SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND MOTION EVENTS IN CARIBBEAN ENGLISH CREOLES.*

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1.0: Defining Serial Verb Constructions:

One of the best known and most widely researched features of creole languages is the so-called serial verb construction (SVC).[1] This feature is also widespread in Niger-Congo languages, as well as in South-East Asian and Austronesian languages, among others (See Kachru 1978 and Schiller 1990 for detailed references). Sentences (1a-c) are typical examples of such constructions in Caribbean English Creole (CEC).

(1) a.   Mieri waak go a maakit.
         'Mary walked to the market'
    b.   Jan bring moni gi shi.
         'John brought money for her'
    c.   Di pikni taal paas mi.
         'The child is taller than me'

Items such as go, gi and paas in the above sentences will be referred to as serial verbs in this discussion. Such items are an essential aspect of CEC predication, playing a vital role in marking various grammatical relations. Among these are those associated with Case, as well as functions performed by categories such as prepositions and complementizers in other languages. SVC's have posed problems of various sorts for analysts, beginning with the question of how to define them. Sebba (1987, 39) proposes the following criteria for identifying such constructions:

(2)   "In a sequence of the form V1....V2,
       (a) both V1 and V2 must be lexical verbs, ie, must be capable of appearing as the only verb in a single sentence.
       (b) If it is possible to conceive of V1 and V2 as denoting separate actions at all, then both V1 and V2 must be interpreted as having the same tense and aspect. Thus for example, V1 may not be interpretable as "past" if V2 is interpreted as "future."
       (c) There must not be an ascertainable clause boundary between V1 and V2, ie, they must be within the same clause.
       (d) No conjunction should separate the verbs in sequence."

Each of the properties described above by Sebba has been the focus of controversy in the analysis of serial verb constructions. Property (a) relates to the question of the categorial status of a serial verb, ie, the V2 in an SVC. Properties (b), (c) and (d) involve the question of the constituent structure of SVC's - in particular whether they constitute a single clause, or some form of co-ordinate structure. Both of these questions will be considered in the following discussion.

In general, then, an SVC consists characteristically of verb phrases linked in unbroken sequence, with the same subject, in the same tense, aspect or mood, agreeing in positive/negative polarity, and with no intervening conjunction. In addition, the verbs in an SVC characteristically share at least one argument. Typical examples are to be found in West African languages, where SVC's have one of the following two structures, depending on the particular language (Nylander 1985, 20).

(3) (a) NP1 Aux i V1 (NP 2) Aux i V2
    (b) NP1 Aux V1 (NP2) V2.

My aim in this paper is to describe a specific set of SVC's in CEC and other New World creoles - those which involve Motion events. These form only a subset of the possible SVC's on these languages, which in fact constitute a fairly diversified range of structures with different syntactic properties, with the serial verbs themselves performing a variety of grammatical functions. It is not my intention to analyse all the possible types here. Instead, I hope, by focussing narrowly on a specific subtype, to examine in some detail both the underlying syntax and the related grammatical functions performed by the serial verbs.

In Section 2, I consider cases of what appear to be co-ordinate structures in Saramaccan (SM) and distinguish them from true SVC's. I accept Sebba's (1987) classification of the latter into "co-ordinating" vs "subordinating" types, and argue that the former type is relatively unproductive in contemporary CEC, by contrast with the Surinamese creoles. Section 3 introduces the main concern of this paper, the SVC's that express Motion events, all of which seem to belong to the "subordinating" type. I employ Talmy's (1985) sketch of the major components of a Motion event to illustrate the basic syntactic patterns which Sranan (SN) employs to express such events. In Section 4, I examine a variety of motion-related SVC's in CEC. which follow the basic patterns outlined for SN. These include "Directional," "Purposive" and "object-sharing" SVC's. I account for the syntax of these constructions within a GPSG framework which allows us to specify the possible sequences of (members of) V1 and V2 fairly precisely in terms of the subcategorization properties of the verbs themselves.

2.0: Parataxis vs SVC's:

Byrne (1987, 200) mentions cases of VP linkage in SM involving differences in Tense/Aspect or Polarity marking on the verbs involved.

(4) SM a.   a go/ko ta luku di mii
            he go/come IMP look the child
            'He went/came to look at the child'
     b.   a go/ko a di wosu an luku di mii
            he go/come to the house NEG look the child
            'He went/came to the house, but not to look at the child'

The glosses offered by Byrne suggest that these structures are cases of serialization. However, (4a) clearly violates criterion (2b) above, while (4b) violates the generally accepted criterion that the verbs in an SVC must have the same polarity. Later in his discussion, Byrne in fact uses criterion (2b) to distinguish SVC's such as (5a) from what he calls "sequential" constructions such as (5b)

(5) SM a.   a ta waka go/ko a di opolani
            'He is walking from/toward the plane'
     b.   a waka nango/ ta ko a di opolani
            he walk IMP-go/IMP come to the plane
            'He walked and is going to/coming from the plane'

Byrne comments that only (5a) expresses "the directionality of the previous motion verb waka ("walk"), since their time frames are the same (or are interpreted as such). This is a prerequisite for such a reading." On the other hand, (5b) "can only be read as sequential events as the gloss indicates." (1987, 205). It seems clear that this interpretation of (5b) applies also to sentences like (4a-b); none of these can be considered cases of serialization. Structures like these have not been attested for SN or any variety of CEC. They seem to be instances of parataxis rather than serialization, though the boundaries between these two are rather difficult to define.

2.1: Paratactic-like SVC's:

It is well known that parataxis and serialization share a great deal in common. Both may involve a single subject NP followed by a series of verb phrases, without overt markers of coordination. However, as Noonan (1985, 76) points out, the paradigm cases of parataxis differ from

serialization in several respects. Unlike the verbs in SVC's, those in paratactic constructions need not have obligatory agreement, nor share identical TMA or polarity marking, nor even identical subjects. Just as importantly,

> "the syntactic differences noted above correlate with a crucial semantic difference, namely that paratactic constructions contain two assertions, ie, each clause is separately asserted, whereas serial constructions contain just one, encompassing the entire construction." (Noonan 1985, 77)

By most of the syntactic and semantic criteria outlined above, the Saramaccan constructions exemplified in (4a-b) and (5b) above would have to be regarded as cases of parataxis rather than serialization. Other researchers apart from Byrne have failed to draw a clear line between paratactic structures and true SVC's. Thus Schiller (1990b, 406) claims that "co-ordinating serial verb constructions...may have mixed tenses or aspects, and....can have conjunctions inserted," citing the following examples from English.

> (6) a. Go (and) play in the yard
> b. He up(ped) and died on me.

By the criteria adopted here, neither (6) nor cases involving mixed tenses or aspects such as (4) will be regarded as SVC's in the strict sense. What distinguishes "coordinating" SVC's from coordination in the usual sense is that the latter is more "open-ended" than the former. In other words, a far wider variety of VP's can be linked together in coordination (whether overtly marked or not) whereas "coordinating" SVC's, like other cases of strict serialization, involves more rigid selectional restrictions on the serial verbs that can enter into combination. I will consider this in more detail below, though it is not always easy to specify what the selectional restrictions are. But the distinction is by no means equally clearcut in all cases. It would appear instead that cases of serialization display varying degrees of similarity to the paradigm cases of parataxis on the one hand, and to cases of hypotaxis on the other. As Noonan points out,

> "Serial constructions are in many respects intermediate between hypotaxis and parataxis. As in hypotaxis notional complements in serial constructions form a single assertion with their CTP's (complement-taking predicates). But like parataxis, the component verb phrases seem to be syntactically on a par." (1985, 107).

Sebba (1987) offers a wide variety of serial structures in Sranan which seem more akin to cases of parataxis, and which he refers to as "coordinating" SVC's. He argues that "their distinguishing characteristic is that they refer to several actions, more or less simultaneous, as opposed to

a single action."(1987,110). This contrasts with what he refers to as "subordinating" SVC's, which refer to a single action rather than a series of related actions. Sebba's use of the term "coordinating" to refer to those true SVC's which sisplay certain properties of coordination seems to me to be more appropriate than Schiller's use of the term. To illustrate, (7a) represents a "coordinating" SVC, while (7b) is a "subordinating" SVC.

