

# Serielle Verben in Benue-Kwa Herausforderungen und Lösungsansätze

Afrikinguistisches Kolloquium – Humboldt Universität Berlin

Jakob Maché

`jakob.mache@letras.ulisboa.pt`

Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa

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## Overview

### Introduction Niger-Congo

### SVC – Challenges

Challenge 1: Tracking coreference

Challenge 2: Determining the syntactic categories of SVC components

Challenge 3: Hierarchical order of  $V_1$  und  $V_2$

Defective light verbs as  $V_1$

Markers of syntactic dependency on  $V_2$

Different TAM-Marking

Lack of factative marker on stative predicates

Restriction on verbal slots in B-K

### Properties of SVCs and their diagnostics

Suggested analyses

Basic properties

Diagnostics and tests

Macro-Event Property

Extraction from SVCs

# Basic characteristics of Benue-Kwa

- ▶ Mostly CV or CC<sub>sonorant</sub>V syllables
- ▶ No or impoverished inflectional morphology on nouns and verbs
- ▶ Verbs mostly monosyllabic
- ▶ Lots of other monosyllabic words with more contested status: adpositions, particles, TAM-marker, auxiliaries, complementizers
- ▶ **Major challenges:**
  - ▶ Identification of syntactic categories
  - ▶ identification of syntactic relations between monosyllabic words that occur (syntactic dependencies? coordination)
- ▶ **Common assumption:** all of these elements are verbs and all of them are just coordinated, suggesting that these languages have symmetrical SVCs which may involve any given verb in any given position

Historical link between SVC and verbal extensions. Two possible explanations

1. Voeltz (1977, pp. 72–73): SVC replaced verbal extensions
  - ▶ phonological attrition caused the loss of verbal extensions
  - ▶ SVC came in as an innovation to recompensate
2. Givón (1971, pp. 158–159): verbal extensions replaced SVC
  - ▶ assumption: Proto-Niger-Congo had SVC
  - ▶ verbs were reanalysed as suffixes, birth of verbal extensions was the end of SVC

# Research on SVC in Kwa-languages I

- ▶ **General:** (cf. Lord 1993, Shluinsky 2017)
- ▶ **Abé (Nyo):** cf. Manfredi 1991
- ▶ **Tano:** Anyi (cf. Leynseele 1975), Akan (Twi, Asante, cf. J. M. Stewart 1963, Welmers 1973, pp. 372–375, Campbell 1989; Campbell 1996, Dolphyne 1987, Lord 1993, Marfo 2005, Baah 2015, Baumann 2022), Baule (cf. N'Guessan 2000, Larson 2002, Larson 2003, Larson 2010), Creissels and Kouadio 2010), Efutu/Guang (cf. Agyeman 2016)
- ▶ **Ga-Dangme:** Ga (cf. J. Zimmermann 1858, Ansre 1966, Lord 1973, Kropp Dakubu 2004, Kropp Dakubu, Hellan, and Beermann 2007), Dangme (cf. Caesar 2016)
- ▶ **Na-Togo:** Sɛkpɛlé: (Delalorm 2016)
- ▶ **Gbè:** èvè (cf. Ansre 1966, Bole-Richard 1983, Collins 1993; Collins 1997, Ameka 2006), Fɔn (cf. Lefebvre 1990; Lefebvre 1991, Cruz 1992, Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, pp. 399–442), Gun (cf. Aboh 2009)

# Research on SVC in Benue-Congo Languages I

- ▶ **General:** (Lord 1993, Déchaine 1993b)
- ▶ **Yorùbá:** (cf. Stahlke 1970; Stahlke 1973, Awóbùlúyì, 1973, Bamgboṣe 1974; Bamgboṣe 1982, Lord 1973; Lord 1974; Lord 1993, Welmers 1973, pp. 375–378, George 1975b, Madugu 1985, Oyèlárǎn 1982, Ekundayo and Akinnaso 1983, Schachter 1984, Láníràn and Ṣónaiya 1987, Awóyalé 1988, Baker 1989, A. S. Lawal 1989; Nike S. Lawal 1993, Déchaine 1993a; Déchaine 1993b, Manfredi 1991, Manfredi 2005, Manfredi 2022, Bisang 2009)
- ▶ **Edoid:** Èdó/Bini (cf. Amayo 1975, Agheyisi 1986, Baker and O. T. Stewart 1999b, Baker and O. T. Stewart 2002, Ogie 2003, Manfredi (2005), Manfredi (2022), Ogie 2009, Hagemeyer and Ogie 2012), Emai (cf. Schaefer and Egbokhare 2010, Schaefer and Egbokhare, 2017), Degema (cf. Kari 2003)

# Research on SVC in Benue-Congo Languages II

- ▶ **Ìgboid:** Ìgbo (cf. Lord 1973; Lord 1975; Lord 1977; Lord 1993, Welmers 1973, pp. 366–369, Ùwaláàka 1981; Ùwaláàka 1982, Nwachukwu 1984, Íhìónú 1988, Déchaine 1993b, Manfredi 1991, Manfredi 2005, Manfredi 2022), Izi (cf. Bendor-Samuel 1968)
- ▶ **Nupoid:** Nupe (cf. Hyman 1971, Welmers 1973, p. 375 George 1975a, George 1975b, Bamgboṣe 1982, Madugu 1985, Lord 1993, pp. 126–128, Kandybowicz and Baker 2003), Gbari (cf. Hyman 1971)
- ▶ **Ìyínnò** (Ukaan): (cf. Táíwo 2014)
- ▶ **Òkọ:** (cf. Atoyebi 2009, pp. 267–260)
- ▶ **Idomoid:** Idoma (cf. Lord 1993, pp. 121–126), Yatyẹ (cf. Stahlke 1970)
- ▶ **Efik-Ibibio** (Lower Cross): (cf. Welmers 1973, pp. 369–372, Major 2014)

- ▶ **Jukunoid**: Jukun (cf. Welmers 1973), Kuteb (cf. Koops 2007, pp. 191–222)
- ▶ **Grassfields** (Southern Bantoid): (cf. Hyman 1971 for Fe<sup>ʔ</sup>fe<sup>ʔ</sup> (Bamileke), H. Keupdijo and C. Keupdijo 2021, Pahane 2022 for Mèdúmba and Eastern Ndà'ndà' (Bamileke), Bafut (cf. Mfonyam 1989, Tamanji 2009; Tamanji 2014), Isu (cf. Kießling 2016, Rolle and Hyman 2016)



# SVCs in Benue-Kwa – Challenges

1. How to model coreference with unrealised NPs of  $V_2$ ?
2. What is the syntactic category of “ $V_1$ ” and “ $V_2$ ”?
  - ▶ Could one of them be P?
  - ▶ Could one of them be auxiliary?
  - ▶ Could one of them be particle?
3. Is there any hierarchical relation between  $V_1$  and  $V_2$ 
  - ▶ Is  $V_1$  complement of  $V_2$  (or vice versa)?
  - ▶ Does  $V_1$  modify  $V_2$  (or vice versa)?
  - ▶ Or are  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  coordinated?
4. What causes difference of word order  $V_1$  NP  $V_2$  vs.  $V_1$   $V_2$  NP (Igbo Compounds, Yorùbá PROG)
5. How to distinguish between SVC vs TAM markers/auxiliaries, complementizers and other verbs that take verbal/clausal complements?
6. Are there subclasses of SVC?

