell-		give		B	
write	say	T	go		R	x
	give		know		R	
write	stab	T	reach		R	x

Table 2 - R-type serialized P

Arg=argument, V1=first verb, V2=second verb, V(n)=other verbs, dV=deictic verb, T=theme, R=recipient, B=beneficiary, L=locative

15

R-type serialized P: examples

(10) Saramaccan (Veenstra 1996:107)

Mi mandá biñi dá hen
1SG send letter give 3SG.F
'I have sent letters to her'

[send+give]

(11) Thai (in Malchukov et al. 2007)

khwaang luukbøn pay hay khaw
throw ball go give 3SG
'(S)he threw the ball to him'

[throw+go-give]

16

TAKE-serialization	V1	Arg	V2	V(n)	Arg	dV
give*	take	T	go		R	
	take	T	come		R	
	take	T	give		R	
	take	T	take-		R	
sell*	take	T	come		T(=switch)	x
	sell	T	take		?	x
bring*	take	T	sell		?	
	take	T	give	give	T	
	take	T	go		?	x
	take	T	bring		?	
	take	T	come-		R	
	take	T	go-		R	
throw*	take	(T)	arrive-		L?	x
	take	T	put on		L	
show	take	T	throw	give	L	x
	take	T	show	give	R	
show	take	T	look	go	R	x
	take	T	look	go	R	x

Table 3 - T-type serialized P

Arg=argument, V1=first verb, V2=second verb, V(n)=other verbs, dV=deictic verb, T=theme, R=recipient, B=beneficiary, L=locative

17

T-type serialized P: examples

(12) Bamileke (Hyman 1971, in Kroeger 1999: 235)

á ká lám càk usá? ha a
3SG pass take pot come give 2SG
'He brought me the pot'

(13) Khmer (Jacob 1968: 78)

Khnom ʔaoy siəuphrəu tɔu nəəʔ
1SG take book go 2SG
'I give you a book'

(14) Khmer (Jacob 1968: 78)

nəəʔ ʔaoy siəuphrəu mɔ:k khnom
2SG take book come 1SG
'You give me a book'

18

Posture verbs in SVCs

(15) Kele (Ross 2004: 304)

yu u-ru pálet i-so dta-n kéaw
S:S S:1S-put plate S:3S-lie on-P:3P table
'I put the plate on the table'

(16) Jabêm (Bisang 1986: 146-147)

ka-toc amê kê-kô mäsac
1SG-put yam 3SG-lie floor
'I put yams on the floor'

19

Overview

1. Three-place predicates - Three-participant events
2. SVCs
3. RRG: Argument Structure and Lexical-syntactic Interface
 - Syntactic projections of SVCs vs. clause chains
 - Semantic representations of SVCs
 - RRG logical structures of predicates
 - Lexical decomposition of a three-place predicate
 - MR/NMR
 - Eventhood
 - Interclausal semantic relations
4. Summary and conclusions

20

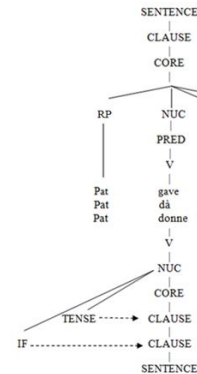


Figure 1 - The layered structure of a simple three-place predicate

21

(17) Tinrin

rri ve mē arròd
3PL take come water
'they brought water'
(Osumi 1995: 213)

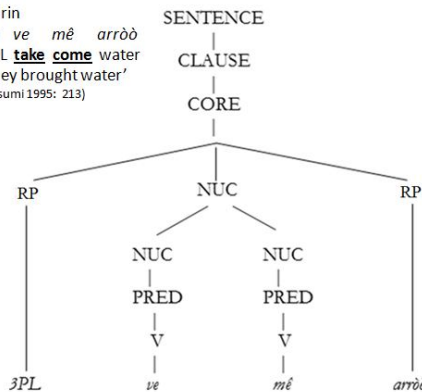


Figure 2 - Nuclear SVC

22

(18) Haitian Creole Language

Emil pan liv la bay Mari
Emil take livre DET give Mary
'Emil gave the book to Mary'
(in Andrews & Manning 1999: 105)

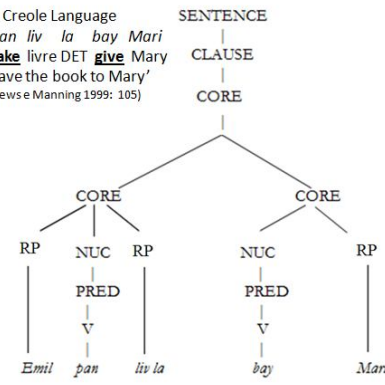


Figure 3 - Core SVC

23

(19) Fa d'Ambu

Mali ma dyana ba da pe-déli
Mary take banana go give father
'Mary brought a banana to his father'
(Post 1995: 201)