(7) SN a. Kofi naki Amba kiri en.
'Kofi struck Amba and killed her'
b. Kofi naki Amba kiri.
'Kofi struck Amba dead'

Sebba argues that while (7b) describes a single action, (7a) "describes a series of events; Kofi struck Amba, possibly several times, killing her." (Ibid). Further examples of coordinating SVC's in Sranan include the following:

(8) SN a. Amba go na wowoyo bay nyan.
'Amba went to market and bought food'
b. Kofi opo Amba, tyari en gwe.
'Kofi lifted Amba and carried her off'

According to Sebba, such structures have other characteristics associated with coordination. First, they are subject to Ross's Coordinate Structure Constraint, which prohibits extraction from a coordinate structure. Hence neither verb's object may be moved.

(9) SN a. *San Amba go na wowoyo bai __?
'What did Amba go to market and buy?'
b. *Suma Kofi opo __ tyari en gwe?
Who did Kofu lift and carry off?'

Secondly, a slight pause or "comma intonation" is possible after the first VP. In general, such structures seem to involve combinations of VP's in which each verb has its own argument structure. This contrasts with more typical SVC's such as (6b), where the two verbs share a common argument, expressed only once.

The above facts suggest that no hard and fast line can be drawn between parataxis and serialization in Sranan, and perhaps in creoles and other serializing languages generally. Sebba's approach, which classifies Sranan SVC's into "coordinating" and "subordinating" types, is a useful working strategy. However, it should probably not be interpreted as

having universal application, but rather as a language-specific distinction between those types of SVC that share more in common with paradigm cases of parataxis, and those which share more in common with typical cases of subordination. To sum up this section, I suggest that a relevant taxonomy must distinguish at least the following types of construction:

a. Overtly-marked coordination.
b. Parataxis (non-overtly marked conjoining of clauses).
c. Coordinating or paratactic-like serialization.
d. Subordinating or hypotactic-like serialization.
e. V+V combinations that behave like single words.[2]

2.2: Paratactic-like SVC's in CEC:

CEC appears to have a number of structures corresponding to the "coordinate" SVC's of Sranan. Examples include the following from JC:[3]

(10) JC   a. di bwai faaldong brok im fut.
        'The boy fell down and broke his foot'
     b. di uman luk slap ina mi truot a tek-out ebri wod.
        'The woman looked all the way into my throat, taking
          out every word (I said)'
     c. di haak kech di chikin iit it.
        'The hawk caught the chicken and ate it'

These structures display the same properties that Sebba noted for their counterparts in Sranan - ie, they are subject to Ross' constraint, and allow for "comma intonation." Bailey (1966) says little about such structures, limiting her comments to that exemplified in (10a), which she describes as "the reduced coordinate with verbs of motion." (1966, 133). She suggests that sentences like this are derived from coordinate VP strings by deletion of the conjunction an. It is more likely, however, that an is inserted into such structures in more mesolectal varieties, as Alleyne (1980, 168) suggests.

Bailey's recognition that verbs of motion are typically involved in such structures is an important insight, and we shall see later that CEC shares other types of SVC involving motion events with the Surinamese creoles. These and other types display varying degrees of similarity to cases of parataxis on the one hand, and hypotaxis on the other. As far as "coordinate" SVC's are concerned, it does not appear that the pattern is as productive in CEC as it is in Sranan. As Alleyne mentions, there is an increasing tendency to insert an ("and") in such structures, thus distancing them more from cases of true serialization.

As far as the syntax of "co-ordinating" SVC's is concerned, researchers like Sebba (1987) and Baker (1989) have proposed different constituent structures for coordinating as opposed to subordinating types. Other researchers, such as Schachter (1974) and Schiller (1989) argue that the same phrase structure applies to the two types. The disagreement actually revolves around the phrase structure of the subordinating type, which I will consider below. There seems, however, to be general agreement that coordinating SVC's involve two or more VP's of equal rank. The underlying structure that I propose for this type of SVC follows that suggested by Sebba (1987).

(11) VP -------> VP, VP

Sentences like (18a) above would have the following underlying structure.

(12)

Di bwai   faaldong   brok   im fut
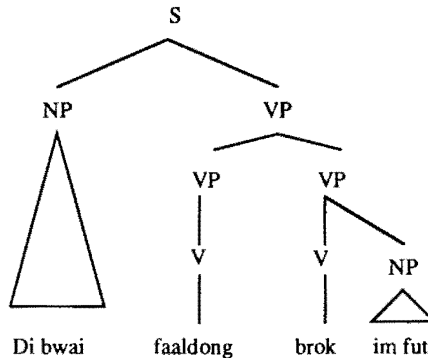
CEC, as pointed out earlier, differs from the Surinamese creoles in allowing VP's and other categories to be conjoined by an, bot and other conjunctions. These cases of coordination can be handled by means of coordination schema similar to those suggested for English by Gazdar et al (1985: 171).

3.0: "Subordinating" SVC's:

The vast majority of SVC's in both the Surinamese creoles as well as in CEC belong to what Sebba refers to as the "subordinating" type. For Sebba, this is both a semantic and a syntactic designation. Subordinating SVC's all display the following characteristics:

(13) a. The sentence is interpreted as referring to a single action rather than a series of related actions.
b. There is a strict ordering relation between the verbs.
c. The first verb in a series may subcategorize for a particular verb or class of verbs to follow it.
d. Where relevant, V1 and V2 share a common argument, expressed only once. (Sebba 1987, 112-13)

In addition, these constructions are distinct from the "co-ordinating" type in allowing wh-extraction out of either serial clause.

The structures which satisfy these requirements make up a much larger class in Sranan than in CEC.[4] Before turning attention to those types that CEC shares with the Surinamese creoles, a brief look at structures found in Sranan is in order.

3.1 Motion Events in SN:

It is worth noting, to begin, that the vast majority of "subordinating" SVC's described by Sebba for SN involve Motion events. Since the treatment of such events represents an area of significant typological differences between creoles and their lexically-related European languages, it is worth examining in some detail. According to Talmy (1985, 126) the major components of a motion event include Figure (the salient moving or stationary object); Ground (the reference object with respect to which the figure's path/site is reckoned); Path (the variety of paths followed, or sites occupied by the figure object) and Motion (the presence per se in the event of motion or location). In addition to these four components, a Motion event can have a Manner or a Cause. A final though secondary, component is Direction (whether the figure is moving toward or away from the speaker).
Components such as Figure, Ground, Motion, Path, Manner, Direction, etc. are in effect semantic elements which may be expressed in different ways by surface elements such as verbs, prepositions, "satellites" like off, away etc. As is to be expected, "this relationship is largely not one-to-one. A combination of semantic elements can be expressed by a single surface element, or a single semantic element by a combination of surface elements" (1985, 57).

To illustrate, in a sentence such as

(14) The book slid off the desk.

the book functions as the Figure, and the desk as the Ground. Off expresses the notion of Path, while the notions of Motion and Manner are conflated in the verb slid. The pattern of a typical Motion event can be represented as in

(15) Figure Motion (Direction) Path Ground $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Manner}\\ \text{Cause}\end{array}\right\}$

Languages display a variety of typological patterns for the expression of combinations of Motion and other semantic elements. To take one example, English typically conflates Motion and Manner in the verb, as in

(16) a. The bottle floated into the cave (Non-agentive)
b. I rolled the keg into the stateroom (Agentive)
(Talmy 1985, 62-64).

On the other hand, the Romance languages such as Spanish typically conflate Motion and Path in the verb, expressing Manner as an independent, usually adverbial or gerundive type constituent:

(17) a. La botella entró a la cuerva (flotando)
The bottle moved-in to the cave (floating)
'The bottle floated into the cave'

b. Metí el barril a la bodega rodándolo
I moved-in the keg to the storeroom rolling it
I rolled the keg into the storeroom   (Talmy 1985, 69-70)

If we examine SVC's in Sranan which expresses motion events, we see that they fall into quite clear patterns, in terms of the model presented in (15). First, we have patterns involving agentive Motion verbs much as the following:

(18) SN a. Kofi hari a ston komoto na ini a olo
Kofi pull the stone come-out LOC in the hole
'Kofi pulled the stone out of the hole'   (Sebba p.121)

b. A fringi wan baskuta nanga preyti fadon kon na gron
he throw one basket with plates fall-down come LOC ground
'He threw a basket of plates down on the ground'
(Sebba pg. 46).