Inflection: asymmetric -Igbo has often different inflection on  $V_1$  than on  $V_2$  -systematically, despite whether  $V_1$  or  $V_2$  is the syntactic head

-Grassfield looks the same

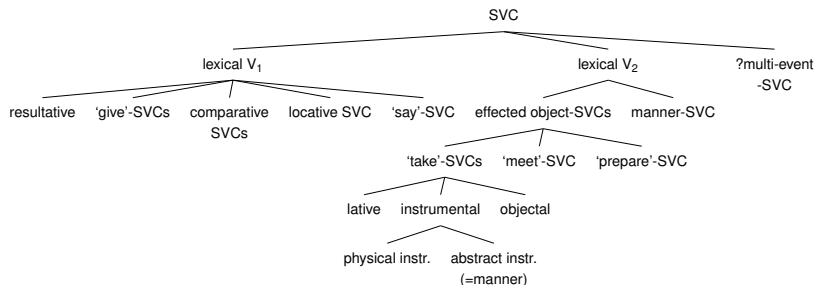
-scope of modifiers -behaviour in cleft extraction

1.

2. ▶

3.

# Subclassification of SVCs in B-K



**Figure:** Combining von Déchaine (1993b), Aboh (2009), Shluinsky (2017) and Stahlke (1970, p. 62)

Many of these classes are also attested in other language families, Thai, Mandarin check Manfredi: no sentential negation?? Mandarin lacks it

- ▶ **'take'/'use'-SVC** Sino-Tibetan Mandarin *yòng* 'use', Thai Paw 'take' *cháy* 'use' cf. Sudmuk (2005, pp. 47–52), check Malayalam guy and sign-language
- ▶ 'give'-SVC: check lord, Thai *hây* 'give' Sudmuk (2005, pp. 53–63)
- ▶ resultative-SVC: Thai Sudmuk (2005, pp. 65–66), Mandarin (as compounds)
- ▶ eat-SVC

# Effected Object SVCs in Benue-Kwa I

Concept	Baoulé	Anyi	Akan	Ga	Ewe	Gen	Fon	Gun	Yorùba	Abesabesi	Ukaan	Ọ̀kọ	Èdó	Emai	Nupe	Igbo	Ibibio	Efik	Idoma	Yatye	Kuteb	Bamileke	
'take'	fá	fá	de		?tsɔ	sɔ	sɔ	zé	mú			lɔ	? lɔ̀, ?rhié	nwú	lá	wè		?bén, ?kámá	l, bi	awá	sa, ye, pū	luú?/lɔ	
'put/use'							qó	fi					?yá	ré		ji							
'hold/carry'							hèn	gbé															
'draw'																							
'pack'								kó								kwá						(kó)	
'pour'																							
'meet'								bá	ton				kugbé	lié					iku		kwéé		
'gather'													kóko										
'embrace'																							tá"(s)
'receive'								gbé															
'prepare"/'cook'			noa					qá	sé														

# 'give'-SVCs in Benue-Kwa I

Concept	Baoulé	Anyi	Akan	Ga	Ewe	Gen	Fon	Gun	Yorùbá	Abesabesi	Ukaan	Ọ̀ko	Èdó	Emai	Nupe	Igbo	Ibibio	Efik	Idoma	Yatye	Kuteb	Bamileke
'give'		<i>má</i>	AK	GA	<i>ná</i>	GEN	<i>ná/nú</i>	GUN	<i>fún</i>			<i>nẹ́</i>	<i>na</i>		<i>yá</i>	<i>nyé</i>	<i>nó</i>	<i>na</i>			<i>nó</i>	
'offer'									<i>ta</i>													

What is the purpose of the term *serial verb constructions*???

1. **Primacy of Morphology:** any verb that lacks marking of SUBORD or COORD
2. **Primacy of Syntax:** looking at all classes of verbs with homogenous properties that may occur without marking of SUBORD or COORD in a given language (eg. +MACRO EVENT PROPERTY), but include these classes of verbs in other languages too, in which they MAY have such marking

Classifying all construction that involve a sequence of two or more verbs that do NOT involve any marker of syntactic subordination or coordination? (cf. inspired by Westermann's 1907, p. 94 observation)

- ▶ **risk 1:** yielding thereby a set of verbs with little syntactic and semantic properties in common
- ▶ **risk 2:** a syntactic verb pattern  $x$  may have occur in language  $A$  with marker of subordination, and in language  $B$  without subordination
  - ▶  $x_A$  would be considered as SVC
  - ▶  $x_B$  would be considered as no SVC

Hyman (1971) ? seems to follow this path: calls constructions with marker on  $V_2$  consecutivization. eg. Igbo , Fe<sup>?</sup>fe<sup>?</sup>



Classify all the verbs with respect to the criteria below in different groups, thereby ignoring whether  $V_2$  or  $V_1$  do display any markers of syntactic dependency or allow differential marking:

- ▶ classifying verbs with respect to syntactic and semantic behaviour
  - ▶ macro event property: can actuality of event encoded by  $V_2$  be canceled?
  - ▶ do  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  allow separate negation?
  - ▶ any evidence that  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  can form a syntactic constituent
  - ▶ do they allow extraction of objects?

- ▶ In much research the dissimilarity of these two methods is not acknowledged and that they may not lead to the same result
- ▶ Here: verb classes are much more relevant to the understanding of the syntactic properties
- ▶ Verb sequences without morphological marking may turn out
  - ▶ to be a surface phenomenon an
  - ▶ to be not a syntactic class at all

# Challenge 1: coreference with intransitive $V_2$

## @UPDATE

- (1) Òzó **swá** Àzàrí<sub>i</sub> \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> **dé**.  
Ozo push.PST.H Àzàrí fall.PST.H
- (i) Resultative: 'Òzó pushed Àzàrí down.' (ÈDÓ, Ogie 2009, pp. 11, 236)
- (ii) ?Multi-Event: 'Òzó pushed Àzàrí down and Òzó fell too.'
- (2) Fẹ́mí í **tí** Akin<sub>i</sub> \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> **ṣubú**.  
Fẹ́mí HTS push Akin fall
- (i) Resultative: 'Fẹ́mí pushed Akin down.' (YORÙBÁ, Lord 1974, p. 199)
- (ii) Multi-Event: 'Fẹ́mí pushed Akin down and Fẹ́mí fell, too.'
- ▶ SVC consist of two verbs  $V_1$  and  $V_2$
  - ▶  $V_2$  lacks overt  $SUBJ_2$ , often without  $OBJ_2$  if coreferent with  $OBJ_1$
  - ▶ If  $V_2$  has a THEME-SUBJ: it can be coreferent with  $OBJ$  of  $V_1$

# Challenge 1: coreference with intransitive $V_2$

## Open Question

- ▶ Under which circumstances can  $V_2$  have a covert SUBJ/OBJ?
- ▶ How can be the coreference be modelled? What is type of the empty category? (PRO?, pro? trace? structure sharing?)

