



Serial Verbs

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LAST MODIFIED: 25 OCTOBER 2018

DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199772810-0222

Introduction

Serial verb constructions, or serial verbs, are sequences of verbs without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort. Serial verbs are monoclausal constructions describing what is conceptualized as a single event. They share prosodic properties with monoverbal constructions. A serial verb has one tense, aspect, mood, modality, and evidentiality value, that is, for example, one component cannot refer to past and another to present. Its components cannot be negated or questioned separately from the whole construction. Each component must be able to occur on its own, as the main verb of a clause. Prototypical serial verb constructions tend to share the subject and other core arguments. Serial verbs are a powerful means for a detailed portrayal of various facets of one single event. They often express grammatical meanings, including aspect and directionality, especially in languages where little inflection is available. A serial verb cannot be felicitously rephrased with a sequence of clauses. In terms of their composition, serial verbs divide into symmetrical and asymmetrical types. Symmetrical serial verb constructions consist of two or more verbs chosen from semantically and grammatically unrestricted verb classes. Their semantics covers sequences of sub-actions or concomitant actions related to each other; the order of components tends to be iconic. Symmetrical serial verbs tend to become lexicalized. Asymmetrical constructions include a “major” verb from an unrestricted class and a “minor” verb from a restricted verb class. They may express various grammatical categories, such as direction, orientation, aspect, change of state, adding an argument, and increasing valency. The order of components does not have to be iconic. The minor component tends to grammaticalize into an exponent of aspect or modality, directionality, etc. Then the erstwhile serial verb will lose its status as such. Grammatical categories of person-number, aspect, tense, modality, evidentiality, etc., may be marked just once per serial construction (single marking). Alternatively, they can be marked on each component (concordant marking). Further parameters for the classification of serial verbs include contiguity of components and wordhood of the construction. The components of some types of serial verbs may have to be strictly contiguous. Alternatively, other constituents may intervene between them. Some serial verbs may form one grammatical word, others will consist of several grammatical words. Verb compounding differs from single-word serialization: verbal compounds are nonproductive one-word verb-verb combinations whose meaning is only partly predictable, while serial verbs are a productive device with an array of meanings, as in Alambak (see Bruce 1988 [cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation]), Yimas: (see Foley 1991 [cited under Papuan Languages of New Guinea]), and Olutec (see Zavala 2006 [cited under Languages of North America, Including Meso-America]). Languages with multi-word serial verbs tend to be of analytic profile.

General Works

The phenomenon of serial verbs was first identified for Akan in Christaller 1875 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) as “syntactic combinations of verbs” used to express “many verbal notions that are expressed with a simple verb in English and other European and Asiatic languages” (p. 73). The term *serial verb* was first used in Balmer and Grant 1929, p. 115–128 (cited under Monographs and Grammars), and then reintroduced in Stewart 1963 (cited under General Articles). Serial verbs have been the focus of the studies of languages of West Africa, Mainland Southeast Asia, and Creoles since the early 1960s. Their general investigation is intertwined with research on individual languages and areas and reflects the history of different theoretical approaches. Important studies in the framework of the early transformational generative grammar are Stewart 1963, Bamgbos`e 1974, Bamgbos`e 1982 (all cited under General Articles), Schachter 1974, Stahlke 1970 (cited under Articles), and Wu 1992 (cited under Monographs). Attempts at the introduction of the Serialization Parameter and some predictions concerning serial verbs within the minimalist framework are in Stewart 2001 (cited under Monographs), Baker 1989, and Déchaine 1993 (both cited under Articles); critiques of the approach are in Durie 1997 and Aikhenvald 2006 (cited under Articles). The empirically based cross-linguistic studies in terms of functionalist approach and basic linguistic theory are