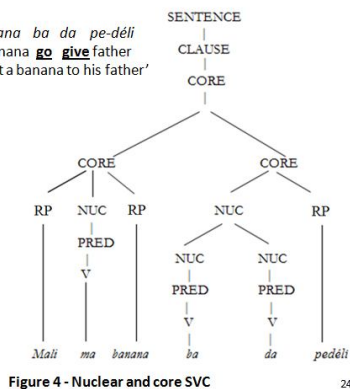


Figure 4 - Nuclear and core SVC

24

(20) Saramaccan
Mí mandá biffi dá hen
 1sg send letter give 3sg
 'I have sent letters to you'
 (Veenstra 1996:107)

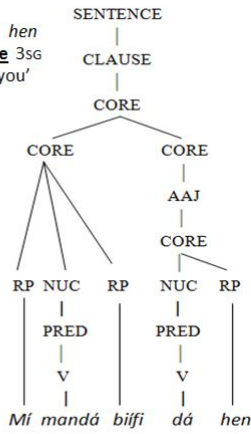


Figure 5 - Argument-adjunct in SVC 25

(21) Degema
Breno o= dé ké=n óyi ósama
 Breno 3sgSCL=buyFE give=FE him shirt
 'Breno bought a shirt for him'
 (Kari 2003: 280)

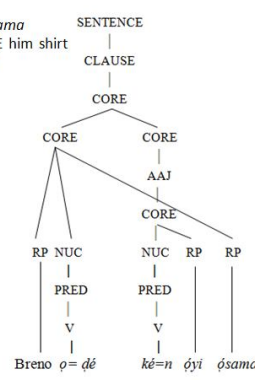


Figure 6 - Argument-adjunct in SVC 'for' 26

(22) Koiari
Hama mi-me da mo-mil
 hammer take-SS 1sg give.2sg.IMPER-SG.OR
 'Give me the hammer'
 (Dutton 1996: 19)

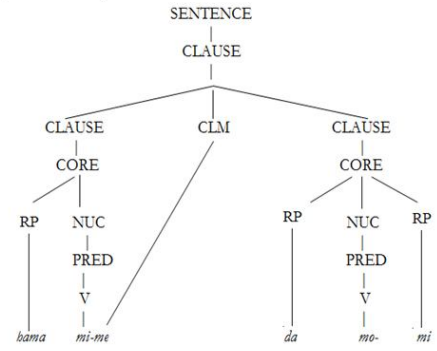


Figure 7 - Clause chaining 27

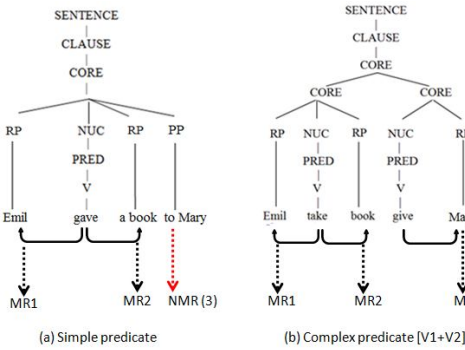


Figure 8 - RRG Assignment of MR 28

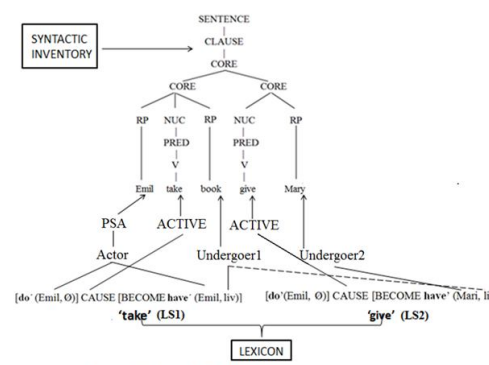


Figure 9 - Complex linking from semantics to syntax 29

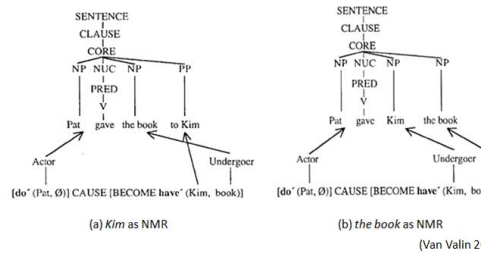


Figure 10 - Linking from semantics to syntax of a simple three-place predicate 30

(23) Haitian Creole language
Emil pan liv la bay Mari
 Actor
 Emil_i take book CONTROLLER PIVOT give Mary

Figure 11 - PSA: subject control 31

(24) Jabêm
aê ka-kêng mo gê-dêng ngoc ngalalê
 Undergoer
 I give taro_i CONTROLLER PIVOT reach my child