## Challenge 1: coreference with transitive $V_2$

- (3)  $mo_i$  fi  $àdá_j$   $\_\_i$  gé igi náà  $\_\_j$ .  
1S take cutlass cut tree the

'I cut the tree with a cutlass' YORÚBÀ, (cf. Stahlke 1970, p. 61)

- (4)  $Àmì$  awá  $òkìtì_j$   $\_\_i$  adyú òtsi  $\_\_j$ .  
 $Àmì$  PFV-take cutlass PFV-cut tree

' $Àmì$  cut the tree with a cutlass' YATYE, (cf. Stahlke 1970, p. 61)

- ▶  $V_2$  lacks overt SUBJ, lacks overt INSTRUMENT
- ▶ How can crossing dependencies be modeled?
  - ▶ between overt SUBJ of  $V_1$  and  $V_2$
  - ▶ between overt D.OBJ of  $V_1$  and covert INSTRUMENT of  $V_2$
- ▶ PRO, pro, A-movement?  $\bar{A}$ -movement?

## Challenge 1: coreference with ditransitive V<sub>2</sub>

- (5) Jímò<sub>i</sub> ó ra èwù<sub>j</sub> \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> b̀ùn mi \_\_\_<sub>j</sub>.  
Jímò HTS buy garment present 1 SG  
'Jímò bought garment for me.' (YORÙBA, Déchaine 1993a, p. 799)

- (6) Olú fí òrùka ta mi l̀oṛẹ .  
Olú take ring offer me as-gift  
'Olú made me a gift of a ring.' (YORÙBA, Oyèlárǎn 1982)

- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> lacks overt SUBJ, lacks overt INSTRUMENT
- ▶ How can crossing dependencies be modeled?
  - ▶ between overt SUBJ of V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub>
  - ▶ between overt D.OBJ of V<sub>1</sub> and covert INSTRUMENT of V<sub>2</sub>
- ▶ PRO, pro, A-movement?  $\bar{A}$ -movement?

# Challenge 1: implications for analysis

How to analyse for the phonologically empty subject argument of  $V_2$ ?

- ▶ PRO? But:  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  are monoclausal and do not involve a CP-Boundary which would license PRO.
- ▶ trace?  $V_1$  may have antecedents for two phonologically empty arguments of  $V_2$  – crossing A-Dependencies
- ▶ pro? Should give rise to arbitrary interpretation of subject argument of  $V_2$ , which is not supported by data (cf. Hellan, Beermann, and Andenes 2003)
- ▶  $\bar{A}$ -movement? No movement into non-argument position, no operator present.
- ▶ But: Wurmbrand (2001) for German functional restructuring control verbs *wollen*, *können* do not involve PRO
- ▶ Situation in BK leads many authors to depart from core assumption of generative grammar
  - ▶ Baker (1989, pp. 529–532) and Baker and O. T. Stewart (1999a, pp. 17–20): doubly headed VPs
  - ▶ Rizzi (1986) (1987) (1989) (1990) (1991) (1992) (1993) (1994) (1995) (1996) (1997) (1998) (1999) (2000) (2001) (2002) (2003) (2004) (2005) (2006) (2007) (2008) (2009) (2010) (2011) (2012) (2013) (2014) (2015) (2016) (2017) (2018) (2019) (2020) (2021) (2022) (2023) (2024) (2025)

# Challenge 1: suggested solutions

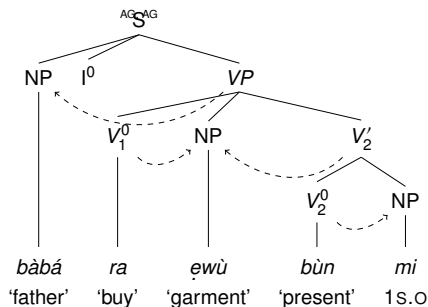
Situation in BK leads many authors to depart from core assumption of generative grammar:

- ▶ Baker (1989, pp. 529–532) and Baker and O. T. Stewart (1999a, pp. 17–20): doubly headed VPs
- ▶ Déchaine (1993b, pp. 811–812) assume head movement from an  $VP_2$ , which is adjoined to  $VP_1$ , to  $V_1$ .
- ▶ Collins (1997, pp. 482, 484–485, 494) postulates object control structures with small pro as phonologically empty subject.



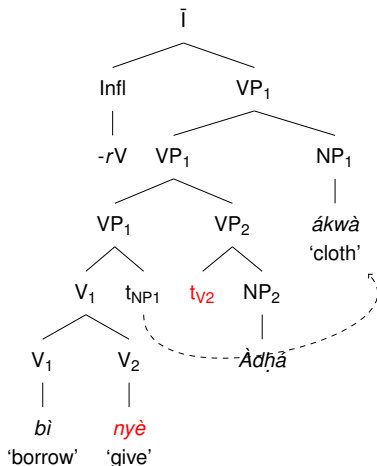
# Challenge 1: Solution 1 – doubly headed VPs

Baker (1989, pp. 529–532) and Baker and O. T. Stewart (1999a, pp. 17–20) consider RSVCs involving doubly headed VPs:



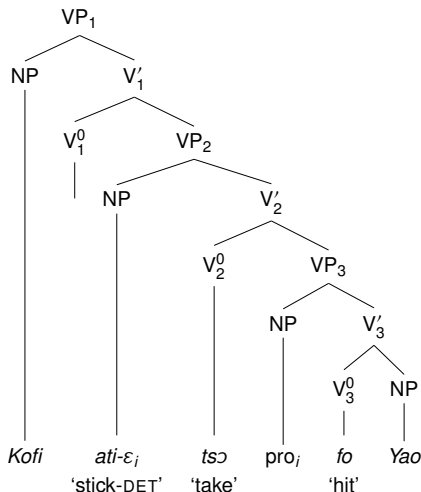
# Challenge 1: Solution 2 – V-lowering from adjunct

For *give*-compounds in Ìgbo , Déchaine (1993b, pp. 811–812) assume head movement from an VP<sub>2</sub>, which is adjoined to VP<sub>1</sub>, to V<sub>1</sub>.



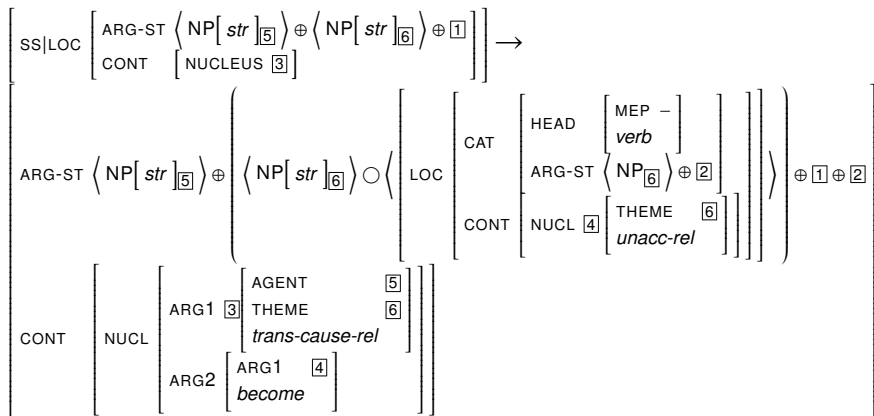
# Challenge 1: Solution 3 – control with small pro

Collins (1997, pp. 482, 484–485, 494) postulates object control structures with small *pro* as phonologically empty subject:



- ▶ How are thematic roles for subject argument *Kofi* of  $V_1$

# A constraint based analysis (Maché 2022, p. 77)



Are all of the elements in SVCs which generally are considered as verbs really verbs?