reflected in Givón 1991 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation), Durie 1997, Aikhenvald 2006 (both cited under Articles), Aikhenvald 2012 (cited under Languages of South America: Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions), Aikhenvald 2018 (cited under Monographs), and Dixon 2006 (cited under Articles). The general terminological consensus on serial verbs was gradually established in Foley and Olson 1985 (partly cast in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar) (cited under Articles). Haspelmath 2016 (cited under Articles) offers a revised definition of serial verbs limiting the applicability of the concept. Putative correlations between serialization and the order of components are proposed in Schiller 1990 (cited under Articles). Sebba 1987 (cited under Monographs) is the first book-length study of serial verbs in a wide variety of languages outlining their general features and focusing on Sranan. Wu 1992 (cited under Monographs) offers a brief overview of serial verb constructions, with a focus on Chinese. Lord 1993 (cited under Monographs) discusses the general properties of serial verb constructions and their patterns of grammaticalization. Veenstra 1996 (cited under Monographs) focuses on specific features of serial verbs in Sranan, in the context of other languages, cast in generative framework. Jarkey 2015 (cited under Monographs) addresses serial verbs in White Hmong, offering a general perspective on the phenomenon of serialization. Aikhenvald 2018 (cited under Monographs) is the first monograph to date to provide a comprehensive typological overview of serial verbs worldwide. Edited collections like Joseph and Zwicky 1990, Lefebvre 1991, and Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006 (all cited under Edited Collections) cover a variety of case studies on serial verbs across languages of different types. Bradshaw 1993 (cited under Edited Collections) focuses on serial verbs in the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian and their neighbors; Aikhenvald and Muysken 2011 (cited under Edited Collections) contains case studies from the Americas.

Monographs

Aikhenvald 2018 is a comprehensive study of serial verbs across the languages of the world, focusing on their composition, semantics of asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verb constructions, grammaticalization and lexicalization, functions, histories, and acquisition by children. Jarkey 2015 is an in-depth study of serial verbs in White Hmong with a general perspective on serial verbs, especially in languages of isolating typological profiles, and provides an incisive summary of current theoretical debates. Lord 1993 offers a comprehensive analysis of patterns of grammaticalization in serial verb constructions across a number of languages, mostly from West Africa. Stewart 2001 analyzes serial verb constructions in Ewe, with examples from a few other West African languages and some Creoles, cast within the Minimalist framework, formulating a serialization parameter. Sebba 1987 is the first comprehensive monograph on serial verbs, with a history of studies and illustrations from a variety of languages, focusing on an extensive analysis of Sranan, a Creole of Suriname. Veenstra 1996 contains a general discussion of serial verbs in Saramaccan, with an outline of general properties of serial verbs. Wu 1992 contains a general perspective on serial verbs across a variety of languages (cast within a generative framework), outlining the properties shared by one-word verb-verb combinations in Chinese and serial verbs in other languages.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2018. *Serial verbs*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive discussion of serial verbs in a cross-linguistic perspective across languages from every part of the world. Elaborating and expanding on the typology of serial verbs in Aikhenvald 2006 (cited under Articles), the book offers a brief history of studies, summarizes the essential criteria for serial verbs and their composition, meanings, functions, and histories, outlines role in child language acquisition, and provides typological properties of serializing languages. Suitable as a textbook for advanced courses in syntax.

Jarkey, Nerida. 2015. *Serial verbs in White Hmong*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A comprehensive analysis of serial verbs in White Hmong, a Hmong-Mien language, with a clear outline of the history of studies of serial verbs, their definitional properties, and their realization in a variety of languages, using some concepts from Role and Reference Grammar. Compares serial verbs with superficially similar constructions and addresses their grammaticalization in White Hmong, within a wider typological perspective. A revision of the author's 1991 PhD dissertation (University of Sydney).

Lord, Carol. 1993. *Historical change in serial verb constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A major study of synchronic properties and diachronic development of serial verb constructions with a focus on West African and Asian languages (with a brief history of their studies). A comprehensive discussion of patterns of grammaticalization within serial verbs, including the development of comitative and locative verbs into prepositions, complementizers and subordinators, adverbs and auxiliaries, and of

argument-adding functions of serial verbs. Contains a useful outline of some typological features of serializing languages. Can be used as a textbook for advanced courses in syntax and typology.

Sebba, Mark. 1987. *The syntax of serial verb constructions: An investigation into serialization in Sranan and other languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

The first comprehensive monograph on the general principles of verb serialization with illustration from Creoles, West African languages (mostly Kwa), Chinese, and a few languages from Southeast Asia, with an overview of the literature and analytic approaches, a working definition, and a classification of serial verbs. The specific focus is on the analysis of serial verbs in Sranan, a European-based Creole spoken in Suriname.

Stewart, Osamuyimen Thompson. 2001. *The serial verb construction parameter*. New York: Garland.

A partial investigation of serial verbs cast in the Minimalist framework, mostly limited to one West African language and only two types of serial verbs, “resultative” and “consequential,” with a number of conclusions concerning the marking of categories in serial verbs and argument-sharing and transitivity properties not borne out by facts of most languages.

Veenstra, Tonjes. 1996. *Serial verbs in Saramaccan: Predication and Creole genesis*. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.