Figure 12 - PSA: object control 32

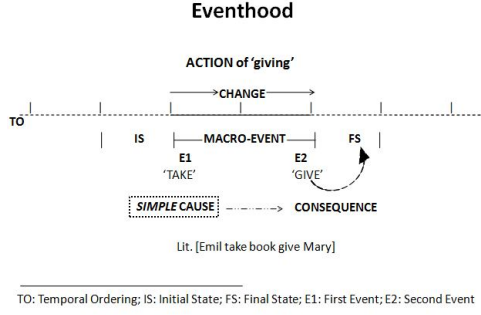


Figure 13 - Macro-event representation 33

Causation

- 1) each event causes each next following event [take+give] 'give'
- 2) or a subsequence of (causally related) events causes some following event [take+go] 'give'

Observations:
 • iconic order
 • action-purpose sequence of events (?)
 • single objective event
 • complex conceptual event

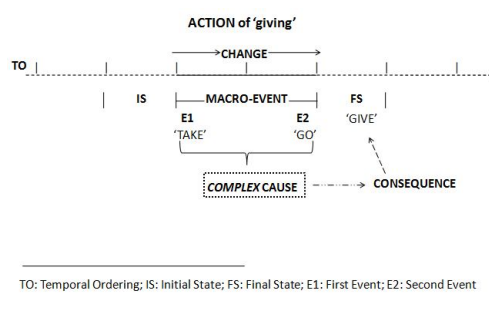


Figure 14 - Macro-event representation : explicit Spatial Transfer object 35

V1 + V2(oriented verb)

(25a) Khmer (Jacob 1968: 78)
Khnom ʔaoy siəpɦəu tɿu nəəʔ
 1sg take book go 2sg
 'I give you a book'

(25b) *nəəʔ ʔaoy siəpɦəu mət:k khnom*
 2sg take book come 1sg
 'You give me a book'

(26) Jabêm (Durie 1988: 12)

ja-sôm bing ê-ndêng lau
1s-speak word 3sg-go people
'I address word(s) to the people'

(27) Tetun Dili (Hajek 2006: 242)

labele [fó sai] lia ne'e!
neg.can give exit voice this
'you can't reveal his matter!'

→ CAUSED MOTION EVENT in switch SVCs

→ MACRO-EVENT PROPERTY (MEP) (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007)

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Robert M.W. Dixon. (2006). *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Alsina, Alex et al. (1997). *Complex Predicates*. Stanford CA, Centre for Study of Language and Information.

Amha, Azeb & Gerrit J. Dimmendaal. (2006). Verbal compounding in Wolaitta. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*. New York, Oxford University Press: 319-339.

Andrew, Avery D. & Christopher D., Manning. (1999). *Complex Predicates and Information. Spreading in IFG*. Stanford, CA, CSLI Publications.

Ansrø, G. (1966). The verbid – a caveat to 'serial verbs'. *JWAL* 3/1: 29-32.

Avoyale, Y. (1988). *Complex predicates and verb serialization*. MIT Lexicon. Project. Paper 29. Cambridge MIT Center for cognitive Science.

Baird, L. (2008). Motion serialization in Kéo. In G. Senft (ed.), *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Pacific Linguistics. The Australian National University: 55-74.

Baker, M. (1989). Object sharing and Projection in Serial Verb Constructions. *LJ* 20: 513-553.

Bamgbose, A. (1974). On serial verbs and serial status. *JWAL* 9: 17-48.

Bickel, B. (1995). In the vestibule of meaning: transitivity inversion as a morphological phenomenon. *Slang* 19: 73-127.

Bisang, W. (1986). Die Verb-Serialisierung im Jabem. *Lingua* 70: 131-62.

Bresnan, J. & T. Nikitina. (2007). The gradience of the dative alternation. Ms. Available online. In L. Uyechi & L.H. Wee (eds.), *Reality Exploration and Discovery: Pattern Interaction in Language and Life*. Stanford, CA, CSLI Publications.

Bril, I. & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (2004). *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter. 40

References (cont.)

Eather, B. (1990). A grammar of Nakkar (Central Arnhem Land coast). Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.

Evans, N. (1995). *A Grammar of Kayardild: with historical notes on Tangik*. In G. Bosson & W. Chafe (eds.), *Mouton Grammar Library* 15, Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter.

Everett, D. (1986). *Pirahã*. In D. Derbyshire & G.K. Pullum (eds.), *Handbook of Amazonian Languages*, Vol. 1., Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 200-325.

Ezard, B. (1997). *A grammar of Tawala: an Austronesian language of the Milne Bay area, Papua New Guinea*, Canberra, A.C.T., Australia, Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 124-130, 321-444.

Finney, M.A. (2004). Substratal Influence on the Morphosyntactic Properties of Krio. *Ling* 2/2, 2004: 58-81.

Foley, W.A. (1986). *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

..... (1991). *The Yimas language of New Guinea*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

..... (2005). Semantic parameters and the unaccusative split in the austronesian language family. *Slang* 29/2: 385-430.