- ▶ difficult to decide
  - ▶ Most elements in question: monosyllabic with CV-syllable structure
  - ▶ Impoverished verbal inflection in BK
  - ▶ Impoverished nominal inflection in BK (case only on pronouns)

- ▶ In some Benue-Kwa languages verbs bear inflection;
  - ▶ Ewe: every verb can take HABITUAL suffix  $-(n)a$  (cf. Ameka 2008, pp. 137–138: )
  - ▶ Ìgbo : most verbs take the rV suffix if  $V_1$  and open vowel suffix if  $V_2$  (cf. Nwachukwu 1984)
- ▶ Change of phonological form:
  - ▶ Fon: ‘give’ when used as main verb  $ná$ , when used in SVC as  $V_2$   $nú$  (cf. Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, ?)

Lord (1973, pp. 271–279): some components in some SVC lost verbal characteristics. The verbs *lè* (Ewe, Gbe), *wɔ* (Twi, Nyo) *yɛ̀* (Ga) come in three syntactically distinct uses

1. **locative verbs**: with NP/PP complements
2. **SVC components/prepositions**: after VPs
3. **progressive** marker

- (7) agbalěa le kplõa dzi.  
book-DET be.at table-DET top  
'The book is on the table.'

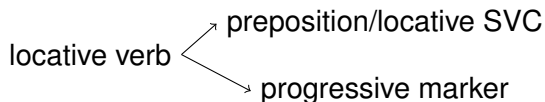


- (8)      agbalěa    le      kplõa      dzi.  
book-DET be.at table-DET top  
'The book is on the table.'

- (9) me=le      agbalẽ xlem.  
1S.S=PROG reading  
'I am reading a book' EWE

Lord (1973, p. 1)

Locative verbs in Benue Kwa are inclined to the following paths of grammaticalisation



- ▶ Yorùbá *pẹ̀lú* (and its congenates in Gbe)
  - ▶ Lord (1973, pp. 280–286): *pẹ̀lú* has its roots in a be lexical verb meaning ‘be included among’
  - ▶ Abraham (1958) *pẹ̀lú* is a noun full form should be *wà pẹ̀lú* meaning ‘be included among’ (prototypical verbs are monosyllabic in BK)

These elements are:

- ▶ **entirely new categories**

- ▶ Lord (1973), Lord (1975), and Lord (1993): prepositions
- ▶ Nike S. Lawal (1989, pp. 7–8): Yorùbá *fi*, *bá* as prepositions
- ▶ Awóbùlúyì (1971, p. 161): Yorùbábá as preposition
- ▶ Shluinsky (2017, pp. 374–379): ‘give’-verbs in SVCs in some Gbe languages and Ikposo (Ka-Togo) no longer inflect and are generally considered as prepositions

- ▶ **still verbs but defective**

- ▶ Bamgboṣe (1974, pp. 38–47)
  1. some of these items still bear verbal prefixes (Yatyẹ, Izi)
  2. focus adverbs and adverbials can undergo without CíCV-reduplication, these items do not

	<b>Twí</b>	<b>Gã</b>	<b>Ewe</b>	<b>Gun</b>	<b>Yorùbá</b>	<b>Igbo</b>
locative copula	✓	✓	✓		—	—
predicate of possession	✓				✓	
'preposition'	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PROGRESSIVE			✓	✓	✓	✓

# Symmetrical vs. asymmetrical SVC

Durie (1997), Aikhenvald (2006, pp. 21–36): Two types of SVCs

- ▶ **Symmetrical SVC:** slots for  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  can be replaced by any given verb each
- ▶ **Asymmetrical SVC:** one of the slots is strictly constraint to a very small set of (light) verbs, which are exhibit a strong degree of grammaticalisation

Observation here: the majority (all?) of SVCs in B-K are asymmetrical. Are there any SVC which do not involve any restrictions for neither  $V_1$  or  $V_2$ ?



- ▶ Symmetrical SVCs could suggest that they involve some sort coordination of  $V_1$  and  $V_2$
- ▶ Asymmetrical SVCs suggest rather that one of the elements is the head where as the other is the complementizer/modifier

There is broad evidence that asymmetrical SVCs are more dominant in B-K. Not evident whether symmetrical SVCs exist at all

1. Some of the Vs in SVCs do not occur outside SVCs:  
Yorùbá *fi*, *bá*, Idoma *l*, Akan *de*
2. Some Vs occur with markers of syntactic dependency (cf. Hyman 1971 nasal prefix in Fe<sup>ʔ</sup>fe<sup>ʔ</sup> , Déchaine 1993b open vowel suffix in ìgbò)
3. Some Vs occur with different TAM markers
4. In most SVCs one V-slot is clearly restricted to a limited class of items

Some of the prototypical  $V_1$  can no longer be used as transitives or intransitives:

(10) \* Kofi de Yaw.  
Kofi de Yaw

Intended: 'Kofi takes Yaw' AKAN (cf. Campbell 1996, pp. 91–91)

- ▶ Campbell (1996, pp. 91–92) *de* 'take' lacks thematic roles
- ▶ Can no longer be used as transitive
- ▶ J. M. Stewart (1963, p. 146): *de* fails to inflect for other aspects than *STATIVE*; non-stative counterpart is *fa*
- ▶ Similar case *de* in Ànyî (cf. Leynseele (1975, p. 195))

*de* requires presence of transitive or intransitive  $V_2$ :

- (11) a. \* Kofi *de* nsuo.  
Kofi take water
- b. Me=*de* nsuo horoo.  
1 S.S=take water washed  
'I washed with water.' AKAN (cf. Campbell 1996,  
p. 86)
- c. Kwasi *de* nsuo guu fom ho.  
Kwasi take water dripped floor surface  
'Kwasi dripped water onto the floor' AKAN (cf.  
Campbell 1996, p. 93)

Bamgboṣe (1974, pp. 46–47) *fi* as ‘modifying item’ which are defective subclass of verbs that only take objects at the level of deep structure.

- (12) a.      ó    fi   owó   sí   ẹnu.  
              3s.s put money into mouth  
              3s.s take money into mouth  
              ‘He put a coin in the mouth’
- b.      \* ó    fi   owó.  
                  3s.s put money  
                  ‘He put coin’

Bamgboṣe (1974, 46–47 fn. 32) *bá* as ‘modifying item’ which are defective subclass of verbs that only take objects at the level of deep structure.

- (13) a.      ó      bá                      ọ̀ré      rẹ̀                      lọ.  
                 3S.S accompany friend 1 S.POSS go  
                 ‘He went with his friend.’
- b.      \* ó      bá                      ọ̀ré      rẹ̀.  
                 3S.S accompany friend 1 S.POSS  
                 ‘He accompanied his friend.’