A general discussion of serial verbs in Saramaccan, a European-based Creole of Surinam, with a general characterization of serial verbs, including their prosodic properties, relations between the components, and shared syntactic arguments (within the generative grammar approach). Offers a view of serial verbs in a variety of languages, especially Creoles, contributing to a view on their genesis (partly explained through substrate influence).

Wu, Daoping. 1992. *On serial verb constructions*. PhD diss., Univ. of Maryland.

A brief cross-linguistic discussion of serial verbs in Chinese, Caribbean Creoles, West African, and Dravidian languages followed by an analysis of one-word serial verbs in Chinese (traditionally called “compounds”)—the first book-length source to include these in the discussion of serial verbs alongside multi-word constructions. Cast within the generative framework of the time.

Edited Collections

Joseph and Zwicky 1990 covers general issues in serial verb constructions and case studies from Creole and other languages. Lefebvre 1991 contains case studies on serial verbs in a number of languages, their structure, and cognitive correlates. Bradshaw 1993 focuses on serial verbs in Oceanic and neighboring languages. Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006 contains a general analytic perspective and the analysis of serial verb constructions from fifteen languages cast in terms of the division of symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verbs. Senft 2008 (cited under Languages of the Austronesian Family: General) outlines the defining features of serial verbs with case studies from a selection of languages of the Pacific.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., and R. M. W. Dixon, eds. 2006. *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A collection of sixteen chapters, starting with Aikhenvald’s introduction setting the parameters of variation and justifying the classification of serial verbs into asymmetrical and symmetrical, followed by chapters on serial verbs in Cantonese, Goemai, Khwe, Ewe, Eastern Kayah Li, Thai, Tariana, Dumo, Mwotlap, Tetun Dili, Toqabaqita, Olutec, and multi-verb constructions in Wolaitta; a summary by Dixon discusses serial verbs in Dyirbal. Can be used as a textbook for advanced courses in syntax and typology.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., and Pieter C. Muysken. 2011. *Multi-verb constructions: A view from the Americas*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

The volume, based on a workshop at MPI Nijmegen, starts with Aikhenvald's overview of different types of multi-verb constructions in the languages of the Americas, with special focus on serial verbs, their functions, meanings, and development, followed by chapters dealing with Northern Paiute, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Teribe, Ecuadorian Quechua, Uchumataqu, Shipibo-Konibo, Awetí and Tupí-Guaraní, Yurakaré, and Movima.

Bradshaw, Joel, ed. 1993. *Special issue: Papers on verb serialization*. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32.1.

A special section of *Oceanic Linguistics* featuring five papers on serial verbs in Oceanic languages Lewo, Namakir, Loni, Numbami and Jabêm, and some problematic serial verbs in Creole languages, relying on some concepts of Role and Reference Grammar.

Joseph, B. D., and A. M. Zwicky, eds. 1990. *When verbs collide: Papers from the 1990 Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs*. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 39. Columbus: Ohio State Univ., Department of Linguistics.

A collection of eighteen papers from a conference on serial verbs, starting with outlining general features of serial verbs by Zwicky, Seuren, and Schiller, followed by a discussion of serial verbs in a number of Creole languages, Marathi, Tamil, Walapai, classical Japanese, Chinese, and colloquial Arabic, multi-verb constructions in Korean, and quasi-serial verb constructions in English by Pullum.

Lefebvre, Claire, ed. 1991. *Serial verb constructions: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A collection of six chapters dealing with serial verbs and multi-verb constructions in Kwa, Bantu, Chinese, and a number of languages of Papua New Guinea, and multi-verb sequences in Misumalpan, their derivation from underlying structures (within a generative perspective) and cognitive correlations, and similar constructions in other languages.

Articles

The defining features of serial verbs as monopredicative and monoclausal sequences of verbs that do not contain any marker of subordination and coordination were explicitly formulated by Foley and Olson 1985 within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. The properties of serial verbs are discussed in Durie 1997 from a functionalist perspective, refuting many of the proposals in Baker 1989. A typology of serial verbs in terms of their composition, structure, grammaticalization, and lexicalization is consolidated and elaborated on in Aikhenvald 2006 and summarized in Dixon 2006. Correlations between constituent order and serialization proposed in Schiller 1990 are further discussed in Durie 1997 and shown to have only partial validity in Aikhenvald 2006. An attempt to limit the notion of serial verbs in Haspelmath 2016 contains numerous mistakes. The definition and the features of serial verbs have been the focus of studies cast in the framework of transformational grammar and generative semantics (Stahlke 1970, Schachter 1974) and the minimalist framework (Déchaine 1993, Baker 1989).