Foley, William A. & M. Olson (1985). *Clausehood and verb serialization*. In J. Nichols & A. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 17-60.

Foley, William A. & Van Valin, R. D. (1984). *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Forman, M. (1993). Verb serialization, word order typology, and Zambogwæña: a comparative approach. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32: 163-182. 43

References (cont.)

Levin, B. & Rappaport Hovav, M. (2007). *The Crosslinguistic Study of Dative Alternations: A Verb Sensitive Perspective*. In M. A. Thompson (1981). *Mandarin Chinese. A functional reference grammar*, Berkeley et alibi, University of California Press.

Liem, D. (1979). *Cases and Verbs in Pidgin French (Toy Bol) in Vietnam In Papers in Pidgin and Creole, Pacific Linguistics. Series A: Occasional Papers Canberra* 57, 217-246.

Longacre, R. E. (1985). Sentences as combinations of clauses. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Complex construction*, Volume 2, Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press: 235-286.

..... (1996). *The grammar of discourse*, 2nd edition, Topics in Language and Linguistics, New York, Plenum.

Lord, C. (1973). Serial verbs in transition. *SAL* 4: 269.

..... (1993). *Historical Change in Serial Verb Constructions*, Typological Studies in Language 26, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

..... (1993). *Historical change in serial verb constructions*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

Lynch, J. (1983). *Switch-reference in Lenakel*. In J. Haiman & P. Munro (eds.), *Switch-reference and universal grammar*, Typological Studies in Language 2, Amsterdam, John Benjamins: 209-221.

..... (2004). Serial and compound verbs in Anejom̃ (Vanuatu). In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 145-167.

Malchukov, A., M. Haspelmath, & B. Comrie (2007). Ditransitive constructions: a typological overview. ms., accessible at <http://www.eva-mg.de/>

Margetts, A. (2004). *Core-layer Junctures in Saliba (Saliba Island, Milne Bay province of Papua New Guinea)*. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 65-88. 46

..... (2007). Three-participant Events in Oceanic Languages. *OL* 46/1: 71-127.

Overview

1. Three-place predicates - Three-participant events
2. SVCs
3. RRG: Argument Structure and Lexical-syntactic Interface
4. Summary and conclusions

Summary and conclusions

- R-TYPE SERIALIZED P vs. T-TYPE SERIALIZED P
- CONTIGUOUS vs. NON-CONTIGUOUS SVCs
- SAME-SUBJECT vs. SWITCH-SUBJECT
- ASPECT, EXTENT, AND CHANGE OF STATE AND INCREASING VALENCY AND SPECIFYING ARGUMENTS
- RRG: SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION
 - NUCLEAR AND/OR CORE CONSTRUCTION
 - COSUBORDINATION
- RRG: SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION
 - MR vs. NMR
 - CONTROLLER/PIVOT PARAMETERS
 - INTERCLAUSAL SEMANTIC RELATIONS

References (cont.)

Brown, K. et al. (2006). *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd edition, Elsevier, Amsterdam.

Butt, M. (2004). The Light Verb Jungle. In G. Aycen et al. (eds.), *Papers from the GSAS/Dudley House Workshop on Light Verbs*. Cambridge, Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics: 1-50.

Butt, Miriam & W. Geuder (2001). On the Semi-lexical Status of Light Verbs. In N. Corver & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *Semi-Lexical Categories. The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 523-570.

Christaller, J.G. (2004). A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi). In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic Languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter.

Collins, C. (1997). Argument Sharing in Serial Verb Constructions. *LJ* 28: 461-497.

Craig, C. & K. Hale. (1988). Relational preverbs in some languages of the Americas. *Language* 64: 312-344.

Creissels, D. & N. Kouadio (1977). *Description phonologique et grammaticale du Baoulé*, Abidjan, Institut de Linguistique Appliquée.

Croft, W. (1985). Indirect object "lowering". In M. Niekopuj et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Vol. 11, Berkeley, Berkeley Linguistics Society: 39-51.

Crowley, T. (2002). *Serial Verbs in Oceania: A Descriptive Typology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hajek, J. (2006). Serial Verbs in Tetun Dili. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions, A Cross-linguistic Typology*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 239-253.

Hamel, P. (1993). Serial verbs in Loniua and an evolving preposition. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32/1: 111-132.

..... (1998). *An erromangan (Sye) grammar*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, n. 27, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Déchaîne, R.-M. (1987). Towards a unified account of serial constructions. In V. Manfredi & K. Reynolds (eds.), *Niger-Congo syntax and semantics* J. Boston, Boston University, 419-464. 41

References (cont.)

François, A. (2004). *Chains of freedom: Constraints and creativity in the macro-verb strategies of Mwotlap*. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 107-144.