Lord (1993, pp. 121–123): /- parallel to Akan *de*:

- (14)      ò      I-Èwā      gūwā.  
            1 S.S PRF-knife slash-them  
            'I slashed them with a knife'

Due to their defective status *bá* and *fi* are considered as prepositions by some authors.

- ▶ Nike S. Lawal (1989, pp. 7–8): *fi*, *bá* as prepositions
- ▶ Awóbùlúyì (1971, p. 161) *bá* as preposition



Other authors consider *bá* and *fi* explicitly still as verbs, too.

- ▶ Lord (1973, pp. 291–292) *bá* is a verb (as it inflects), calls *fi* a irregular verbe too, in some dialects *fi* no longer inflects, it other it does. It is clearly defective

# Contested status of *bá* and *fi* II

However, there are examples with *fi* with other elements that have unclear status *sí*:

- (15)      ó    fi    owó    sí    ɛnu.  
          3S.S put money into mouth  
          3S.S take money into mouth  
          ‘He put a coin in the mouth’

- ▶ Is *fi* a light verb?
- ▶ Is *sí* directional preposition (because it is usually translated as such in English)?
- ▶ Is *sí* a “modifying item” (defective subclass of verbs which only have objects at deep structure) (cf. Bamgboṣe 1974, pp. 43, 46–47)

Lord (1973)

Yorùbá *ní*: no longer locative

Lord (1973, pp. 280–283) Yorùbá *pẹ̀lú*: ‘becoming preposition’

Lord (1973, pp. 283–284) Ewe gbe *kplé* has lost its verbal status (Ansre 1966)

# Conclusion: these $V_1$ are light verbs

- ▶ Data supports Aboh's (2009, pp. 26–28) assumption: these  $V_1$  are light verbs
- ▶ Following subclasses could be identified with  $V_1$ :
  - ▶ 'prepare'-SVCs *dà* (Gungbe, cf. Aboh 2009, pp. 26–28), *sè* (Yorùbá, cf. Lord (1974))
  - ▶ 'meet'-SVCs *bá* 'meet' (Yorùbá), *jọ* 'assemble' (Yorùbá, cf. Bamgboṣe 1974, pp. 36–37), *Yatyẹ*
  - ▶ 'take'-SVCs (cf. Shluinsky 2017)
  - ▶ 'look for'/'watch'-SVC *dín*, *kpón* (Gungbe cf. Aboh 2009), Yorùbá *wá*
- ▶ Following subclasses for  $V_2$ 
  - ▶ 'give'-SVC (cf. Shluinsky (2017))
  - ▶ ??? predicates of consumption lots of examples with 'eat' eg. Yorùbá *jẹ* 'eat' (cf. ), Gbe *dù* (cf. Collins 1997, p. 461, Aboh 2009, pp. 1–4)



# 'take'-verbs and 'meet'-verbs in Èdó

Ogie (2009, pp. 287–294): 'take'-SVCs and *meet*-SVC in Èdó,

- (16) Èhò èvǎ ọré Òzó rhié-rè (yá) (tòbọ̀rè) fián  
knife two FOC Òzó take.PST-RV INF by.3S.REFL cut  
àlímói  
orange

'It is two knives Òzó used to cut the orange by himself.' Èdó

- (17) Íràn kùgbé-rè (yá) (tòbíràn) rrí ízè.  
3S.S join.together.PST-rV INF (by.3P.selves) eat rice  
'They joined to eat the rice by themselves.'

- ▶ optionally exhibit the infinitive marker *yá* on the lexical verb  $V_2$ ,
- ▶ apart from that *yá* is attested with some verbs that embed verbal complements such as *hiá* 'try'

Shluinsky (2017, p. 350) ‘give’-verb  $V_2$  bears consecutive markers in Akan

- (18)      Kofi bε-tɔ      bukuu a-ma      Ama.  
            Kofi FUT-buy book    CONSQ-give Ama  
            ‘Kofi will buy a book for Ama.’

- ▶ JM: Is *a-* the same as hightoned SUBJUNCTIVE *á-* in other Kwa languages, such as in Ewe (cf. Ameka 2008, pp. 139–140)

Shluinsky (2017, pp. 351–352)  $V_2$  bears ‘consecutive’ SUBJUNCTIVE markers in Akan, Akebu, Attié and with imperatives, future auxiliaries in Ga

- (19) hòó m'õ nii á h'ã wɔ.  
cook IMP thing.PL SBJV give 1 PL  
‘Cook for us!’ GA (cf. Kropp Dakubu et al. 2007)



# Consecutive markers on $V_2$ in Ànyî

Leynseele (1975, 203 Fn. 12)

(20) Kàsí sì-lì súa mà-nì Kofí.  
Kàsí build-SFX house give-SFX Kofí

'Kàsí built a house for Kofí.' ÀNYÎ Leynseele (1975, 203 fn. 12)

% SECOND EXAMPLE WITH EXPLETIVE TYPE OF  
'take'-VERB

CHECK OUT PERFECTIVE MARKER

INFLECTION FOR PAST TENSE EXAMPLES LOOKS LIKE

IGBO

# 'take'-verbs as source for PERFECTIVE/COMPLETIVE marker: Igbo

% IS LI SUFFIX THE SAME AS RV IN IGBO??? % IS COMPLETIVE THE SAME AS PERFECTIVE???

Nwachukwu (1984, pp. 92, 95): perfective *-la* suffix

(21) ó rielá ñri.  
3S.S eat-SFX food  
'He has eaten food' OWERRI IGBO

(22) ó riegó ñri.  
3S.S eat-SFX food  
'He has eaten food' ONITSHA IGBO

verbs *ilá* 'take' and *igó* 'take' have disappeared in igbo and only survived as these completive suffixes

!!!! TAKE VERBS SOMETIMES USED AS COMPLETIVE MARKERS IN BENUE-KWA; EG GBARI (MACRO NUPOID)

(23) wó kú nyágyí gyí.  
3S.S take food eat

Arunachalam and Kothari (2012, pp. 27–28): the Hindi verb *li* 'take' has grammaticalised into a light verb, which reinforces perfective interpretation

(24)      maya-ne    biskuT-ko    khaa-yaa    par us-e    puura  
         maya-ERG cookie-ACC eat-PERF but it-ACC full  
         nahiin khaa-yaa.