In such a pattern, the first verb in the SVC, V1, is an agentive (transitive) verb which conflates Motion and Manner, while the second verb, V2, is an intransitive verb which indicates Path (sometimes conflated with Direction). This pattern may be represented schematically as in Table 1, which lists a representative selection of the membership of V1 and V2 in such structures.

Table I. Pattern A. Motion Verbs in Sranan

Semantic Elements	Agent	Motion & Manner	Figure	Direction (&Path)	(Loc.)Ground
Surface Elements	NP	Vtran	NP	Vintr.	P + NP
Class members		hari (pull)		komoto (come out)	
		fringi (throw)		komopo (come up)	
		sregi (drag)		fadon (fall down)	
		opo (lift)		kon (come)	
		yagi (chase)		go	
				gwe (go away)	
				etc.	

I shall refer to constructions which follow this pattern as transitive directional SVC's, and the V2 will be referred to as a directional serial verb.

A slightly different pattern is shown in sentences like the following, where both verbs in the SVC are non-agentive (i.e. intransitive).

(19) SN a. Amba waka go na ini a oso
Amba wlk go LOC in the house
'Amba walked into the house' (Sebba, p.120)

b. a saka komoto na tapu a sodro
he descended come-out LOC top the attic
'He came down out of the attic'

c. dowwatra ben e dropu fadon na den wiwiri
dew-water PAST ASP drop fall LOC the-pl. leaf
'Dew was dripping on the leaves' (Sebba pg. 44).

Here again the chief function of the V2 is to indicate Path and Direction. Table 2 represents this pattern, with examples of verbs which can function as V1 and V2 respectively.

Table 2.   Pattern B. Motion Verbs in Sranan.

Semantic Elements	Figure	Motion & Manner	Direction(&Path)	Ground
Surface Elements	NP	Vintr.	Vintr.	P + NP
		waka (walk)	komoto	
		lon (run)	komopo	
		saka (descend)	fadon	
		frey (fly)	kon	
		etc.	go	
			gwe	
			etc.	

Structures which follow this pattern will be referred to as intransitive directional SVC's. As before, the V2 is a directional serial verb.

Pattern B is practically identical to that found in many West African languages, as Sebba (1987, 187) points out. Sebba's survey of SVC's in West African and other languages says little about other patterns, such as Pattern A above. Presumably further research will shed more light on how productive the various patterns are in serializing languages, West African, creole, and others.

A third pattern found in the Sranan examples offered by Sebba involves two transitive verbs which share the Figure as their common argument, as in

(20) SN a.   Kofi hari a ston puru na ini a olo   (Sebba p. 123)
             Kofi pull the stone remove LOC in the hole
             Kofi pulled out the stone from the hole
       b.   Kofi fringi a tiki trowe na ini a dyari
             Kofi throw the stick eject LOC in the garden
             Kofi threw the stick away into the garden.

This pattern is represented in Table 3.

I shall refer to structures of this type as "object-sharing" motion SVC's. Sebba (1987, 46-49) discusses further details of the semantics as well as the distribution of V2 in SVCs which follow this pattern.

Table 3.   Pattern C. Motion Verbs in Sranan.

Semantic Elements	Agent	Motion & Manner	Figure	Direction (& Path)	Ground
Surface Elements	NP	V trans	NP	V trans	P & NP
		hari		puru	
		fringi		trowe	
		srepi		poti (put)	
		opo			
		teki			
		etc.			

The above discussion reveals that the patterns of use of serial verbs to express motion events in Sranan are regular and consistent. Such patterns are a useful starting point for attempts to account for the syntax of SVCs. It is not my intention to provide a grammar of Sranan SVCs here (See Sebba (1987) for an attempt). However, in the discussion of similar SVCs in CEC to follow, it will be seen that the syntactic structure of those SVCs which CEC shares with SN is essentially the same. Hence my analysis has implications for Sranan SVC's as well. CEC shares all of the Patterns so far discussed with Sranan, though Pattern C does not appear to be as productive. Even in the case of Patterns A and B, the range of V2 which can occur in such structures is quite narrow - being in fact restricted to just kom, go and gaan. I discuss these below.

4:0: Motion-related SVCs in CEC:

The motion-related SVC's of CEC offer some interesting points of comparison with the structures just discussed for SN. The SVCs to be discussed here involve the use of a V2 which in some sense modifies the action or event expressed by the V1, hence the label "verb modifying" serial suggested by Byrne (1987, 199). In this sense, the V2 (along with its arguments, if any) acts as a kind of adjunct to the V1. I shall follow the usual practice of referring to the V2 in these cases as the "serial verb", and the V1 as the "matrix verb". The serial verbs to be considered here fall into several subtypes. There is first of all "Directional" go, kom, and gaan, which follow Patterns A and B sketched earlier for SN SVC's. These three appear to represent the only path/directional serials that contemporary CEC shares with SN, which as we saw earlier, has a rich range of such serials apart from kon and go. In addition, we have "Purposive" go, kom and gaan, which subcategorize for a VP complement of their own, and "object-

sharing" serial verbs like tek, which follow Pattern C as described above
for SN. All of these SVCs belong to what Sebba calls the "subordinating"
sub-group, whose characteristics were discussed in Section 3.0. One of my
aims in the following discussion will be to account for the syntactic
structure underlying each type of SVC in terms of the subcategorization
properties of both the V1 and the V2.

4.1. "Directional" SVCs in CEC:

In English and other European languages, the semantic element of
direction is typically found incorporated in verb roots - for example
come/go, or bring/take, or else expressed by verb "satellites" (Talmy 1985,
102) such as away, toward etc. In other languages, Direction may be
marked independently by satellites, for example in Atsugewi the pair -ik/-
im, and in Mandarin ....lái/qù ("hither/thither") (Talmy 1985, 135). CEC and
other creoles share with a variety of West African languages the
typological feature of marking Direction through serial verbs. The
directional serial verbs of CEC are kom, go, and gaan, which may follow any
verb of motion, whether transitive or intransitive. The behaviour of these
two verbs is identical to that of their counterparts in SN (kon, go, gwe) and
SM (ko, go, gwé). The following sentences illustrate Patterns A and B as
described above for Sranan.

Pattern A:

    (21) CEC a. dem bring di pikni kom a tong
                    They brought the child to town
               b. dem kyari food go a riva
                    They carried food to the river
               c. dem gain tek dem go bak
                    They're going to take them back/ return with them

Pattern B:

    (22)   a. dem a waak go a maakit
                    "They're walking to (the) market
               b. dem ron kom in a di hous
                    They ran into the house
               c. dem ron gaan a shap
                    They've run to the shop
               d. Mieri swim-we gaan
                    Mary swam away

Bailey (1966,41 fn.2) notes that there is a distinction between go and
gaan; whereas the former "is purely directional with some goal implied or
expressed, gaan is final as well, and there need be no expressed or implied
goal." The main distinction between go and kom, on the one hand and gaan
on the other, seems to be that the latter is restricted in its serial function
to verbs in Past tense or Perfective aspect, as in (22c-d), whereas the
former can follow motion verbs with any TMA designation. For this reason,
most of the following discussion will focus on go/kom, though mention will
be made of gaan where appropriate.

As Sebba (1987, 45) points out with respect to Sranan, the semantic
contribution of go and kom as serial verbs is merely to specify the
direction of the motion (toward or away from the speaker)[5]. As in SN,
directionality in CEC is not normally expressed by prepositions[6]; thus the
locational preposition a is neutral with respect to direction.

(23) CEC a. dem de a maakit
            They're at the market
         b. dem a waak a di striit
            They're walking in the street

4.1.1: The syntax of directional SVC's.

I turn attention now to the syntax of directional SVC's. Sebba (1987)
provides a treatment of these structures withen the GPSG framework
which makes my own task somewhat easier. However, there are certain
aspects of this analysis which require some modification. First, Sebba
accounts for the distinction between intransitive and transitive directionals
by writing it into the ID rules themselves, as in the following:

(24) IVP ------>   V[1] PP
     V[1] ------>   waka, dansi, etc
(25) TVP ------>   V[7] NP IVP[DIR]
     V[7] ------>   tyari, srepi, etc.