George, I. (1976). *Verb serialization and lexical decomposition*. *SAL, Supplement* 3: 63-73.

Givón, T. (1975). *Serial verbs and syntactic change: Niger-Congo*. In C. Li (ed.), *Word order and word order change*. Austin, University of Texas Press: 47-112.

..... (1991). *Serial Verbs and the Mental Reality of 'Event': Grammatical vs. Cognitive Packaging*. In E. Traugott & B. Heine (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. 1: 81-127.

Goldberg, A. E. (1995). *Construction: A construction grammar approach to argument structure*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Green, G. (1974). *Semantics and syntactic regularity*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

Green, J. N. (1987). *The evolution of Romance auxiliaries: criteria and chronology*. In M. Harris & P. Ramat (eds.), *Historical Development of Auxiliaries*. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter: 257-267.

Green, R. (1995). *Grammar of the Gurr-goni Language of Arnhem land, NT*. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.

Grimshaw, J. (1990). *Argument structure*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press.

Haiman, J. & S.A. Thompson (1988). *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, J. Benjamins.

Haspelmath, M. (2005a). Ditransitive Constructions: The Verb 'Give'. In M. Haspelmath et al. (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford University Press, USA: 426-431. 44

..... (2005b). Argument marking in ditransitive alignment types. *Ling* 2/3: 1-21.

References (cont.)

Margetts, A. & Austin, P.K. (2007). Three participant events in the languages of the world: towards a crosslinguistic typology. *Ling* 45/3: 393-451.

Masica, C.P. (1976). *Defining a Linguistic Area*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Matisoff, J.A. (1969). Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition. *ALH* 12/4, 69-120.

Matthews, S. (2006). On serial verb constructions in Cantonese. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions, A Cross-linguistic Typology*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 69-87.

Matthews, S. & V. Yip (1994). *Cantonese: a comprehensive grammar*. London, Routledge.

McKay, G. (2000). Njéjébbana. In R.M.W. Dixon & B. Blake (eds.), *Handbook of Australian Languages*, Vol. 5, Melbourne, Oxford University Press: 154-354.

McWhorter, J. (1992). Substratal Influence in Saramaccan serial verb constructions. *JPLCL*: 1-53.

Mose, U. (2004). *Complex predicates and juxtapositional constructions in Samoan*. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 263-296.

Muysken, P. & T. Veenstra (1995). *Serial Verbs*. In J. Arends et al. (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, Philadelphia, Benjamins: 289-301.

Næss, A. (2004). Serial verbs and complex constructions in Pileni. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 225-249.

Newman, J. (1996). *Give: A Cognitive Linguistic Study*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter.

Nichols, J. & A. C. Woodbury (1985). *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Olson, M. L. (1981). *Barai clause junctures: toward a functional theory of interclausal relations*. Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra. 47

Osumi, M. (1995). *Tinin grammar*, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications, n. 25.

References (cont.)

..... (1986). *Opérations sur les structures d'argument: le cas des constructions sérielles en haïtien*. Master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Dechert, H.-W. & M. Raupach (1989). *Interlingual Processes*. Gunter Narr Verlag.

Dik, S.C. (1997). *The theory of Functional Grammar, Part 2, Complex and Derived Constructions*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

Diller, A.V.N. (2006). Thai Serial Verbs: Cohesion and culture. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*. New York, Oxford University Press: 160-177.

Dixon, R. M.W. (1986). Nicholas Evans: A grammar of Kayardil, with historical-comparative notes on Tangkic. *Slang* 22/2: 507.

Donohue, M. (2006). Negation and Grammatical functions in Skou. *Language* 82/2: 383- 398.

Dowty, D. R. (1979). *Word meaning and Montague Grammar, The semantics of verbs and times in generative semantics and in Montague's PTD*. Dordrecht, Reidel.

Dryer, M. S. (1986). Primary Objects, Secondary Objects, and Antidative. *Language* 62: 808-845.

Durie, M. (1988). Verb Serialization and "verbal prepositions" in Oceanic languages. *OL* 27, 1988: 1-23.

..... (1995). Towards an Understanding of Linguistic Evolution and the Notion 'X has a Function Y'. In A.W.T. Givón & S.A. Thompson (eds.), *Discourse, Grammar and Typology, Papers in Honour of John W.M. Verhaar*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 213-234.

..... (1997). Grammatical structures in verb serialization. In A. Alsina et al. (eds.), *Complex Predicates*. Stanford, CSLI, 289-354.

Dutton, T. E. (1996). *Koiari*. München/Newcastle, Lincom Europa.

Early, R. (1993). Nuclear layer serialization in Lewo. *OL* 32: 165-93. 42

References (cont.)

..... (2003). The geometry of grammatical meanings: semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In M. Tomasello (ed.), *The New Psychology of Language*. Mahwah, Erlbaum: 211-242.