NEG    eat-PRF

'Maya ate a cookie but not completely.' HINDI

(25)      maya-ne    biskuT-ko    khaa-li-yaa    # (par us-e  
         maya-ERG cookie-ACC eat-take-PERF but it-ACC  
         puura nahiin khaa-yaa).

full    NEG    eat-PRF

'Maya ate a cookie #(but not completely).' HINDI

# Consecutive markers on V<sub>2</sub> in Àkán

Leynseele (1975, p. 195); Christaller 1875:144, J. M. Stewart (1963, p. 145)

- (26) ò-sɔ-rée            gua-rée.  
3S.S-get.up-SFX swim-SFX  
'S/he got up [and] had a bath.'
- (27) Mè--sɔ-rée        mi-gua-rée.  
1S.S-get.up-SFX 1S.S-swim-SFX  
'I got up [and] had a bath.'
- (28) Àkorɔ́má no kyè-ree akokɔ no wè-e.  
hawk    DEF catch-SFX fowl    DEF eat-SFX  
'The hawk caught the chicken and ate it.'
- (29) Àkorɔ́má no kyè-ree akokɔ no kum-m  
hawk    DEF catch-SFX fowl    DEF eat-SFX  
nó.  
3S.O.ANIM  
'The hawk caught the chicken and killed it'

# Consecutive markers on $V_2$ in Ìgbo

Hyman (1971), Déchaine (1993b)

rV +

Hyman (1971)

Hyman (1971) Fe<sup>ʔ</sup>fe<sup>ʔ</sup> , Déchaine (1993b) ìgbò  
Ogie (2009, pp. 287–294): 'take' and 'meet' SVC select  $V_2$   
bearing "nonfiniteness marker" yá



Bendor-Samuel (1968, p. 121), Bamgboṣe (1974, p. 27) Izi  
'prepare'-SVC may have progressive prefix on  $V_2$ :

- (30)      ò shí-á      !ji      à-tsú      è-ri.  
3S cook-PST yam    PROG-pound    PROG-eat  
'She cooked yam and she is pounding and eating it.'



check out: Shluinsky on different more TAM in Kwa

Schaefer and Egbohare (2017, pp. 698–699) EMAI stative *fúán* requires an factative when in matrix clause, but not in resultative SVCs!!!!!!



# Constraints on V-slots with resultatives

Resultative SVCs Baker (1989, pp. 531–535)

- (31) Òzó **swá** Àzàrí<sub>i</sub> \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> **dé**.  
Ozo push.PST.H Àzàrí fall.PST.H

‘Òzó pushed Àzàrí down.’ (ÈDÓ, Ogie 2009, pp. 11, 236)

- (32) Fẹ́mi í **ti** Akin<sub>i</sub> \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> **şubú**.  
Fẹ́mi HTS push Akin fall

‘Fẹ́mi pushed Akin down.’ (YORÙBÁ, Lord 1974, p. 199)

- ▶  $V_2$  is always unaccusative
- ▶  $V_1$  is always agentive

# Constraints on V-slots in other SVCs

- ▶ Aboh (2009, pp. 25–27)  $V_1$  cannot be any kind of verb
- ▶ Aboh (2009, pp. 25–27)  $V_2$  can never be ditransitives (FALSE for Yorùbá cf. ex. 5–6 )
- ▶ Beermann and Hellan (2018) only 52 out of 470 verbs are attested in SVC in Ga

# Unifying 'take', 'meet', 'watch' and 'prepare' verbs

- ▶ Do verbs that occur as  $V_1$  like 'take', 'meet', 'prepare', 'look for' have something in common?
- ▶ Inspiration Fillmore (1968, p. 4): *effected objects*: objects with referents whose existence is a result of the event denoted by the verb
- ▶ In other words: verb that presuppose that the subject referent is not with the object referent before the beginning of the event<sup>1</sup>
- ▶ Obviously, these verbs are the source for grammaticalisation of light verbs for SVCs

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<sup>1</sup> Maybe refinement needed with cases of 'use wisdom'

# 'take'-verbs in Ọkọ I

Atoyebi (2009, pp. 267–269) Ọkọ: fọ 'take', fọ 'carry'

(33) Àde fọ yì-ìwú nyèn ófòro àyẹ.  
Àde take 3S.POSS=body show man DET

'Àde showed him self to the man.' ỌKỌ (cf. Atoyebi 2009, pp. 267–269)

(34) à=fọ íkíba àkpolo ébòrẹ nẹ-mọ.  
3S.S-carry money bag two give=1 S.O

'S/He carried two bags of money and gave me.' ỌKỌ (cf. Atoyebi 2009, pp. 267–269)

Stahlke (1970):

- (35)      ìwyi awá      ínyahwẹ́ awa      ìtywi.  
child PFV-take book      PFV-go home  
'The child took the book home.'

Lord (1993, pp. 121–122) /- only as prefix, *bī* still as main verb, examples from Abraham 1951:

(36)      ó    bī-Ēwā    gūwā.  
          3S.S hold=knife slash-them

'He slashed them with a knife.' IDOMA (Abraham 1951)

(37)      ò    l-Ēwā    gūwā.  
          1S.S PRF-knife slash-them

'I slashed them with a knife'



- (38) àyì malÚtyù                      iku                      ni òtywi  
PL inhabitants.of.Utyu PFV-gather in meeting.ground  
ayọ      úkrọ.  
PFV-do work  
'The people of Utyu worked in the meeting ground.'

- (39) pō kà kwée(nsí) mfá<sup>ʔ</sup>.  
3P.S PST join work  
'they work together' FE<sup>ʔ</sup>FE<sup>ʔ</sup> (cf. Hyman 1971, pp. 40–41)
- (40) pō kà tã<sup>ʔ</sup>(sī) mfá<sup>ʔ</sup>.  
3P.S PST embrace work  
'they work together' FE<sup>ʔ</sup>FE<sup>ʔ</sup> (cf. Hyman 1971, pp. 40–41)

# 'prepare'-verbs in Gungbe

- (41) Àsíbá d̀à lésì d̀ù.  
Àsíbá prepare rice eat  
'Asiba ate the rice' GUNGBE, (cf. Aboh (2009, p. 3))
- (42) Mìgàn d̀à kpònòn lé yì àhwàn .  
Mìgàn prepare soldier PL go war  
'Mìgàn prepared the soldiers for war with magic. '  
GUNGBE, (cf. Aboh (2009, pp. 25–27))

(Similar examples in Collins 1997, p. 1)

- (43) Bọ́lá sè ẹ́ran tà.  
Bọ́lá cook meat sell  
'Bọ́lá cooked some meat and sold it.' Lord (1974)

(Similar examples in Collins 1997, p. 1)

Agheyisi (1986, p. 270)

- (44) Òzó rhùlé le èvbàrè re.  
Òzó take.race cook food eat  
'Òzó quickly cooked and ate.'

Bendor-Samuel (1968, p. 121) Izi (Igboid):

- (45)      ò shí-á      !ji      à-tsú      è-ri.<sup>2</sup>  
3S cook-PST yam PROG-pound PROG-eat  
'She cooked yam and is eating it.'

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<sup>2</sup>! means downstep

# Constraints on verb slots in SVCs – summary

<b>type of SVC</b>	<b>constraints on V<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>constraints on V<sub>2</sub></b>
effected object-SVC	verb with effected object	agentive
'give'-SVCs	agentive	verb with RECIPIENT
resultative SVCs	agentive verb	unaccusative verb resultative SVC

# Asymmetrical SVCs in Benue-Kwa

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V<sub>1</sub> from closed class/light verb

'take'-SVC

benefactive *bá*-SVC

---

V<sub>2</sub> from closed class/light verb

'give'-SVCs

comparative SVC

resultative SVC

---



How to explain this contrast observed by Bamgboṣe (1974, pp. 27–28):

- (46) a.      ó    ra    iṣu   wá.  
              3s.s buy yam come  
              ‘She bought yam and she brought it.’
- b.      \* ó    ta    iṣu   wá.  
                  3s.s sell yam come  
                  ‘She sold yam and she brought it.’