However, these distinctions can be captured strictly in terms of the
subcategorization properties of the relevant verbs, as represented in their
lexical entries. Let us now consider Sebba's analysis of each type of
directional SVC in turn. First, he proposes the following rules to account for
intransitive directional SVC's like

(26) SN Kofi waka go na ini a oso:
         Kofi walked into the house

(27)	IVP	------->	V[3] IVP [MOD,DIR]
	V[3]	------->	dansi, waka, ron ....
(28)	IVP [MOD] ---->		V[4] (IVP[MOD])
	V[4]	------->	go, kon ....

Several aspects of these rules are questionable. To begin, Sebba offers no justification for his use of the feature [MOD] "Modifying" to identify the directional complements introduced by serial verbs such as kon, go etc. His use of this feature is in fact motivated by a desire to account for the behavior of certain transitive serial verbs which appear in object-sharing motion SVC's such as:

(29) SN Kofi hari a ston puru na ini a olo
      Kofi pulled the stone out of the hole

The distinguishing festure of serial erbs like puru in such structures is that they share the object of the V1, and hence lack the overt object which they normally require as main verbs. It is this difference that Sebba tries to capture by positing the feature [MOD] on the serial VP, and having it introduced by a metarule. I shall discuss Sebba's analysis of these object-sharing SVC's later, and suggest an alternative to it. But even if his analysis was correct, it would not justifying positing the same feature on the intransitive serial verbs of sentences like (26) above, which behave identically in both their matrix and serial uses. Another weakness in Sebba's analysis is that rule (28) does not license a PP complement for serial go, kon, etc, though a separate rule offered for matrix go, kon, etc, does. Finally, note that rule (28) will license ungrammatical recursive strings such as

(30) SN *Kofi waka go go kon...........

There are similar problems with the rules Sebba offers for transitive directional SVC's such as

(31) SN Kofi hari a ston go (a oso)
      Kofi pulled the stone away (to the house)

The following are the rules offered (1987, 125-27)[7]

(32)	TVP	----->	V[11] NP TVP [MOD,DIR]
	V[11]	----->	hari, srepi, tyari, etc.....
(33)	TVP[MOD, DIR] --->		V[12] (TVP [MOD, DIR, LOC])
	V[12]	------->	go, kon, etc ....

Once more we see a proliferation of feature specifications which are not sufficiently motivated, since the appropriate order of constituents can be made to follow from the subcategorization properties of the verbs themselves. Part of the reason for these weaknesses is that Sebba is attempting to cover in one set of rules a variety of SVC's whose syntactic properties are not always very similar. In particular, he treats object-sharing SVC's like (29) on a par with transitive directionals like (31) where the complement is headed by an intransitive directional. This leads to the curious result in rule (33), where a transitive VP is shown as headed by intransitive go, kon. The present approach will treat the two types of SVC as distinct constructions, as noted above. For the time being, I will suggest an analysis of directional SBVC's in CEC, which will also serve as an alternative to Sebba's analysis of the corresponding structures in SN.

To begin, we may note that the role of CEC go, kon and gaan as serial verbs is directly related to their function as main verbs in independent clauses like

(34) CEC   Dem go/kom/gaan (a maakit)

Note that a locative complement is optional for all three verbs. To account for the subcategorization facts of directional serials, I follow Sebba's (1987,119) proposal to use a HEAD feature DIRECTIONAL [DIR] on VP's headed by these three serial verbs. Hence the VP expansion rule which introduces them would be as follows:

(35) VP[DIR] -----> H [30], XP[LOC]
      H[30] ------> go, kom, gaan

The equivalent rules in SN would differ only in the range of directional verbs permitted (go, kon, gwe, komoto, komopo, fadon etc), along with their relevant subcategorization frames. Rule (35) will generate structures like (34). The SVC's in which go, kom and gaan function as serial verbs may be accounted for in terms of VP-expansion rules which are sensitive to the subcategorization properties of both the V1 and V2 involved. I propose the following rules to license the relevant SVC's in CEC.

(36) VP ------>   H[31] VP [DIR]
      H[31] ---->   waak, ron, flai, swim, etc.
(37) VP ------->   H[32]   NP VP [DIR]
   H[32] ----->   kyari, haal, sen, pul, etc.

Rule (36) introduces the intransitive verbs of motion and requires them to
have a VP complement with the feature [DIR], ie, a VP headed by go, kom
or gaan. Since the subcategorization properties of the latter are already
accounted for in Rule (35), no further mechanism is necessary to ensure
that the right strings are generated. Rules (35) and (36) together account
for serial strings of Pattern B like the following:

>   (38) CEC a. Jan waak go (a skuul)
>   John walked (thither) (to school)
>   b. Mieri ron kom (a di yaad)
>   Mary ran (hither) to the yard

Rule (37) introduces the transitive verbs of motion, and specifies that they
too take a complement headed by go, kom or gaan, in addition to an NP
object. This rule accounts for serial strings of Pattern A like the following:

>   (39) CEC a. Kofi haal di bambu kom (a di hous)
>   Kofi dragged the bamboo (hither) (to the house)
>   b. Jeen tek di moni go (a bank)
>   Jane took the money (thither)(to the bank)

According to rules (36) and (37), sentences like (38a) and (39a) would be
assigned the structures shown in (40) and (41) respectively:
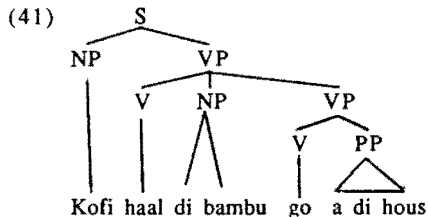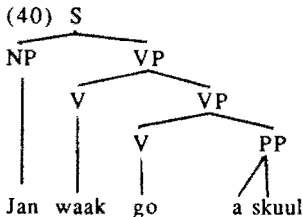
4.2:"Purposive" go and kom:

I turn attention now to structures like the following, in which go and
kom and often gaan, take a VP complement, and seem to express some
type of purpose or intention.

>   (42) CEC a. mi hafu go bai fuud
>   I have to go and buy food

    b. mi tel i go get moni
       I told him to go and get money
    c. dem gaan komplien
       They've gone to complain
    d. awi mos kom sii di beebi
       We must come and see the baby

Similar uses of (the counterparts of) kom and go are to be found in SN and SM.

   (43) SN   wan man go luku wan dansi
            A man went to watch a dance (Sebba 1987, 53)
   (44) SM   a go/ko luku di mii
            He went/came to look at the child (Byrne 1987, 201)

     Though the glosses assigned to such sentences usually imply that they are purposive constructions, this may not be entirely accurate. The following sentences, for instance, convey a sense of realized action, rather than of purpose.

   (45) GC a. a mad bai go marid
             The crazy boy went and got married
      JC b. im kom shub mi doun
            (S)he (came and) pushed me down (Bailey 1966, 41)[8]

My GC informants are quite adamant that sentences like (45) represent completed actions. It may well be that interpretation of such go/kom + V constructions depends on the TMA specifications involved. Sentences in perfective aspect, such as (45 a-b) are more likely to be interpreted as expressing realized action, while sentences like (42a) involving modals of intention, or future markers, tend to be interpreted as purposive. Syntactically, however, there is no difference among them.

4.2.1: The syntax of purposive SVC's.

     As far as the syntax of these constructions is concerned, Sebba (1987, 54) offers the following comment re Sranan:
     "It seems to be a property specific to go and kon (and possibly a few other verbs ....) that they may take a tenseless S' as their complement." Accordingly, he suggests that the structure of (43) is as represented in (46), where PRO is controlled by the subject of go.

   (46) wan man go [PRO luku wan dansi]

This is actually a GB-type analysis, and it isn't clear how Sebba means to accomodate it within the GPSG framework he employs. In the grammar fragment he presents later (112-33), he in fact says no more about the syntax of sentences like (43). My own approach treats the complements of purposive go, kom and gaan as VP's headed by a full lexical verb (ie, a VP without auxiliaries). One question that immediately arises is whether 'purposive' go, kom and gaan are the same as 'directional' go, kom and gaan, which take a locative complement. I shall assume that they are different for two reasons:

a. Their subcategorization properties are different, and

b. There are cases which we will see later where these verbs appear in both directional and purposive uses in the same sentence, suggesting that they are quite distinct syntactically.