Haspelmath, Martin et al. (2005). *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford University Press.

Heeschen, V. (2008). Verb serialisation in Eipo and Yale (especially in children's narratives). In G. Senft (ed.), *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Pacific Linguistics. The Australian National University: 141-170.

Ikoru, S. (1995). *The Kana Language*. Leiden, Research School CNWS, 316.

Jackendoff, R. (1990). *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jacob, J. (1968). *Introduction to Cambodian*. London, Oxford University Press.

Kari, E. E. (2003). Serial verb constructions in Degema, Nigeria. *African Study Monographs* 24.4: 271-289.

Kroeger, P. (1999). Review of: a theory of predicates, by Farrell Ackerman and Gert Webelhuth. *NOL* 2, 1999: 220-27.

Kroeger, P. R. (2004). *Analyzing syntax: a lexical-functional approach*. Cambridge University Press.

Lane, J. (1991). *Kalam serial verb constructions* [M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland]. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages, Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.

Law, P. & T. Veenstra. On the structure of Serial Verbs Constructions. *LAn* 22: 185-217.

Lefebvre, C. (1994). New facts from Fongbe on the double object constructions. *Lingua* 94, 2/3: 69-123.

Lehmann, C. (1988). Towards a typology of clause linkage. In J. Haiman & S. Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse, Typological Studies in Language* 18, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins: 181-225.

Levin, B. (1993). *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL. 45

References (cont.)

Payne, D.L. & E.P. Thomas (1990). *Vagua*. In D.C. Derbyshire & G.K. Pullum (eds.), *Handbook of Amazonian languages*, Vol. 2, Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 249-474.

Pinker, S. (1989). *Learnability and cognition: the acquisition of argument structure*. Cambridge, MA, M.I.T. Press.

Post, M. (1995). *Fa d'Almbu*. In J. Arends et al. (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins: 191-204.

Reinig, J. (2004). Serial and complex verb constructions in Teop (North Bougainville). In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 85-106.

Reise (de), W. J. (2006). *Serial Verbs in Lakota (Sisau)*. In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*. New York, Oxford University Press: 301-318.

Ross, M. (2004). The grammaticalization of directional verbs in Oceanic languages. In I. Brill & F. Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundedness*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter: 297-330.

Salamanca, D. (1988). *Elementos de Gramática del Miskitu*. MIT Doctoral dissertation.

Sebba, M. (1987). *The Syntax of Serial Verbs: An Investigation into Serialization in Sranan and Other Languages*. Amsterdam, Benjamins.

Schultze-Berndt, E. (2000). *Simple and Complex Verbs in Jaminjung. A Study of Event Categorization in an Australian Language*. Nijmegen, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen.

Seuren, P.A.N. (1990). Still no serials in Seselwa: A reply to 'Seselwa serialization and its significance' by Derek Bickerton. *JPLCL* 5/2.

Smith, C.S. (1970). *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2nd edn.

Stahlke, H. (1970). *Serial verbs*. *SAL* 1, 1970: 60-99. 48

References (cont.)

Stewart, O. T. (2001). *The Serial Verb Construction Parameter*. Garland, New York.
 Suwaila, P. (1987). *Khmu, a minority language of Thailand*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
 Talmay, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 215.
 Thomas, D. D. (1978). Verb phrase components, *NOL* 7 : 29-30.
 Van Leynseele, H. (1975). Restrictions on Serial Verbs in Anyi, *JMAL* 10/2, 189-218.
 Van Valin, R. D. (1993). *Role and reference grammar, Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota* 37, 65-75.
 (1998). The Interaction of Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics in Grammars: the Development of Analytic Tools in Modern Linguistics, *Hyndoe Munpub Yungu [Studies in Modern Grammatical Theories]* 12: 39-52.
 (2004). *Lexical representation, co-composition, and linking syntax and semantics*, New York, BU.
 (2005). *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*, Cambridge, CUP.
 (2007). *The Role and Reference Grammar analysis of three-place predicates*, accessible at: <http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/vanvalin/rrg.html>.
 Van Valin Robert D. & R. J. LaPolla (1997). *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
 Veenstra, T. (1996). *Serial Verbs in Saramaccan: Predication and Creole Genesis*, Den Haag, Holland Academic Graphics.
 Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
 Welmers, B. F. & W. E. Welmers. *Igbo: a learner's manual*. U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1968.
 Zavaia, R. (2006). Serial verbs in Olutec (Mixean), In A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*, New York, Oxford University Press: 273-300.