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. *Serial verb constructions in typological perspective*. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 1–68. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A cross-linguistic investigation of parameters for the analysis of serial verbs with a fundamental division into asymmetrical and symmetrical types in terms of their composition, with their further classification in terms of wordhood and contiguity, and marking of categories (single or concordant), argument sharing, semantic types, and patterns of grammaticalization. Makes a clear distinction between compounding as a derivational process and one-word serial verb constructions and provides an overview to the volume.

Baker, Mark C. 1989. Object sharing and projection in serial verb constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.4: 513–553.

A discussion of argument sharing in serial verb constructions cast in the Minimalist framework, arguing that serial verbs are double-headed, and claiming object sharing to be a definitional feature of serial verb constructions. This approach does not account for serial verbs with multiple components and those where subjects are not shared (including switch-function serialization). Further criticism is in Durie 1997, pp. 295–320.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 1993. Serial verb constructions. In *Syntax: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Vol. 1. Edited by J. Jacobs, A. von Stechow, W. Sternefeld, and T. Vennemann, 799–825. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

A discussion of serial verbs and their differences from coordination, subordination, and constructions with auxiliaries, with a focus on Kwa languages, cast in the Minimalist framework. Issues discussed include headedness of the constructions, focus, negation, and theta-relations within serial verbs. Serial verbs are analyzed as monoclausal instances of adjunction of one VP to another.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2006. Serial verb constructions: Conspectus and coda. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 338–350. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A concise summary of definitional properties of serial verbs in terms of their grammatical and semantic features, covering their monoclausal and monopredicative character, transitivity value, argument sharing, wordhood, and contiguity, addressing the fundamental division of serial verbs into symmetrical and asymmetrical, with their distinct tendencies toward lexicalization and grammaticalization. Serial verbs in select languages are contrasted in their frequency. The paper argues in favor of asymmetrical serial verbs in Dyirbal.

Durie, Mark. 1997. Grammatical structures in verb serialization. In *Complex predicates*. Edited by Alex Alsina, Joan Bresnan, and Peter Sells, 289–354. Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

A general introduction to numerous issues in the studies of verb serialization, with a history of studies and a discussion of defining properties, including argument sharing and fusion (with a large section devoted to critiquing the approach in Baker 1989). Serial verbs are divided into balanced and unbalanced in terms of their composition. Grammaticalization and lexicalization within serial verbs, iconicity relations between the components, and exceptions to these are addressed.

Foley, William, and Mike Olson. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. In *Grammar inside and outside the clause*. Edited by J. Nichols and A. C. Woodbury, 17–60. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

The first consistent cross-linguistically informed argument for the monoclausal analysis of serial verbs and their differences from sequences of clauses, addressing the same value of tense, aspect, modality, mood, and negation for the whole construction, and patterns of argument sharing (within the framework of the Role and Reference Grammar). Offers a hierarchy of serializability of verbs, semantics of serial verbs, and a discussion of typological features of serializing languages.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2016. The serial verb construction: Comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalizations. *Language and Linguistics* 17.3: 291–319.

In an attempt to review the notion of serial verbs, a serial verb is redefined as “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate–argument relation between the verbs (p. 292),” thus limiting the concept of serial verb and arbitrarily excluding a number of types (e.g., directional and causative constructions). Argument sharing is viewed in terms of semantic roles rather than syntactic functions.

Schachter, Paul. 1974. A non-transformational account of serial verb constructions. *Studies in African Linguistics Supp.* 5:153–271.

An attempt at a reinterpretation of serial verbs within the framework of transformational grammar, proposing that serial verbs be produced by phrase structure rules rather than via transformations, drawing attention to serial verbs that cannot be explained as a multi-sentence structure and outlining a number of additional grammatical properties of serial verbs in Akan, including the marking of the subject on each component rather than once per construction.

Schiller, Eric. 1990. The typology of serial verb constructions. *CLS* 26:393–406.

Serial verb constructions across the languages of the world are divided into four types depending on relationships between the verbs and the marking of grammatical categories. The presence of serial verbs is associated with the presence of verb-final and verb-medial order of constituents; serial verbs are believed to be encountered in languages that are most consistent typologically with regard to the ordering of head and complement.

Stahlke, Herbert. 1970. Serial verbs. *Studies in African Linguistics* 1.1: 60–99.

An attempt at a semantic and syntactic analysis of serial verbs within the framework of generative semantics (focusing on Kwa languages). Serial verb constructions are analyzed as “overt case markers” or as “complex lexical items,” rather than derived from coordination. The paper outlines typological features of serializing languages (e.g., a limited inventory of verbs). This first lengthy discussion of serial verbs suffers from lack of a strict definition of the concept.

