## Multiverb-constructions – is there a continuum?

### Kilu von Prince slides at http://kiluvonprince.de/ multi-verb-constructions-is-there-a-continuum/

07.12.2017

Workshop: Multi Verb Constructions: Semantic, Syntactic and Typological Perspectives

Background ●0 ○0	Where we are now oo oooooooooooooooooooooooooooooooo	Where we may have to go 0000000	Conclusior
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# Structure of the talk

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## 4 Conclusion

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Intro			

• The relation between different multi-verb constructions is often described as a continuum (e. g. Aikhenvald, 2011).

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- The relation between different multi-verb constructions is often described as a continuum (e. g. Aikhenvald, 2011).
- For other authors, serial verb constructions (SVCs) in particular stand out as a structure that marks a fundamental difference between languages (Baker, 1989; Stewart, 1998; Haspelmath, 2016).

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- The main challenge for the latter position is to find a set of criteria that meaningfully distinguish between different types of MVCs.
- However, the definition of meaningful features has to be informed by systematic typological surveying.
- So far, this is missing from all existing approaches.

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The range of phenomena			

Auxiliaries (she was talking)

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Conclusion

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#### The range of phenomena

# Phenomena: Overview

- Auxiliaries (she was talking)
- Light verbs (*she took a walk every day*)
- Serial verbs (hemi stap katem brekem bambu, "she is cutting the bamboo into pieces")
- Converbs (they left the theater laughing)
- Pivot structures (*she saw them sing*)
- Clause chains (every morning, she feeds the cat, gets the mail, (and) walks to work; veni, vidi, vici)

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### The range of phenomena

## Multi-verb constructions and their differences

Serial verb constructions have been perceived as notoriously hard to define.

The task of harmonizing a general account of verb serialization is a very major one which is hardly begun. (Durie, 1997)

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#### Proposed definitions

# Defining SVCs

### Stewart (1998)

In other words, SVCs 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.

 $\rightarrow$  Does not rule out all clause chaining structures.

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## Haspelmath (2016)

- $\rightarrow$  does a pretty good job, but:
  - monoclausality is not trivial to define;
  - predicate-argument relations also do not hold between parts of a clause chain.
  - Haspelmath (2016), like Foley (2010) dismisses events as a defining factor, for bad reasons.
  - In languages where clause-chaining is not necessarily signaled by specific morphology, differentiating it from serial verbs may be impossible without the notion of events.

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### The problem with clauses

## Diagnosing clause boundaries

- Haspelmath (2016) uses negation as the defining notion for monoclausality.
- He suggests that you can not negate part of a clause, you always have to negate the entire clause.
- $\rightarrow$  if you can negate a verb in a MVC independently, it's not a SVC.

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# Negation and clauses

However, we know that negation can be narrow: parts of a clause can be negated while the rest is asserted.

- (1) She gave the number not to the police (but to the medics).  $\rightarrow$  She gave the number to someone.
- (2) The letter arrived here not yesterday (but the day before).  $\rightarrow$  The letter arrived here.
- (3) Not long after the election, society began to disintegrate.

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Negation and SVCs			

There are cases of structures with narrow negation that are hard to test for monoclausality, as in the following example from Daakaka:

(4) to i meerin bwilya mwe syo-tase tamake NEG.REAL COP long.time rail REAL take-again mask na ti minyes COMP DIST different "It did not take long until the rail had taken another mask." (4558)

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### The problem with clauses

## Negation in clausal chains?

In clausal chains, negation of only one clause can sound odd and may be ungrammatical in some languages.

- (5) Hannah brushed her teeth, washed her face, ?didn't clip her nails, (and) went to bed.
- (6) Petra fuhr ihren Laptop runter, packte ihn ?nicht in die Tasche, (und) ging zur Tür.

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## Are events so completely elusive?

• Foley (2010), Haspelmath (2016) and others have argued that events are too elusive to be useful as a defining criterion.

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Conclusion

### The problem with events

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- Foley (2010), Haspelmath (2016) and others have argued that events are too elusive to be useful as a defining criterion.
- By contrast, Bohnemeyer *et al.* (2007) rely on the Macro-Event-Property as a diagnostic for single-eventhood:

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### Macro-Event-Property

A construction has the MEP if it packages event representations such that temporal operators necessarily have scope over all subevents.

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### Adverbial modification: Eckardt (1998: 19)

Two events  $e_1$  and  $e_2$  are distinct if a modifier  $\alpha$  is true for one but not the other, and if this difference with respect to  $\alpha$  is due to different parameters being specified by  $\alpha$  for event  $e_1$  and  $e_2$ .