49

Three-place predicates in SVCs: sample

(a) Agent causes recipient to receive theme

- *Verbs of Change of Possession: Give Verbs**
- 'to give'**
- (1) Khmer (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-khmer; Cambodia; Jacob 1968: 78)
khjom 'əəy səəpəh 'yʉ nək
 1SG take book go 2SG
 'I give you a book'
 - (2) Khmer (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-khmer; Cambodia; Jacob 1968: 78)
nək 'əəy səəpəh 'yʉ mək khjom
 2SG take book come 1SG
 'You give me a book'
 - (3) Haitian Creole language (in Andrews & Manning 1999: 105)
Emil pan liv la bay Mari
 Emil take book DET give Mari
 'Emil gave a book to Mary'
 - (4) Pijin (English Creole; Solomon Islands, in Crowley 2002: 232)
hem gim kam buk
 3SG give come book
 '[S]he gave the book [to someone]'
 - (5) Twi (Niger-Congo, Akan; Ghana; Stewart 1963: 146, Foley & Olsen 1985: 54)
o-de sikā nō maa me
 3sg-take money he give me
 'he gave me the monee'

50

- (6) Anyi (Niger-Congo, Kwa; Ghana; Van Leynseele 1975: 201, in Foley & Olsen 1985: 54)
kəfi fa bəliki-ɸ lə-mə kəsi
 Kofi take book-DET take-give Kasi
 'Kofi gave the book to Kasi'
 - (7) Jabêm (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Papua New Guinea; Bradshaw 1993: 151)
aə ka-kəng mo gə-dəng ŋeəŋ ngalaŋi
 1S 1S-REACH Taro 3S-REACH GenC child
 'I gave taro to my child'
 - (8) Sakao (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Vanuatu; Durie 1988: 10)
me-ke-i-lam
 3sg-take-ri-come
 'he handed it and it came'
 - (9) Jabêm (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Papua New Guinea; Durie 1988: 12)
a-kéng əbo gə-dəng napalé gə-já
 we incl.-give cloth 3sg-to boys 3sg-go
 'we give cloth[s] to the boy'
- 'to sell'**
- (10) Yoruba (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, Defoid; Nigeria; Lord 1993: 35)
ó tà-á fún mí
 3SG sell-3SG give 1SG:OCC
 'He sold it to me'
 - (11) Wolaitta (Afro-Asiatic, Omotic; Ethiopia; Amha & Dimmendaal 2006: 326)
ʔi ba keett-da baiz-i ʔekk-isi
 3SG:NOM LOG.PRO house-MASS sell-CONV take-3MSG:PERF
 'He sold his house'

51

- (12) Sranan (Suriname Creole English, Suriname; Muysken & Veenstra 1985: 295)
mi teki fisi seri
 1SG take fish sell
 'I sold the fish'
- 'to give back'**
- (13) Thai (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai; Nichols & Woodbury 1985: 55)
dək khñn nəŋsəi hǎy khruu
 boy give-back book give teacher
 'The boy gave back the book to the teacher'
- 'to promise'**
- (14) Jaminjung (Australian, Jaminjungan; Australia; Schultze-Berndt 2000)
[baramajani-yu] lambarra-ni
 promise 3SG: say-PASS father-in-law-ERG
 'He promised it to him, (L.e. to give his daughter), the father-in-law'
- *Verbs of Sending and Carrying: Send verbs; Bring and Take**
- 'to bring'**
- (15) Mooré (Niger-Congo, Gur; Burkina Faso; Givón 1975: 58)
a dʒka liɔgã n kô (a) Kulgã
 he take money cons. give (H) Kulga
 '(He) brought money to Kulga'
 - (16) Sranan (Suriname Creole English; Suriname; Jasen et al. 1978, in Dechert 1989: 19)
Roy e tyari a pikin go na oso
 Roy PASS bring DET child go LOC house
 'Roy brought the child to house'

52

- (17) Tinrin (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; New Caledonia; Osumi 1995: 213)
rri ve mē arəə
 3PL take come water
 'They brought water'
- (18) Kana (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo; Nigeria; Ikoro 1995: 316)
bārīle ɛsūā lǝ kpā nūg
 Barile take SPEC.SG book bring:INSTRUM
 'Barile has brought the book'
- (19) Bamileke (Niger-Congo, Bantu; Camerun; Hyman 1971, in Kroeger 1999: 235)
á ká lǎh cək usá? ha a
 3SG PASS take pot come give 2SG
 'He brought me the pot'
- (20) Fa d'Ambu (or Annobonese) (Portuguese Creole, Equatorial Guinea; Post 1995: 201)
Mali ma dyana ba da pe-déli
 Mary take banana go give father
 'Mary brought banana to his father'
- (21) Paicé (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; New Caledonia; Rivierre 1983, in Ozanne-Rivierre 2004:335)
ě pá tɛpə-pi pA, i ǎnyɛ dari ikil
 3SG take arrive-TR go DET the fire house ikii
 'She brings the fire to ikii's house'
- (22) Igede (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo; Nigeria; Bamgbose 1974, in Awoyale 1988: 29)
Ahi hū olo chu
 1pl take load put.on.head
 'We carried the load (on our heads)'