Serial Verbs and Event Representation

Serial verb constructions describe what can be conceptualized as a single event: this semantic feature correlates with their status as one single predicate, and their monoclausal character. This has been highlighted by numerous scholars of serial verbs as part of their definition, contrasting them with multiclausal sequences of coordinate or subordinate clauses that represent several events (see General Works). The idea that the verb phrases in the serial construction necessarily refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event is clearly formulated in Lord 1973, p. 269 (Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions). The notion of “single event” is not easy to define since the exact boundary between a single event and a macro-event consisting of several subevents can be fuzzy. Bisang 2009 suggests a new definition for serial verbs, attempting to derive their grammatical properties, including sharing tense and mood value, from “their representation of a single event.” This purely semantic definition runs the danger of obscuring the boundary between serial verbs and other complex predicates. Riccio 2017 attempts to define serial verbs purely in terms of their semantics, expanding the notion of serial verbs to other multi-verb constructions. Pawley 1993 discusses the representation of events and macro-events in Kalam, a language with a variety of complex serial verb constructions, with a special focus on how this is different from event representation in English. Pawley and Lane 1998 analyzes two semantic and structural types of serial verbs in Kalam—the tightly knit single scene serial verbs whose components do not necessarily share locational specification and their objects—and more loosely knit multi-scene serial verbs that offer a detailed representation of sub-components of one macro-event. Givón 1991 investigates the correlation between semantic cohesion and potential pauses in serial verbs and other complex predicates. Defina 2016 is an innovative approach to delineating single-eventhood within serial verbs by correlating it with corresponding gestures. Constraints on combining several verbs in one serial verb construction correlate with cultural stereotypes, as a verb sequence within a serial verb will be acceptable only if it matches a recognizable event-type (also addressed in Jarkey 2015 and Aikhenvald 2018 [both cited under Monographs] and Aikhenvald 2006, Dixon 2006, and Durie 1997 [all cited under Articles]). Bruce 1988 focuses on how serial verbs in Alambak are acceptable only if they reflect a sequence of sub-action commonly associated culturally. Enfield 2002 analyzes conventionalized expressions of recognizable events types cross-linguistically and with a special focus on posture events in Lao.

Bisang, Walter. 2009. Serial verb constructions. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3.3: 792–819.

An attempt to offer a new definition of serial verbs, based on the suggestion that monoclausality and other features of serial verbs, including shared grammatical values, shared arguments, and intonational properties, can be derived from serial verbs representing a single “event.” Viewed from a purely semantic angle, the term *serial verb* can then be extended to a variety of other multi-verb constructions.

Bruce, Les. 1988. *Serialization: From syntax to lexicon*. *Studies in Language* 12.1: 19–49.

This oft-quoted paper, a detailed study of serial verbs in Alamlak, from the Sepik Hill family in Papua New Guinea, focuses on the ways in which serial verbs represent one event, as a sequence of sub-actions that are commonly associated culturally, or for which there is a pragmatic reason to occur together, highlighting pragmatic constraints and discourse functions of serial verbs. This paper laid the foundations for understanding constraints on what may constitute one event as expressed through a serial verb construction.

Defina, Rebecca. 2016. *Do serial verb constructions describe single events? A study of co-speech gestures in Avatime*. *Language* 92.4: 890–910.

Starting with a discussion of the applicability of the notion of single eventhood to serial verbs, this article investigates gestures accompanying speech in Avatime, a Kwa language from Ghana. A strong tendency for speakers to use one single gesture occurring with a serial verb construction (in contrast to complex clauses that tend to be accompanied by multiple gestures) offers additional support for single-event interpretation of serial verbs in this language.

Enfield, N. J. 2002. *Cultural logic and syntactic productivity: Associated posture constructions in Lao*. In *Ethnosyntax: Explorations in grammar and culture*. Edited by N. J. Enfield, 231–258. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A concise analysis of the conventionalized expression of a recognizable event type with serial verbs in Lao and other languages. The choice as to whether to employ a serial verb or any other construction is shown to be contingent on cultural constructs and types, using the example of associated posture expressions in Lao, based on experimental work with the speakers and their grammaticality judgments.

Givón, Talmy. 1991. *Some substantive issues concerning verb serialization: Grammatical vs. cognitive packaging*. In *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches*. Edited by Claire Lefebvre, 137–184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A discussion of serial verbs as means of packaging several sub-actions into a single unit representing one event. Four Papuan languages (Kalam and Alamlak, with serial verbs, and Tairora and Chuave, with no verb serialization) and Tok Pisin (with few serial verbs) are compared in terms of potential pauses between components. Compactness in form matches that in temporal packaging, from serial verbs to clause chains.