Accordingly, I propose the following VP-expansion rule to introduce purposive go, kom and gaan.

(47) VP [PUR]--->   H[33] VP[MIN][9]
      H[33] --->   kom, go, gaan[10]

I use the feature PURPOSIVE [PUR] to distinguish these uses of go, kom and gaan from their directional use. As we shall see, this will simplify our account of structures which can contain either purposive or directional complements headed by these verbs, or both. It must be pointed out, however, that this is a purely syntactic distinction, motivated solely by the different subcategorization properties of the three verbs. Semantically, go, kom and gaan express the same basic sense of direction whatever the complement-type that follows them.

Such a rule would generate sentences such as (42-45), while excluding ungrammatical sequences such as the following:

(48) CEC a. *Mieri hafu go a see shi moda
           b. *Jan kom go miit dem.

4.2.2:"Purposive" SVCs with kom/go/gaan.

The syntactic behaviour of kom, go and gaan as discussed in the previous section is relevant to their use as the V2 in SVCs such as the following[11]:

(49) CEC   a. yu beta go hoom go sii bau cha chilan
            You'd better go home and see about your children

b. di hosban kom in ko(m) luk biebi
The husband came in to look for the baby

c. den ah gaan ga tiif presh pinut bota
Then I went and stole fresh peanut butter

(50) CEC   a. dem kyari di pikni go bied
They took the child to bathe

b. an neks de im bring sponj kiek kom gi wi
And the next day he brought sponge cake to give to us.

Similar constructions are common in the Surinamese creoles, as the following illustrate.

(51) SN a. yu musu go na kownu go aksi en wan wroko
You must go to the king to ask him a favor

b. a feroysi kon bay pranasi na Faraliba
he move come buy plantation LOC Para river
He moved and bought a plantation on the Para
(Sebba 1987, 61-63)

(52) SM   dé waka go/ko hondi di pingo
They walked (that/this way) to hunt the pig
(Byrne 1987, 213)

Neither Sebba nor Byrne offers a detailed syntactic analysis of such structures, though Byrne (1987, 214) does point out that go and ko in (52) "are simply additional examples of directionals", identical to those discussed in section 3.1 above.

    Bailey (1966) offers an analysis of similar structures in JC which treats them as "reduced co-ordinate (structures) with verbs of motion." Thus she suggests:

Given a sentence of form X-Vmo-an-Vb-Y, in which the action in Vb follows upon that in the verb of motion (mo), it is possible to delete an. Thus im go "she went", and im tel mis Jien "she told Miss Jane", which when conjoined would yield im go an tel Mis Jien "she went and told Miss Jane", may be reduced to give im go tel Mis Jien."
(1966,133-34).

She later suggests that the same analysis applies to sentences like the following, which parallel (49-52) above.

(53) JC   mi a go bak a di plies go si
I'm going back to the place to see

Roberts (1980, 22) has rightly challenged Bailey's analysis, pointing out that the Vmo-an-Vb structure has most likely developed from the "more

African-type structure" Vmo-Vb under the influence of standard English.
The present analysis will not deal with the more "decreolized" co-ordinate
structures in which an is employed as the "link" between verb phrases,
though these can be handled by minor adjustment to the rules to be
presented below.

I propose the following rules to generate sentences like (49) and (50)
in CEC.

    (54) VP ---->   H[34] (XP[LOC]) VP[PUR]
           H[34] --->   waak, ron, drayv, swim, flai, go, kom, gaan, etc.

    (55) VP ---->   H[35] NP (XP[LOC]) VP[PUR]
           H[35] --->   kyari, bring, sen, drayv, pul, haal, etc.

Rule (54) introduces the intransitive verbs of motion, specifying that they
take an optional locative argument, as well as a purposive VP complement
headed by go, kom or gaan as introduced by rule (47) above[12]. Together,
rules (47) and (54) will produce sentences like those in (49) and (51).
Notice that the motion verbs introduced by rule (54) are generally the
same as those introduced by rule (36) earlier, except that go and kom can
themselves function as matrix verbs in structures generated by rule (54),
but not those generated by rule (36).

Rule (55) introduces transitive verbs of motion which have an
obligatory object, an optional locative argument, and an identical VP
complement to the intransitives. Together with rule (47), it generates
structures such as those in (50).

According to these rules, sentences like (49b) and (50a) would have
the structure shown in (56) and (57) respectively.

(56)

Di hosban   kom in kom   luk biebi

(57)

```
                        S
        ┌───────────────┴────────┐
       NP                        VP
        │              ┌─────────┬──────────┐
        │              V        NP          VP
        │              │        /\       ┌──┴──┐
        │              │       /  \      V     VP
        │              │      /    \     │     │
       Dem           kyari   di pikni   go    bied
```
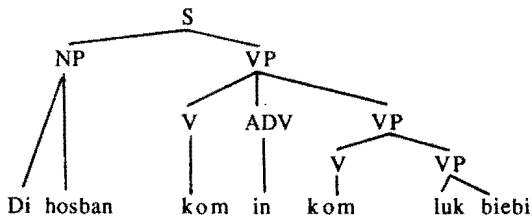
It has been suggested - e.g. by Washbaugh (1981,94) and Byrne (1987,243 fn.7) - that the serial verbs go, kom and gaan function as complementizers in CEC when they introduce VP complements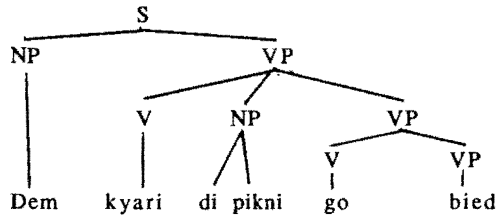 as in (56) and (57) above. Both Washbaugh (p.96) and Byrne (p.214) further claim that in Saramaccan go and ko in the same function are true verbs which have not been "reanalyzed" as complementizers. Washbaugh argues that both CEC gan and kom are reduced to ga and ko respectively when they are used as serial verbs introducing a VP complement. This reduction reflects the operation of a denasalization rule which affects unstressed grammatical morphemes like the past tense marker men [m]. Both the denasalization and the lack of stress suggest to Washbaugh that gan and kom "serve a grammatical rather than the semantic function which is served by the stressed directional verbs" (1981, 94).

In my view, however, there is no incompatibility between the "grammatical" function performed by kom, gan and go in "purposive" SVCs, and their status as verbs. I have already presented evidence to show that these serial verbs have the same subcategorization properties as they do when used as matrix verbs. It may well be that since their serial function is similar to that of complementizers, they have been "grammaticized" somewhat in that direction. But the evidence is that they still behave essentially like verbs.[13]

Notice finally that we also find more complex serial strings like the following, in which both 'directional' and 'purposive' go, kom and gaan appear:

    (58) CEC a. di pikni ron kom ina di haus kom iit
                The child ran into the house to eat.
          b. Mieri kyari di pikni go a aspital go sii dakta
              Mary took the child to the hospital to see the doctor.

Such strings provide support for the decision reached earlier to draw a distinction between the directional and purposive uses of these verbs.

Sentences like these, as far as I know, have not been discussed in the CEC literature. Likewise, neither Sebba nor Byrne discusses such structures for SN and SM, though the former does consider certain "object-sharing" motion SVC's that are partly similar in structure to (58). These will be considered in the next section. It would be strange, however, if structures equivalent to (58) are not found in the Surianamese creoles.

Strings like (58 a & b) are licenced by the VP-expansion rules (59) and (60) respectively.

    (59) VP ------->   H[34] VP[DIR] PP VP[PUR]
         H[34] ----->   waak, ron, swim, flai, etc..
    (60) VP ------->   H[35] NP VP[DIR] PP VP[PUR]
         H[35] ----->   kyari, haal, pul, sen, etc ...

These rules are quite similar to those that license directional and purposive SVC's discussed earlier, being in a sense a fusion of the two rule schemas. For the sake of economy, we might wish to collapse the rules for directional SVC's with (59) and (60) above, making the 'purposive' VP complement optional, as follows:

    (59')   VP ------>   H[34] VP[DIR] (PP) (VP[PUR])
    (60')   VP ------>   H[35] NP VP[DIR] (PP) (VP[PUR])

Notice that these rules will license strings like the following, which my GC informants find awkward, though not unacceptable.