53

- (23) Èfik (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo; Nigeria; Welmers 1968, in Awoyale 1988: 29)
Aje men okpokoro oka di
 take table that come
 'Aje brought the table'
- (24) Thai (Tai-Kadai, Kam-Tai; Diller 1985: 67, in Nichols & Woodbury 1985: 25)
sùk zaw máy maa
 Sook take wood come
 'Sook brought the wood'
- (25) Yoruba (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, Defoid; Nigeria; Stahke 1970: 61, in Nichols & Woodbury 1985: 25)
mo mú iwé wá ilé
 I take book come home
 'I brought a book home'
- (26) Tok Pisin (Creole language, Pacific; Papua New Guinea; Foley & Olsen 1985: 48)
em P karin diwai P go
 he carry wood go
 'he carried the wood away'
- (27) Tok Pisin (Creole language, Pacific; Papua New Guinea; Foley & Olsen 1985: 48)
em I karim diwai I kam
 he carry wood come
 'He brought the wood'
- (28) Nupe (Nupe-Gware, Kwa; Kwara, Niger, Benue, Nigeria; George 1976: 63-64, in Foley & Olsen 1985: 48)
Tsoda lá egó wo
 Tsoda take axe come
 'Tsoda brought the axe'

54

(b) Agent causes theme to move to location

- *Verbs of Putting: Put Verbs**
- 'to show'**
- (40) Baule (Niger-Congo, Kwa; Côte d'Ivoire, southwestern Ghana; Creissels 1977: 240)
əɔfa i swá n əklié mʔ
 3SG-take 3POSS.SG house DET show 1SG
 'He has showed me his house'
 - (41) Taba (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Bowden 2008: 79)
n-o-ik si i-a-doi
 3sg-take-APPL[give] 3pl 3pl-ACT-look
 'She showed it to him'
 - (42) Anyin (Niger-Congo, Kwa; Côte d'Ivoire, southwestern Ghana; Van Leynseele 1975:197)
kofi fa-i buluku ha-leli Kasi
 Kofi take-PASS book show-PASS Kasi
 'Kofi showed the book to Kasi'
 - (43) Haitian Creole language (in Law & Veenstra 1992: 190)
Jan pran liv la montre Mari
 John take book DET show Mary
 'John showed the book to Mary'
- 'to put'**
- (44) Yoruba (Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, Defoid; Nigeria; Lord 1993:35)
Mo dé fià fún
 1SG put hat give 3SG
 'I put the hat on his head'

57

(c) Agent intends to cause recipient to receive theme

- *Verbs of Change of Possession: Verbs of Obtaining (Get Verbs)**
- 'to buy'**
- (47) Gà (Niger-Congo, Kwa; Ghana; McWhorter 1990: 11)
mi he nook mi há le
 1SG buy something 1SG give 3SG.F
 'I bought something for her'
 - (48) Degema (Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo; Nigeria; Kari 2003: 280)
Breno ɔs dé ké-n ɔyi ɔsama
 Breno 3SGSCL-buyFE give=FE him shirt
 'Breno bought a shirt for him'
- *Verbs of Creation**
- 'to build'**
- (49) Vietnamese (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-khmer, Viet-Muong; Liem 1979: 57)
Tã gếi wó zào-le yì dồng fàngzì
 3SG give 1SG:OCC build-ASP DET CL house
 '(S)he built an house for me'

58

(d) Agent acts to communicate information to recipient

- *Verbs of Communication: Verbs of Transfer a Message**
- 'to tell'**
- (52) Kalam (Trans New Guinea, Madang; Papua New Guinea; Lane 1991: 117)
...nbeɸ aɸ-ŋ-nəgəb-əl
 2SG:OCC say-give-FUT-3PL
 '...they will tell you [this]'
 - (53) Twi (Niger-Congo, Kwa; Ghana; Ris 1984: 30, in Nichols & Woodbury 1985)
mika asem mi-kyer na
 1SG-speak word 1SG-show 3SG
 'I said him something'
 - (54) Lonliu (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Papua New Guinea; Hamel 1993: 117)
iy ipwey ime ete yó
 3s R3s-say-it R3s-come AG 1s
 'he told me'

59

- 'to teach'**
- (58) Tariana (Arawakan, Maipurean; Brazil; Aikhenwald 2006 : 188)
wa-yarupe-nuku du-enipe-nuku [du-sa du pala-na]
 1PL-thing/language-TOR.NON.A/s 3SG.NF-children-TOR.NON.A/s 3SGF-speak 3SGF-put-PASS.REM:VIS
 'She taught our language to her children'
 - (59) Taba (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian; Bowden 2008: 90)
alho n-o-tik m-unak? go
 who 3SG-get-APPL(give) 2sg-know
 'Who taught you?/Who let you know?'

60