Pawley, Andrew. 1993. *A language which defies description by ordinary means*. In *The role of theory in language description*. Edited by W. A. Foley, 87–129. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A pioneering investigation of ways of constructing an event and representing its varied facets in Kalam, a Papuan language of the New Guinea Highlands. Kalam sentences are constructed of sequences of verbs, which can be monoclausal or multiclausal, and they may reflect one macro-event—a technique that sets it apart from other languages, including English. Frequently associated actions result in forming idiomatic collocations.

Pawley, Andrew, and Jonathan Lane. 1998. *From event sequence to grammar: Serial verb constructions in Kalam*. In *Case, typology and grammar*. Edited by Anna Siewierska and Jae Jung Song, 201–228. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

“Single-scene” and “multi-scene” serial verbs in Kalam differ in terms of a number of grammatical features, including object sharing, wordhood, and contiguity. All serial verbs share their subjects. Multi-scene serial verbs are used for reporting multiple interlinked sub-events, as a compact mechanism different from clause-chaining. Multi-scene serial verbs have considerable internal complexity and may undergo lexicalization. The two types of serial verbs reflect a different level of bonding between verb stems.

Riccio, Anna. 2017. *Serial verb constructions and event structure representation*. In *Argument realization in complex predicates and complex events*. Edited by Brian Nolan and Elke Diedrichsen, 79–114. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Serial verbs are primarily defined as representing one event, on a purely semantic basis. This is based on a revision of the notion of event, within the framework of Role and Reference grammar, so as to include a wide variety of multi-verb constructions under the umbrella of a general notion of “serial verb.”

Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions express a variety of grammatical meanings, especially so in languages of analytic and isolating profile with little inflectional and derivational morphology. Minor components (from a closed class of verbs) in asymmetrical serial verb constructions tend to grammaticalize into grammatical markers. Lord, et al. 2002 addresses the various paths of grammaticalization of verbs of transfer into markers of arguments and of valency increase in a selection of West African and Southeast Asian languages. Ross 2004 focuses on grammaticalization within directional serial verbs across Oceanic languages. Botne 1998 discusses the emergence of future tenses from the grammaticalized verb of speech in Bantu languages; Van Klinken 2000 traces the development of coordinators in Tetun Dili to grammaticalized serial verbs; Seiler 1986 analyzes a typologically uncommon grammaticalization path, from a component of a serial verb to a verbal classifier. Directional verbs within serial verb constructions in Oceanic languages tend to develop into prepositions, some of which retain some verbal properties, the issue addressed in Lichtenberk 1991 (see also Durie 1988, cited under Languages of the Austronesian Family: Oceanic Languages). The discussion of gradual grammaticalization of the verb “follow” is in Lichtenberk 2013. Lord 1973 addresses gradual category change of verbs with locative and comitative meanings in serial verb constructions in West African languages (discussed in further detail in the context of historical development of serial verbs in Lord 1993 cited under Monographs). Huttar and Koanting 1993 analyzes incomplete grammaticalization of components of serial verbs within constructions with comparative meaning. Lawal 1991 contrasts the degree of grammaticalization of two complementizers transparently related to verbs within serial verb constructions. Luke and Bodomo 2000 contrasts serial verbs in Dagaare, a Gur language, and Cantonese (cited under Sinitic Languages).

Botne, Robert. 1998. The evolution of future tenses from serial “say” constructions in Central Eastern Bantu. *Diachronica* 15.2: 207–230.

Markers of future tense in numerous Bantu languages come from the reanalysis of serial verb constructions containing motion verbs and the verb of wanting. Future markers in Central Eastern Bantu languages (from Malawi, northern Mozambique, southern Tanzania, and Zambia) originate from grammaticalized verbs of speech.

Huttar, George, and Evert Koanting. 1993. Are Ndjuká comparative markers verbs? In *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization*. Edited by Francis Byrne and John Holm, 165–174. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An incisive analysis of two markers of comparative constructions, *moo* and *pasa*, in Ndyuka, a Creole from Suriname. Both forms can be used as verbs in monoverbal sentences. Within comparative constructions both have verbal features (such as the use of an aspect marker), *pasa* more so than *moo* (which is more preposition-like, as it can be stranded).

Lawal, Adenike S. 1991. Yoruba *pé* and *kí*: Verbs or complementizers. *Studies in African Linguistics* 22.1: 73–84.