    (61) GC   Jan ron go go sii di biebi.
               'John ran (thither) to see the baby'

It must also be pointed out that cases in which both a directional and purposive complement appear require that both complements be introduced by the same serial verb, thus ruling out unacceptable strings like the following:[14]

    (62) CEC a. *di pikni ron kom ina di haus go iit
             b. *Mieri kyari di pikni go a aspital kom sii dakta

These selectional restrictions are purely the consequence of the semantics of the verbs involved, and as such are best left to the semantic component to rule out as incoherent.

4.3: "Object-sharing" motion SVC's of Pattern C:

I turn attention now to those serial verb constructions which follow Pattern C as described above for Sranan. These involve two transitive verbs which appear to share the Figure as their common (object) argument.

The relevant SVC's fall into two patterns, the first involving two transitive motion verbs, as in (63), and the second involving tek alone as V1, with a V2 that is not (necessarily) itself a motion verb, as in (64).

(63) SN　　a. Kofi hari a ston puru na ini a olo　(Sebba 1987,122)
　　　　　　　　Kofi pulled the stone out (of the hole)
　　　　　　b. Kofi fringi a tiki trowe na ini a dyari (S. p.126)
　　　　　　　　Kofi threw the stick away into the garden
(64) CEC a. i tek mi klooz trowe　　　　　　(Jaganauth, 1987, 66)
　　　　　　　　He threw my clothes away
　　　SN　　b. Kofi teki den krosi kibri　　　　(S. p.131)
　　　　　　　　Kofi hid the clothes

My CEC data do not contain any examples of SVC's like (63) involving two transitive motion verbs (though 64a is a possible exception). Notice that the function of the V2 in these cases is to express Path/Direction, like the intransitive serial verbs discussed earlier. The transitive V2's which perform this function in SN are a restricted set, consisting of puru 'pull out',

trowe 'throw away', and poti 'put'. It would appear that this strategy has yielded in CEC to the English strategy of using particles and/or prepositions to express these semantic components, as in

(65) CEC　Jan pul a ston outa di hool

Both types of SVC pose essentially the same problems for a syntactic analysis. One problem is how to identify the class of verbs which may function as V2 in each type. This is easy to decide in the case of sentences like (63), which allow only three Path/Directional V2's, as already indicated. In thecase of sentences like (64), however, the answer is not as straightforward. Sebba (1987, 60) acknowledges that he is unable to determine what decides which lexical verbs are permitted as V2 after teki in SN sentences like (64b). For instance, there seems to be no explanation why (64b) is grammatical, while (66) is not.

(66) SN　　*a teki a fisi bay
　　　　　　s/he take the fish buy　　　(Sebba 1987, 60)

The explanation may lie in pragmatics rather than syntax. For instance, in (64b), we can assume that the action of selling fish implies that the fish is under the control of the agent. On the other hand, the action of buying implies no such control, hence (66) is pragmatically unacceptable. Jaganauth (1987, 72) also suggests that part of the function of tek in GC SVCs is to assign responsibility to the agent for the action.[15] For instance, a non-SVC such as (67a) contrasts with an SVC such as (67b), in that the former implies no deliberate action on the part of the subject while the latter does.[16]

(67) GC   a. i nak mi   (He hit me)
          b. i tek stik nak me
            He hit me with a stick

Sebba's (1987, 59) claim that "the semantic function of teki is ... negligible" may therefore not be accurate. If so, the following solution to the problem of specifying the possible V2's in object-sharing SVC's like (64) suggests itself. Since tek implies deliberation on the part of the agent, then only V2's which are clearly volitional and describe actions under the agent's control are acceptable. This might be left to the semantics to decide. These facts also suggest that there is a semantic link between the use of tek in "object-sharing" SVC's such as (63-64) and its use in sentences like (67b) which have traditionally been treated as instances of the use of "Instrumental" tek. The latter construction, however, is syntactically quite distinct, and will not be discussed here.[17]

     The second problem is how to account for the fact that the V2 object cannot appear in these object-sharing SVC's, while allowing for the fact that the same V2 requires its object in a main-verbal use. Compare (63a) above to (68).

68. SN   Kofi puru a ston na ini a olo

Sebba's solution to this is to propose the following metarule:

(69) TVP[DIR]   ------->   NP, w
               ⇓
   TVP[MOD]   ------->   w
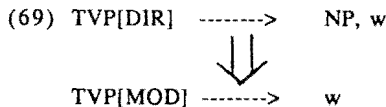
This is intended to state that "for every TVP[DIR] which contains a directional transitive verb like puru, trowe, or poti, there will be a corresponding TVP[DIR,MOD] which contains exactly the same elements except for the NP object of V[DIR]." (1987, 124).

Certain aspects of Sebba's treatment are doubtful. The derived ID rule is intended to licence only complements to transitive motion verbs in an SVC, yet Sebba provides no mechanism to ensure this, and prevent the licensing of ungrammatical strings like

`(70) *Kofi puru na ini a olo.

In addition, Sebba's strategy once more leads to the proliferation of redundant, sometimes confusing feature specifications on the complement VP's. Thus, Sebba (1987, 127) claims that the following rules, supplemented by metarule (69), license strings such as (63b).[18]

(71) TVP -------> V[11] NP TVP[MOD, DIR]
    V[11] ------> hari, fringi, srepi, tyari, yagi, etc
(72) TVP[DIR,LOC] ----> V[13] NP PP[LOC]
    V[13] -------> poti, trowe

The mismatch on the feature specifications for the 'modifying' directional complement VP casts some doubt on the accuracy of these rules. Moreover, there is considerable redundancy, since it is actually the ID rule derived from (72) through metarule (69), and not (72) itself, that should license the directional VP complement. In essence, however, Sebba's approach seems to be on the right track, and I shall suggest how it might be modified below.

This problem of accounting for the argument sharing characteristic of SVC's has received a fair share of attention in the recent literature (Baker 1989, Schiller 1990b). The problem is not confined to the object-sharing SVC's under discussion here, but extends to cases where the V1 object appears to be the subject of V2, as in (73):[19]

(73) CEC a. Mieri kyari di pikni go a skuul
    SN   b. Kofi fringi a buku fadon
            Kofi throw the book fall down
            Kofi threw the book down

Baker (1989, 523) criticizes analyses such as Jansen et al's (1978) and Sebba's (1987) on the grounds that their account of the syntax of these SVC's is achieved "at the cost of relying on (largely unexplored) rules of a semantic component to determine which NP's are arguments of which verbs." Baker's own analysis, using a GB framework, attempts to account for argument sharing in terms of the Projection Principle and the theta-criterion. Thus object-sharing SVC's involve both V1 and V2 assigning theta-roles, leading to double-marking on the object. On the other hand,

cases like (73) imply for Baker that the intransitive V2 assigns its theta-role to the object of V1, rather than the subject of V1. As Schiller (1989: 418) points out, this account is motivated by considerations internal to GB theory, which do not apply to other approaches such as GPSG. However, the question it addresses is a real one, which any theory must account for. Schiller, for his part, proposes that argument sharing can be accounted for in the Autolexical framework by treating thematic relations as semantic case. But he does not spell out the proposed analysis, noting instead that "many details remain to be worked out with regard to thematic roles," and adding, rather optimistically, that they "do not seem to involve any potentially major problems." (1990b, 416).

My own approach assumes that thematic roles are properly the business of the semantics to account for. However, this does not mean that my account of the syntax of SVC's leaves it entirely to the semantics to account for argument assignment. On the contrary, as we have seen, the subcategorization properties of each verb are directly represented in the syntax. In this sense, GPSG explicitly satisfies the Projection Principle, which requires that the subcategorization properties of a verb be satisfied throughout the syntax. Moreover, in my approach, the restrictions on what verbs can combine in an SVC, and the resulting order of those verbs and their arguments are explicitly represented in the lexical ID rules. I reiterate this here because Baker (1989,515) has claimed that such restrictions have not been accounted for in strict formal terms before. All that is needed to account fully for object-sharing SVC's is some device to account for the fact that V1 and V2 share one object.

To accomplish this, I propose the following revised version of Sebba's metarule (69) which avoids the problems pointed out earlier.