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## Clauses and events

As far as I can tell, whenever a clear contrast between a single event and multiple events has been noted, it makes the same distinction as the grammatical criteria, in particular monoclausality and biclausality. (Haspelmath, 2016)

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- Despite that impression, monoclausality is far from co-extensive with single-eventhood.
- Some of the examples that Haspelmath (2016) quotes as prototypical SVCs may violate the single-eventhood criterion.

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• One clause may contain more than one event argument:

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- One clause may contain more than one event argument:
  - (7) ?With a quick look over her shoulder she slowly turned the key in the lock.

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#### Events vs. clauses

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  - (10) She finally managed to complete the research proposal. It had taken her half a year.

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  - (8) During a boring vernissage they had the most interesting conversation.
  - (9) After the party they went to have a drink.
- The same event may be referred to by separate sentences:
  - (10) She finally managed to complete the research proposal. It had taken her half a year.
  - (11) This year, they hosted their Christmas party at home. It was a blast.

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#### Wordhood and single-eventhood

 Many have argued that anything *can* be conceptualized as a single event and therefore it is impossible to tell whether something *is* being conceptualized as a single event.

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- Many have argued that anything *can* be conceptualized as a single event and therefore it is impossible to tell whether something *is* being conceptualized as a single event.
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- I assume that wordhood can be a test for conceptualization as single events or objects.
  - If a particular configuration of events is referred to by a single lexeme, a single, complex word or an SVC, it is conceptualized as a single event.

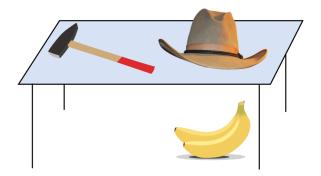
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- However, in practice, certain configurations of events are often expressed by single lexemes cross-linguistically, while others never are.
- I assume that wordhood can be a test for conceptualization as single events or objects.
  - If a particular configuration of events is referred to by a single lexeme, a single, complex word or an SVC, it is conceptualized as a single event.
  - If a particular configuration of objects is referred to by a single lexeme, a single, complex word or a nominal compound, it is conceptualized as a single object.

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## Wordhood

Certain configurations of events/ objects are often expressed by single lexemes cross-linguistically, while some others never are, and some only in specific cultures.



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#### Wordhood: do in.search.of

Alamblak:

(12) miyt ritm muh-hambray-an-m tree insects climb-search.for-1SG-3PL "I climbed the tree to get insects" (Bruce, 1988: 29), described as sequential verbal compound by Aikhenvald (2007), but as SVC by others.

Daakaka:

(13) kuli mwe ko-pyakilye
dog REAL race-RES.FIND
"The dog was hunting and looking for it" (2013)

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Wordhood:	cook eat?		

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Dagaare (Gur):
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(14) ò dà sé lá nénè òò
3SG PST roast FOC meat eat
"He roasted meat and ate it." (Hiraiwa & Bodomo, 2008: 796)

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## Single-eventhood and wordhood

 There are a number of structures with the pattern PREPARE (food/drink) EAT/DRINK/SELL in Dagaare and related languages.

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## Single-eventhood and wordhood

- There are a number of structures with the pattern PREPARE (food/drink) EAT/DRINK/SELL in Dagaare and related languages.
- It would be interesting to see whether the above characterization exhausts this pattern;
- and whether the same meaning is expressed by bound morphology in related or neighboring languages.

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• Cross-linguistic lexifiability or wordhood is never going to be a strict feature for classification of MVCs.

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- Cross-linguistic lexifiability or wordhood is never going to be a strict feature for classification of MVCs.
- There is no one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning.

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The problem with events			

- Cross-linguistic lexifiability or wordhood is never going to be a strict feature for classification of MVCs.
- There is no one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning.
- However, I do believe that if a configuration of events or objects is demonstrably expressed by a single word, this indicates that the speaker thinks of it as a single event or object.

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- Therefore, if the same meaning that is expressed by an SVC in one language is expressed by a single word in another one, this supports the idea that this meaning can readily be conceptualized as a single event.

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- Therefore, if the same meaning that is expressed by an SVC in one language is expressed by a single word in another one, this supports the idea that this meaning can readily be conceptualized as a single event.
- At the same time, it would be interesting to learn more about areal lexification patterns.

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## The dilemma

More serious large-scale cross-linguistic work presupposes conceptual clarity, and this has often be lacking in the literature ...

#### (Haspelmath, 2016:2)

- But any meaningful definition also has to be informed by large-scale cross-linguistic work.
- So far, theoretical definitions fail to provide conceptual clarity, because they tend to be myopic about the range of phenomena concerned.



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Correlations			

Every category is prototypically associated with a certain set of functions.