An exemplary analysis of two problematic instances of gradual grammaticalization in a West African language. The form *pé* has the same segmental shape as the verb *pé* “say.” In its function as a complementizer it is different from the synchronically homophonous verb: for instance, unlike other verbs in the language, the complementizer *pé* cannot be reduplicated and nominalized; the same applies to *kí*, the other complementizer of verbal origin on the language.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1991. On the gradualness of grammaticalization. In *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Vol. 1, *Focus on theoretical and methodological issues*. Edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and B. Heine, 37–80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A comprehensive study of grammaticalization processes as gradual developments, with special focus on how, in a selection of Oceanic languages, verbs from a closed class within serial verb constructions acquire some properties of prepositions, retaining some of the original verbal features. The process of grammaticalization results in the emergence of new types of prepositions, and also conjunctions.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2013. Development of reason and cause markers in Oceanic. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52.1: 86–1045.

The proto-Oceanic transitive verb “follow, be in motion behind somebody or something, accompany” developed into a preposition with an array of meanings, including reason, and a clause linker, across a number of Oceanic languages. An exemplary analysis of serial verb constructions with this verb, and grammaticalization patterns in Oceanic, with parallels in Bislama (a Creole spoken in Vanuatu).

Lord, Carol. 1973. Serial verbs in transition. *Studies in African Linguistics* 4.3: 269–296.

A pioneering study of grammaticalization and gradual category change of verbs with locative and comitative meanings into prepositions within serial verb constructions in a number of West African languages (Ewe, Ga, and Twi (dialect of Akan)), with a brief outline of major grammatical and semantic properties of serial verbs.

Lord, Carol, Shoichi Iwasaki, and Foong Ha Yap. 2002. Grammaticalization of “give”: African and Asian perspectives. In *New reflections on grammaticalization*. Edited by Ilse Wischer and Gabriele Diewald, 217–235. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A cross-linguistic study of patterns of grammaticalization of the verb of transfer, “give,” across a selection of Creoles and a number of languages of West Africa and Mainland Southeast Asia within serial verb constructions, into exponents of causation and beneficiary marking.

Ross, Malcolm D. 2004. The grammaticalization of directional verbs in Oceanic languages. In *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages: Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Edited by Isabelle Bril and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, 297–329. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

An exhaustive study of patterns of grammaticalization of verbs of motion and direction within serial verb constructions across Oceanic languages into exponents of direction within the verbal complex and also prepositions and relators.

Seiler, W. 1986. Noun-classificatory verbal prefixes as reanalysed serial verbs. *Lingua* 68.2–3: 189–206.

Verbal classifiers in Imonda and numerous related languages from the Waris language family in Papua New Guinea characterize the noun in terms of its shape and inherent properties. Verbal classifiers developed as a result of reanalysis of verbs of handling within erstwhile serial verb constructions. This grammaticalization path appears to be unique.

van Klinken, Catharina. 2000. From verb to coordinator in Tetun. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39.2: 350–363.

Two verbs in Tetun, a central eastern Malayo-Polynesian language of Timor, developed into prepositions and coordinators (with some verbal properties), as a consequence of their grammaticalization within serial verb constructions. The forms continue being used as independent verbs.

Serial Verbs in Language Acquisition and in Language Dissolution

Studies of child language acquisition of serial verbs undertaken so far are limited to two isolating languages. Fung 2011 and Yang 2006 focus on Cantonese. Pioneering analysis of child language acquisition of serial verbs in Mandarin Chinese is found in Erbaugh 1982 and Erbaugh 1992. Adone 2012 discusses the issue for two Creole languages. Helms-Park 2003 discusses the use of serial verbs by second language learners of English. The only study of serial verbs in the situation of language dissolution in aphasia is Packard 2006 on Mandarin Chinese.

Adone, Dany. 2012. *The acquisition of Creole languages: How children surpass their input*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This is the only book-length publication on child language acquisition of Morisyen and Seichellwa, two Creole languages spoken in Mauritius and the Seychelles, respectively, and it contains extensive discussion of how children acquire serial verbs. Acquisition starts at an early age; children produce kinds of serial verb constructions that are not attested in adult speech, following an analogy with existing structures.

Erbaugh, Mary S. 1982. *Coming to order: Natural selection and the origin of syntax in the Mandarin speaking child*. PhD diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley.

A pioneering study of child language acquisition of Mandarin, including serial verbs. Many serial verb constructions with the minor verbs *zài* “be at, locative” and *gěi* “give, dative-benefactive” were produced by children before the age of two. Noncontiguous multiword serial verb constructions, including directional serial verbs, became productive from the age of two. Serial verb constructions were common in the speech of children once they were able to produce sentences of three words.