(74) VP   --------->   H[11] NP w

$$\Downarrow$$

VP[DIR] ------> H[13] w
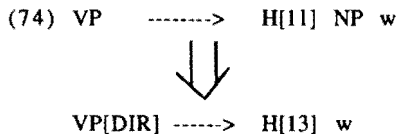
This eliminates the specification that the VP is transitive, for reasons already given. Removal of the feature [DIR] on the "input" rule, and its introduction on the "output" rule, allows us to preserve the distinction between the main clausal status of the former, and the complement-like status of the latter. The input for metarule (74) would be ID rule (75), a revised version of Sebba's rule (72) above.

(75) VP -------->   H[13] NP PP[LOC]
      H[13] ------>   puru, poti, trowe.

The rule which licenses the relevant SVC's would be itself a revised version of Sebba's rule (71), as follows:

(76) VP -------->   H[11] NP VP[DIR]
   H[11] ------>   hari, fringi, srepi, etc

Note that this rule specifies that the complement VP is [+DIR], thus ruling out unlicensed strings like

(77) SN   *Kofi hari a ston puru a ston....

On the other hand, rule (75) will license main clausal strings like (78a) and rule out (70), repeated here as (78b).

(78) SN   a. Kofi puru a ston na ini a olo
            b. *Kofi puru na ini a olo

The rules suggested here are more economical as well as more accurate than Sebba's. Together, they license trees like the following:

(79)
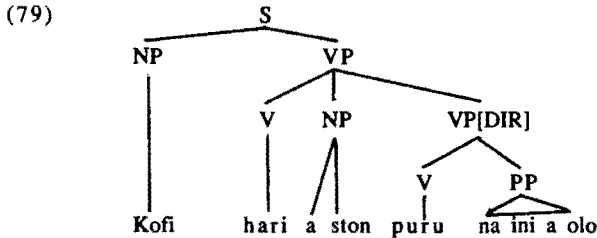
4.3.1: Object-sharing SVC's in CEC.

As pointed out at the start of Section 4.3, CEC appears to have none of the object-sharing motion SVC's just described for Sranan. However, we do find SVC's of this type with tek as V1, as in (64). I propose the following rule to license such strings:

(81) VP ------> H[36] NP VP[MOD]
      H[36] ----> tek. (SN teki, hari, srepi etc)

The feature MOD (Modifying) which I have borrowed from Sebba's analysis
is intended to distinguish the object-less VP complement to the tek clause
from its regular counterpart, in which the object appears. I propose again
to derive such complement VP's through a metarule of the following sort:

(82) VP   --------->   H[80] NP w

      VP[MOD] ----->   H[80] w

Verbs of SUBCAT [80] would include items like trowe, dashwe etc in CEC,
and trowe, kibri, seri etc in Sranan, whose semantic properties allow them
to appear as V2's in these SVC's.

4.3.2: Addendum:

In addition to the patterns already discussed for CEC, there is a rather
limited set of SVC's involving a few transitive motion verbs such as kyari,
sen, etc, which are difficult to place. The following illustrate:[20]

    (83) CC   a. Di pikni ded aredi, le wi kyari beri am
                    The child is already dead, let's carry (her) and bury her.
          GU   b. De kyari am draiv am
                    They drove him
                c. Komin iista ol a wi hav egz, yu no, wi kya iit.
                    Coming on Easter, all of us have eggs, you know, we
                        carry (and) eat (them).

These examples are quite similar to the "object-sharing" SVC's of Pattern C,
just discussed. Note however that, unlike the latter, the object follows V2 in
(83a), appears after both V1 and V2 in (83b), and doesn't appear at all in
(83c). As far as I can tell, these idiosyncracies are characteristic only of
kyari+V combinations, and perhaps a few others. Such combinations are
probably best treated as 'phrase-words' in the sense of Zwicky (1990a), or
lexical idioms, in the sense of Sebba (1987). The placement of the 'shared'
object after the V+V combination would appear to support this
interpretation.

A similar interpretation appears to be applicable to cases involving the motion verb sen, as in the following examples from GC (Jaganauth 1987, 66, 69) and JC (Alleyne 1980, 93).

(84) GC   a. Dem sen kaal mi
             They send call me (They sent for me)
        b. Shi sen tel mi se le mi mos bai solfamol
             She send tell me say let me must buy Solfamol
             She sent (a letter) telling me I should buy Sulfamol.
   JC   c. im sen aks mi fi kom elp im
             He send ask me for come help him
             He sent (a message) (to) ask me to come help him.

These constructions, unlike the "object-sharing" cases, may involve some kind of subject sharing. Alternatively, the understood "object" of sen may also be the understood "subject" of the V_2 (kaal, tel, etc). In any case, the V_1+V_2 combination seems to act like a 'phrase-word', not requiring overt appearance of any V_2 argument. This behavior is restricted to combinations involving sen as V_1 and some verb of telling or reporting as V_2.

    Another example worth mentioning is the following, from Alleyne (1980, 168):

(85) JC   Di haak kech di chikin iit it
          The hawk caught and ate the chicken

This falls in line again with "object-sharing" SVC's of Pattern C, except for the fact that the V_2 object is overtly realized as a pronoun. Note once more that kech is interpretable as an agentive motion verb, which would bring (85) further in line with the 'object-sharing' pattern.

    It's not clear how productive this pattern is in contemporary CEC. Sentences like (85) seem impressionistically to represent relics of a construction-type that was once as productive in CEC as it still is in the Surinamese creoles. The requirement of an overt object on the V_2 may be the initial effect of decreolization. As suggested above, a further stage in this process is represented by the introduction of conjunction an to link the serial clauses - a strategy typical of mesolectal CEC varieties. Further research is clearly needed to uncover how much of the original 'object-sharing' pattern continues to survive in contemporary basilectal CEC.

    Finally, it is worth noting that another pattern involving an intransitive motion verb as V_1 followed by a V_2 which is difficult to predict have been attested for GC and Sranan (Alleyne 1980, 93-94)

(86) CC a. i na go eebl lef ron kom ful am.
He won't be able (to) leave (and) run here to fill it.
SN b. a ben e waka heri foto (e) seri sani na strati
He PAST ASP walk whole town (ASP) sell thing LOC street
He used to walk the whole town selling things in the street.

Again, further research may well show such patterns to be more productive than the published data would suggest.

Conclusion:

The present discussion has focussed on just a few types of SVC in the New World creoles. A fuller examination would reveal that SVCs in these languages constitute a fairly diversified range of structures, with the serial verbs themselves performing a variety of grammatical functions. This diversity of functions is reflected in the different syntactic behaviours displayed by the serial verbs involved. There are two respects in which I hope the present analysis has contributed to our growing understanding of these constructions. The first has to do with their constituency, and the second with their typical functions.

With respect to the first question, there is still no consensus among researchers working on a variety of languages. On the one hand, there are GPSG approaches such as Sebba's and the present one, as well as the GB approach of Baker (1989), which assign different constituent structures to 'coordinating' and 'subordinating' SVC's. On the other hand, there is the Autolexical analysis offered by Schiller (1989), who follows Filbeck (1975) and Schachter (1974) in proposing the following recursive phrase structure rule to account for both types of SVC.

(87) S ------>   (X´) (N´) V´*[21]

There appears to be general consensus that such a phrase structure is appropriate to coordinating SVC's, so we need not concern ourselves further with this type. However, Schiller's objection to analyses which posit a different constituent structure for 'subordinating' SVC's deserves some attention.

Schiller argues that a 'flat' structure is more appropriate to these constructions than the hierarchical structure proposed by Sebba (and myself) since "the subordination is more semantic than syntactic." (1989: 407). He further claims that Sebba "provides no independent syntactic as opposed to semantic justification for the syntactic structure." (Ibid.

Emphasis in original). First, it is not clear to me what it means to say that the subordination is more semantic than syntactic. This implies that the subordination, which Schiller acknowledges to exist, must be treated as a semantic rather than a syntactic phenomenon - which is a curious view. Secondly, it is not true that Sebba provides no independent syntactic grounds for the hierarchical structure he proposes for subordinating SVC's. These are outlined in Section 3 above, and discussed in more detail, along with additional criteria specific to SN, in Sebba (1987, 108-16), and elsewhere in his book. A crucial criterion, as we have seen, is that 'coordinating' SVC's are subject to Ross' constraint, while 'subordinating' types are not. Baker (1989) also distinguishes the two types on grounds similar to Sebba's, while Nylander (1985) argues on independent grounds for a hierarchical structure for SVC's involving the serial verb se "say."