Manfredi (2005, p. 13): Àkán lacks any restriction for multi SVCs

How about Igbo?

bring examples

\*) some languages have multi event svc which allow PRN on V2

=> Akan with PRN as V<sub>2</sub>

\*) Igbo have multi event SVS. with typical marking rV on V1 and

Other problem: headedness: 'Take' from a 2-place predicate to a three place predicate:  
assumption all agentiv verbs have purpose argument?  
then all the verbs should occur as V1, but it doesn't

1. **covert coordination: headless structures**
  - 1.1 J. M. Stewart (1963, pp. 145–147), Williamson (1965, pp. 47–60), Awóbùlúyì (1967, pp. 86–102), Pike (1967, p. 3), Bendor-Samuel (1968, pp. 120–121, 127), Hyman (1971),
  - 1.2 Bamgboṣe (1974, pp. 21–27), M. Zimmermann and Amaechi (2020, sec 6.1)
  - 1.3 as constructions with non-compositional content (cf. Müller and Lipenkova 2009)
2. **head-adjunct structures** (Bamgboṣe 1974, pp. 34–36, A. S. Lawal 1989, Nike S. Lawal 1993, Déchaine 1993b, Hellan, Beermann, and Andenes 2003, Ogie 2009, pp. 482–492)

## 3. head-complement structures

- 3.1 Baker (1989), Baker and O. T. Stewart (1999a): multiply headed VPs
- 3.2 Lefebvre (1991, pp. 59–62): ‘take’-SVC complex predicates where ‘take’ selects  $V_2$
- 3.3 Collins (1997): SVC as object control predicates
- 3.4 Manfredi (2005): small clause complements
- 3.5 Aboh (2009), M. Zimmermann and Amaechi (2020, sec 6.2): first serial verb as light verbs in AspP
- 3.6 Ogie (2009, pp. 476–479): complex predicates

## 4. Lefebvre (1991): lexicalist account

# Competing views on SVC-classes

## 1. All SVCs have uniform syntax

- ▶ **head-adjunct**: Nike S. Lawal (1993), Déchaine (1993b)
- ▶ **head-complement**: Baker (1989), Collins (1997), ?Aboh (2009)
- ▶ **coordination**: Hyman (1971), Müller and Lipenkova (2009) (Mandarin)
- ▶ **clause chaining** (syntactic head daughter, but semantic coordination and chaining of events): Hellan, Beermann, and Andenes (2003) (Akan)

## 2. SVC fall into different syntactic classes

- ▶ **coordination and head-adjunct**: Bamgboṣe (1974, pp. 34–36)
- ▶ **coordination and head-complement**: M. Zimmermann and Amaechi (2020, sec 6.1)
- ▶ **head-complement and head-adjunct**: Manfredi (2005), Ogie (2009)
- ▶ **coordination, head-complement and head-adjunct**: LefebvreBrousseau2002

# Contrasting definitions of SVCs

	sharing of				single event	no sub-ord marker	no m
	SUBJ	D.OBJ	TAM	POL			
J. M. Stewart (1963, CHECK)		✓					
Stahlke (1970, pp. 60, 78, 80)	✓		✓		(✓)		
Baker (1989, p. 513)	✓	✓	✓				
Déchainé (1993b, pp. 799–800)	✓		✓		✓		
completeDurie (1997)					✓		
Baker and O. T. Stewart (1999b, p. 24)						✓	
Collins (1993, p. 91)	✓	✓	✓			✓	
Collins (1997, pp. 462, 465–468)	✓	✓				✓	
complete/checkO. T. Stewart (2001)		✓					
Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002, pp. 401–409) CHECK AGAIN	✓		✓	✓			
Manfredi (2005)		–					
Aikhenvald (2006, p. 1)			✓		✓		
Aboh (2009, p. 3)			✓		✓		
Bisang (2009)					✓		
Shluinsky (2017, p. 379)	✓			✓	✓		

**Manfredi (2005): RECENT CONSENSUS: OBJECT SHARING NOT A NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR SVC**

# Diagnostics I

1. V components cannot be interpreted as distinct events (cf. Stahlke (1970, p. 78)
2. Extraction of arguments and adjuncts (constituent elided in-situ)
  - 2.1 extracted constituents in focus clefts
  - 2.2 extracted constituents in constituent questions (cf. Nike S. Lawal (1993))
3. predicate clefts (cf. O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 87–94, Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, 40?? + 503–
  - 3.1  $V_1$  alone NO O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 103–105, 108 with RSVC
  - 3.2  $V_2$  alone NO O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 103–105, 108 with RSVC
  - 3.3  $V_1$  + argument Stahlke (1970, pp. 74–75) ok with ‘take’-verb + ARG, if nominalized
  - 3.4  $V_2$  + argument
  - 3.5  $V_1$  +  $V_2$  (cf.??Déchaine (1993a), O. T. Stewart 2001, p. 108 NO WITH RSVC)
  - 3.6  $V_1$  +  $V_2$  + arguments



## Diagnostics II

4. Coordinate Structure Constraint violations (cf. Stahlke 1970, pp. 74–75)
5. negation takes always scope over both  $V_1$  and  $V_2$ , fails to scope over single verb (Déchaine 1993a, + **LefebvreBrousseau**)
6. TAM marker takes always scope over both  $V_1$  and  $V_2$ , fails to scope over single verb (cf. Collins (1997), Aboh (2009) + **LefebvreBrousseau** )
  - ▶ BUT: Shluinsky (2017):  $V_1$  sometimes with depended
7. lexical constraints for  $V_1$  und  $V_2$  (cf. Déchaine (1993b), )
8. Under Past tense: if event  $V_1$  realised,  $V_2$  must also be realised (Awóyalé 1988, 3 Fn.3, A. S. Lawal 1989, pp. 11–12) contrast to purpose: this is a criterion to distinguish SVC from *lati*-purpose constructions. follows from MEP
9. only FON??: clitic climbing cf. + Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002, 40??), Lefebvre (1991)
10. only edo??: *tobore* Anaphofra cf. + Lefebvre and

# Predicate clefts with SVCs

type	V <sub>1</sub>	V <sub>2</sub>	V <sub>1+2</sub>	VP <sub>1</sub>	VP <sub>2</sub>	VP <sub>1+2</sub>
'take'-SVC (Yorùbá Déchaine 1993a, pp. 805–807), with V <sub>2</sub> ≠ 'give'	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
'take'-SVC (Yorùbá , Yatę Stahlke 1970, pp. 74–75)				✓		
'take'-SVC (Fɔn Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, p. 407)	✓	✓	–			
'give'-SVC (Yorùbá , Baker 1989, p. 549)			✓			
'give'-SVC (Yorùbá Déchaine 1993a, pp. 805–807)	✓	–	✓	%	–	
resultative SVC (Yorùbá , Bamgboşe 1974, p. 40)		–				
resultative SVC (Yorùbá , Baker 1989, p. 549)			✓			
resultative SVC (Yorùbá , Gruber and Collins 1997, p. 143)	–	–	✓			
resultative SVC (Èdó , O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 103–105, 107–108)	–	–	–			
resultative SVC (Fɔn Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, p. 434)	?✓	–	?–			
manner SVC (Yorùbá , Bamgboşe 1974, p. 24)	✓					
consequential SVC (Èdó , O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 109–113)	✓	✓				
'prepare' SVC (Yorùbá , Baker 1989, p. 549)			✓			
covert coordination (Yorùbá , Baker 1989, p. 549)			–			
covert coordination (Èdó , O. T. Stewart 2001, pp. 109–113)	✓	✓				