Auxiliaries: aspect, mood

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- Auxiliaries: aspect, mood
- Light verbs: derivation of new verbs

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- Auxiliaries: aspect, mood
- Light verbs: derivation of new verbs
- Serial verbs: directionals, resultatives

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- Auxiliaries: aspect, mood
- Light verbs: derivation of new verbs
- Serial verbs: directionals, resultatives
- Converbs: simultaneity or sequence of actions

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- Auxiliaries: aspect, mood
- Light verbs: derivation of new verbs
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- Converbs: simultaneity or sequence of actions
- Pivots: complement relations to a matrix verb

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- Clause chains: event sequences

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Every category is prototypically associated with a certain set of functions.

- Auxiliaries: aspect, mood
- Light verbs: derivation of new verbs
- Serial verbs: directionals, resultatives
- Converbs: simultaneity or sequence of actions
- Pivots: complement relations to a matrix verb
- Clause chains: event sequences

When taking stock of defining features, one should focus on prototypical cases of each kind before taking into account more marginal cases.

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#### Correlations

#### Correlations between form and function

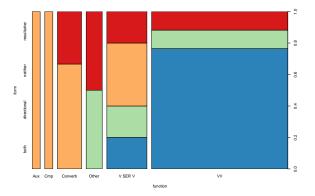


Figure: Based on a sample of 29 structures from 27 languages; red: only resultative; orange: neither; green: only directional; blue: both;

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Conclusion

#### Correlations

### Correlations between form and function

- Serial verb constructions usually encode directionals, resultatives or both.
- Other MVCs do often NOT encode those meanings.
- In defining SVCs as opposed to other MVCs, it would be good to focus on directional and resultatives first.

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#### Correlations

# Geographic distribution of MVCs



Figure: Distribution of MVCs according to function. Red: only resultative; orange: neither; green: only directional; blue: both;

Background 00 00	Where we are now 00 0000 000000000	Where we may have to go ○○○○●○○

#### Correlations

# Adverbial SVCs

(15) a. tan mu kuu~kuu mwe yas ground REAL REDUP~move REAL strong 'the ground was shaking strongly' (sto25:111) b. Yan wuoswa, ya=m kuowilye ka ya=pon some 3P=REAL know MOD.COMP 3P=POT bivili yan apyang tevy-an ka we smoke(VTR) on fire side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT gaó wa maga. dry POT fast 'Sometimes, they might place it over a fire to make it dry fast.' (exp20:6)

Background	
00	
00	

Where we may have to go 000000

#### Correlations

# Distribution of adverbial and resultative SVCs in Oceania

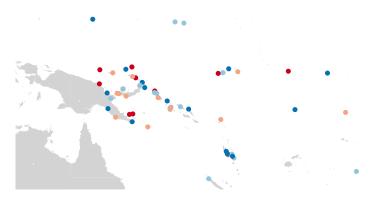


Figure: SVCs in Oceanic (data from Verkerk & Frostad 2013). Dark red: neither adverbial nor resultative (11); light red: only resultative (19); light blue: only adverbial (17); dark blue: both (19).

Background 00 00	Where we are now 00 00000 000000000	Where we may have to go 000000●	Conclusion
Correlations			
Correlates	of MVCs		

- It's long been noted that MVCs are not distributed evenly across languages.
- There are a variety of possible factors that might determine the distribution of SVCs in contrast to other MVCs
  - Language family (Austronesian, Sino-Tibetan, Hmong-Mien, Atlantic-Congo)
  - Region (South-east Asia, Oceania, West Africa)
  - Morphological profile (more towards the analytic/ isolating part of the spectrum)

Background	I
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# Conclusion

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  - how widespread which structures are
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  - how MVCs correlate with area/ family/ morphological profile
- It's time to start doing this.

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### Yet another set of proposed features

	Separable	Wordhood	Symmetry	Manner
Auxiliaries	-	+	-	-
Light verbs	-	+	-	-
Serial verbs	-	+/-	+/-	-
Pivot structures	-	-	+/-	+
Converbs	-	-	+	+
Clause chains	+	-	+	+

Table: Separable: individual verbs can be clearly separated without a semantic change; Wordhood: the same meaning is encoded by clearly single words in some languages; Symmetry: both verbs are drawn from a large class of verbs; Manner: both verbs can be modified by contradicting manner adverbials.

### Separability

The meaning of an SVC verb sequences changes when they are clearly separated into different clauses.

- (16) mwe saa (\*te) disi nge vyan yen buluwu REAL pull (DISC) draw.back 3s go in hole "it retreated into the hole"
- (17) ma ane webir (a/ te) mw=i towo ten REAL eat taro (but/DISC) REAL=COP big very
  a. "she ate a lot of taro"
  b. "she ate taro, but it was too much"

(cf. Enfield, 2008)

### What about argument sharing?

Argument sharing is often cited as a crucial property of SVCs, but it applies in similar ways to most MVCs.