Schiller further blames Sebba's choice of analysis on the properties of GPSG itself, claiming that "Sebba must account for the semantically subordinate nature of the material in the lower clause, and GPSG does not allow non-isomorphism of syntactic and semantic components." (1989: 407). This criticism appears to be directed at the version of semantics offered in Gazdar et al (1985), but there are alternative ways of handling semantic interpretation within a GPSG framework which Schiller overlooks. Schiller's own approach, using an autolexical framework, places a heavy burden on the semantic component to explain the different properties of the two types of SVC - properties which are essentially syntactic, as argued above. In fact, it is not made clear in Schiller (1989) precisely how the syntax works in his approach. In particular, it is not clear how the restrictions on possible combinations of V1 and V2 (and V3), as well as the membership of each, are specified. If this must be done in the semantics, then it places a heavy onus on this component. By contrast, the GPSG approach allows us to specify the possible sequences of (members of) V1, V2, etc. fairly precisely in the syntactic component, in terms of the subcategorization properties of the verbs themselves. Relatively few selectional restrictions are left to the semantics or pragmatics to account for or rule out. In addition, as noted before, this achieves a general match between the syntax and semantics of these constructions which is surely desirable.

Apart form the lack of consensus on the constituent structure of SVC's, there has also been disagreement on the typical functions of serialization. The generalizations expressed by some researchers on this question usually capture only part of the picture. Such generalizations range from Bickerton's (1989, 33) suggestion that "serial clauses are most often adjuncts", to Sebba's (1987, 216) claim that serialization is "an

argument-increasing strategy". Both statements are true, but only partly so.

Bickerton's view applies to several of the SVCs considered in this paper, involving serial verbs which either themselves act as adjuncts to the matrix clause, or introduce serial strings which act as adjuncts. Thus serial kom and go may head clauses which indicate directionality which is an optional component of the sentence. Similarly, serial pasa may express both the notion of Path, and the notion of Degree, both of which are part of what Lyons (1986, 496) refers to as "circumstantial roles associated with a situtation". Such circumstatntial roles also include components like the time, place, manner and purpose of an activity, which tend to be referred to by means of syntactically optional expressions such as adverbs or adverbials.

Sebba's view seems to apply only to SVCs involving the serial verb give. His argument is that languages which have a strict limitation to two arguments per verb compensate by using serial strings to introduce the goal or benefactive of an action. A stronger version of this claim is offered for SM by Byrne (1987, 257) who argues that "one reason for serialization is the supposed lack of NP positions in which to place the GF-θ's of a verb." In this view, serial strings perform the roles associated in other languages either with prepositions, which are marginal in SM, or with complementizers, which are non-existent in SM. (1987, 252). While this view offers a wider perspective than Sebba's, it still applies only to a sub-class of SVCs in SM and other creoles.

There are several types of serial string in CEC which cannot be interpreted either as adjuncts, or as additional arguments, to a matrix verb. For instance, in CEC tek serial clauses, the instrumental expression is itself part of the sentence nucleus, by contrast with English, where the instrumental expression is normally an adjunct. There are also other SVCs involving co-ordination of some type, which do not fit any of the generalizations mentioned above. Clearly, then, no single statement can capture all of the functions that may be performed through the strategy of serialization. It is hoped that the present discussion has at least made this clear.

Notes

*   I wish to thank Arnold Zwicky and other participants at the Mini Conference on serial verbs (Ohio State University, May 1990), for their helpful comments on this paper. Any shortcomings that remain are, of course, entirely my responsibility.

1. Nylander (1985, 20, fn 9) informs us that Christaller (1875) was probably the first to make reference to this construction in an African language (Twi), while Schuchardt (1914) was apparently the first to identify SVC's in a creole language (Saramaccan). Also, Voorhoeve (1975) tells us that the term "serial verb" was coined by Stewart (1963).

2. Zwicky (1990b) discusses other distinctions that might have to be made, while Schiller (1990) presents a typology of SVC's.

3. Examples (10a) and (10b) are taken from Bailey (1966), pages 133 and 52 respectively, and (10c) from Alleyne (1980, 168).

4. It would also appear, from the limited data available, that SM also has a wide range of "subordinating" SVC's, but little research has been done to uncover these. Byrne (1987), the most detailed account of serialization in SM so far, confines his attention to structures which CEC by and large shares with SM.

5. It seems more accurate to say that kọm and gọ indicate direction toward or away from some reference point established in the discourse, which may or may not be the speaker.

6. There is a growing use of prepositions and particles imported from English to express the notions of Path and Direction in CEC. Sebba (1987, 47) notes a similar tendency in Sranan, where younger speakers tend to use ọvt (Dutch ụit "out of") to replace the generalized locative prepositions na or fụ, after the directional serial verb puru ("remove").

7. In fact, Sebba offers a more feasible pair of rules on pages 120-21, as follows:

TVP ---> V[7] NP IVP{DIR}

IVP[DIR] ----> V[2] PP

However, he appears to discard these in favor of (39) and (40). (1987, 125)

8. Notice how similar the use of kom in (45b) is to the use of the so-called "semi-auxiliary come" in Black English Vernacular (Spears 1982). The BEV construction in which come precedes a verb in the present-participle (He come walkin in here like he owned the damn place) may well be a residue of an earlier pattern of use akin to that in CEC. Mufwene (1989, 21) claims that the BEV construction has no counterpart in creoles, and suggests that this is a weakeness in the creolist argument that BEV has creole roots. However, not only do we find a similar use of come in basilectal CEC, but we also find an indentical use of come + V-in in mesolectal varieties such as TC-eg He come talkin to me like he know me. The TC construction conveys the same sense of resentment and/or indignation noted by Spears for BEV.

9. I use the feature [MIN] "MINIMAL" to refer to a VP without auxiliaries, ie, a 'bare' lexical verb.

10. As pointed out earlier, gaan behaves exactly like kom and go, though as a serial verb it may only follow Past or Perfective verbs.

11. Examples (56a-c) and (57b) are taken from Washabaugh (1981, 91-93), who in turn takes them from a variety of sources, including Turner (1949) for GU, LePage & Cassidy (1967) for JC and his own data from Providence Island Creole (PIC).

12. Again, it must be recalled that gaan as serial verb introducing a VP complement is severely restricted in its privelege of occurrence, following only Past or Perfective verbs, and usually matrix gaan.

13. See Sebba (1987, 81-82) and Jansen et al (1978, 143) for further arguments in support of the verbal status of go and kon in Sranan, which apply also to go and kom in CEC.

14. Washabaugh (1981, 94-95) claims that sentences like (69a) are acceptable to his PIC informants, but acknowledges that sentences like (69b) are not.

15. Jaganauth (1987, 87 fn 28) also mentions the use of "reduced" SVCs with tek such as i tek an baks mi (He slapped me), which are used mainly by schoolchildren when complaining to their teacher that another child (deliberately) assaulted them.

16. Bailey (1966, 134) seems to support Jaganauth's interpretation. She offers the following example, which I have excluded from the discussion because it contains a coordinating conjunction: mi waif tek mi guolring a dash-we. Bailey glosses this as "My wife deliberately threw away my gold ring," thus supporting the view that tek conveys a sense of deliberate action.

17. See Sebba (1987, 132-33) for some discussion.

18. Rule (71) corresponds to Sebba's rule (170b), p.125, and (72) to his rule (174b), p.127.

19. The fact that the verbs in an SVC share a common subject is not a problem, since both are dominated by the same VP sister to the subject NP.

20. Example (83a) is a GC sentence from Rickford (1986, 223); (83b-c) are Gullah examples from Mufwene (1988, 4-5). I have taken the liberty of adjusting Mufwene's phonemic spelling somewhat to bring it in line with the conventions used in this study.

21. 'V´*' is Schiller's abbreviation for serial V constructions as opposed to other kinds of serialization involving, eg, V+V structures (V*), auxiliary verb + V´ (V + V´*) etc. (Schiller 1990).

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