**Table:** Behaviour of Serial Verb Constructions in predicate clefts

- ▶ Very rare and marginal structures, informants sometimes deliver contradicting judgements
- ▶ Unclear whether they involve movement or an anaphoric relation between nominalisation and resumptive verb forms.

one TAM modifier == > time positional adverbs

one polarity modifier

Test 1: one subject Test 2: one temporal reference Test 3: one occurrence of FUT ná Test 4: one occurrence of NEG mà Test 5: one occurrence of clause final Test 6: V + NP form a constituent Test 7: all arguments can be extracted Test 8.1: predicate clefting of V1 Test 8.2: predicate clefting of V2 Test 9: strict order of verbs

# Coordination: distinct events

Coordinated VPs can be interpreted as distinct events: (cf. Stahlke 1970, pp. 77–79)

- (47) a.      mo mú ìwé mo si wá ilé,  
              1S take book 1S and come home  
              ‘I took a book and I went home ...’
- b.      şugbon mo gbàgbé láti mú wá pèlú.  
              but      1S forget to take come be.with  
              ‘...but I forget to bring it along’

SVCs cannot be interpreted as events with local and temporal interpretation (cf. Stahlke 1970, pp. 77–79)

- (48) a.      mo mú iwé wá ilé,  
              1S take book come home  
              ‘I brought a book home ...’
- b.      # şugbon mo gbàgbé láti mú wá pèlú.  
              but      1S forget to take come be.with  
              ‘...but I forget to bring it along’

# SVC with lexical $V_1$ vs SVC with lexical $V_2$

Déchaine (1993a):

- ▶ Strong evidence that there is a categorical distinction between SVC with lexical  $V_1$  and SVC with lexical  $V_2$ : Igbo
  - ▶ distinction with respect to word order based on which verb is the head
1. If  $V_2$  is head (lexical verb) as with resultatives, or 'give'-SVCs: root serialisation:

(49)  $NP_{SUBJ} V_1-V_2-NP_{OBJ} (NP_{OBJ2})$

2. If  $V_1$  is head (lexical verb) as with 'take'-SVCs (or multi-event-SVCs): SVC as in other Benue-Kwa

(50)  $NP_{SUBJ} V_1 NP_{OBJ} V_2 (NP_{OBJ2}) V_2$

# Root serialisation with lexical $V_1$ in Ìgbo

Déchaine (1993a, p. 809): Igbo ‘give’ verb *nye* (cf. 51), benefactive *re* (cf. 52) and resultatives (cf. 53)

- (51) Ó bì-nye-re Adhà akwà .  
3SG borrow-give-ASP Adhà cloth  
‘S/he lent Adha some cloth.’
- (52) Ó kèle-re-re m Adhà.  
3SG greet-APPL-ASP 1SG Adhà  
‘S/he greeted Adhà on my behalf.’
- (53) Há kwá-ju-ru olù (na) jí.  
3PL pack-be.full-ASP pit PREP yam  
‘They packed the pit full of yams.’



# SVC with lexical $V_2$ in Ìgbo

Déchaine (1993a, p. 809): Igbo

'take'-verbs form SVCs: *wè* 'take', *jì* 'use, take':

(54) Ó wè-re úkwụ gà-á ahyá.

3SG take-ASP leg go-ASP

'S/he went to the market on foot.'

(55) Ó wè-re ite byá.

3SG take-ASP pot come.ASP

'S/he came with a pot.'

(56) Ó jì-ri ọhụhụ rí-e ihé.

3SG use-ASP hurry eat-ASP thing.GEN

'S/he hurriedly ate.'

# SVC with lexical $V_2$ in Igbo: CHALLENGE???

Déchainé (1993a, p. 809): Igbo

‘Multi-event-SVCs’ pattern with *take* verb SVCs in Igbo:

- ▶ suggesting they are forming a natural class
- ▶ and that both are headed by  $V_1$
- ▶ Could *go* ‘buy’ be a subtype of ‘take’-verbs?
- ▶ More examples would be helpful!

- (57) Ógù go-ro ókukò gbú-o si-e ri-e.  
Ógù buy-ASP chicken kill-ASP cook-ASP eat-ASP  
‘Ógù bought a chicken, killed [it], cooked [it] and ate [it].’

# Conclusion

- ▶ A big amount of SVC in Benue-Kwa belong to the class of effected object-SVCs
- ▶ In some languages there is clear evidence that  $V_1$  embeds  $V_2$
- ▶ Most SVCs in B-K involve clearly complementation rather than coordination
- ▶ Their  $V_1$  presupposes that  $V_1$
- ▶ *Outlook* With 'give'-SVC and resultatives  $V_2$  often defines a final state

# WAS SIND SVCs?

Frühe Theorien Klassifizieren danach, welches ADV entspricht  
SVC im Englischen?

Stahlke (1970, p. 61)

Sehr verschiedenartig: *manner*

Nike S. Lawal (1993)

Ross (1967, p. 161)

*In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.*

- ▶ Wenn aus einer Phrase extrahiert wird, kann diese Kein Konjunkt sein

- (58) a. Jímò ọ ra ìwé.  
Jímò HTS bought paper  
'Jímò is buying/bought a book.'
- b. [ìwé]<sub>i</sub> ni Jímò ọ rà [ ]<sub>i</sub>.  
paper FOC Jímò HTS bought  
'It is a book that Jímò is buying/bought.'
- c. [Jímò]<sub>i</sub> ni ọ<sub>i</sub> ra ìwé.  
Jímò FOC 3SG bought paper  
'It is Jímò that is buying/bought a book.'

- ▶ Focused NP is extracted and placed left to FOC-particle *ni*
- ▶ Extracted objects leave a gap behind (cf. 58b)
- ▶ Extracted subjects, are replaced by resumptive pronoun *ọ* in some languages (cf. Yorùbá 58c), in others not (cf. Gungbe Aboh (2009, 5 ex.11b))

Stahlke (1970, pp. 77–79), Déchaine (1993b, p. 800): objects of all the verbal components in SVCs can be extracted: evidence against coordination.

(59)      èwù          ni      Jímò ọ      rà t<sub>i</sub>      bòn      mi.  
          garement FOC Jímò HTS buy    present 1 SG  
          ‘It is a garement that Jímò bought for me.’





(60)      Èmi<sub>i</sub> ni      Jímò ọ      ra èwu          bòn      t<sub>i</sub>.  
          1 SG FOC Jímò HTS buy garement present  
          ‘It is me for whom Jímò bought the garement.’

Stahlke (1970, pp. 77–79): Aus koordinierten Sätzen kann nicht extrahiert werden:

- (61) \* [i'wé]<sub>i</sub> ni mo mú \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> mo sì wá ilé.  
book FOC 1S take 1S and come house  
'I took a book and I went house.'
- (62) \* [ilé]<sub>i</sub> ni mo mú ìwé mo sì wá \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>.  
house FOC 1S take book 1S and come  
'I took a book and I went house.'







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