Erbaugh, Mary S. 1992. *The acquisition of Mandarin*. In *The crosslinguistic study of language acquisition*. Vol. 3. Edited by Dan Isaac Slobin, 373–455. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

A summary of the principles of child language acquisition of Mandarin with a section on serial verbs confirming their early mastery by children, which is very different from the relatively late acquisition of combinations of verbs linked together with a subordinating marker in Turkish related to children’s narrative proficiency.

Fung, So-hing Sandra. 2011. *The emergence of serial verb constructions in child Cantonese*. MA diss., Univ. of Hong Kong.

A discussion of the emergence and development of serial verb constructions by Cantonese-speaking children from 1;03 to 4;06, with two-verb contiguous constructions followed by two-verb noncontiguous ones; then come multi-verb contiguous and only then multi-verb noncontiguous. Cantonese-dominant bilinguals resemble Cantonese monolinguals in their acquisition of serial verbs.

Helms-Park, Rena. 2003. *Transfer in SLA and Creoles: The implications of causative serial verbs in the interlanguage of Vietnamese ESL learners*. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 25.2: 211–244.

Speakers of languages with an extensive system of serial verb constructions tend to transfer these structures onto languages such as English. Vietnamese English learners—even at a relatively advanced level—produced serial-like verb constructions with the meaning of causation in their English. These conclusions provide support for the role of substrate in the genesis of serial verbs.

Packard, Jerome L. 2006. *The manifestation of aphasia syndromes in Chinese*. In *The handbook of East Asian psycholinguistics*. Vol. 1, *Chinese*. Edited by Ping Li, Li Hai Tan, Elizabeth Bates, and Ovid J. L. Tzeng, 330–345. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Serial verb constructions are absent from the speech of nonfluent aphasic speakers of Mandarin Chinese, as part of the general loss of syntactic complexity in language dissolution. The limited use of single-word serial verb constructions may well be due to difficulties aphasic patients have in producing verbs rather than nouns.

Yang, Xiaolu. 2006. *Syntactic complexity and productivity: A study of early verbs in L1 acquisition of Mandarin Chinese*. In *BUCLD 30: Online proceedings supplement*. Proceedings of the 30th annual Boston University Conference on Language Development. Edited by David Bamman, Tatiana Magnitskaia, and Colleen Zaller, 1–8. Boston: Boston Univ.

This study of how young speakers of Mandarin acquire various syntactic categories, among them serial verbs (called verb compounds), shows that serial verbs are produced between the ages of 1;05 and 1;11.

Serial Verbs in Individual Areas, Languages, and Families

Serial verbs are a prominent feature of at least three-quarters of the languages of the world. Multi-word serial verbs tend to be a property of languages with analytic and isolating profile. One-word serial verbs are a feature of synthetic languages. Productive verb serialization has long been recognized as a feature of numerous African languages, especially but not exclusively of those from East Africa and the majority of Creole languages. Serial verbs containing just two components have been described for Indo-European and Dravidian languages and also for a few languages from the Finno-Ugric family, and Chadic and Semitic within Afroasiatic. Multi-word serial verbs are a prominent feature of the languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, including Sinitic, Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer, and Hmong-Mien. One-word serial verbs have been recognized in Japanese. Synthetic languages of Meso-America and North America tend to have one-word serial verbs. Within South America, serial verb constructions of all types are found in the languages of Amazonia and adjacent regions. Many languages of the Chaco, a linguistic area south of the Lowland Amazonia, have multi-word serial verbs. Verb serialization of different kinds in the indigenous languages of Australia has been discovered fairly recently. Serial verbs are a striking feature of the majority of Oceanic languages (a subgroup of the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian branch of the extensive Austronesian family), and they are also found in a few other subgroups of Austronesian. The Papuan languages of New Guinea exhibit a wide variety of diverse types of serial verb constructions.

African Languages

Christaller 1875 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) is the first source on an African language to have clearly recognized the phenomenon of verb serialization. Balmer and Grant 1929 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) introduces the term *serial verb*. Kiessling 2011 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) offers an overview of serial verb constructions in various families in African languages, including Kwa, Gur, Adamawa, Ubangi, Edo, Nupe, Idoma, Ijoid, and Eastern Benue-Congo, in addition to a comprehensive study of Isu, a Grasslands Bantu language. Serial verbs as a common feature of West African languages are addressed in Welmers 1973 (cited under Monographs and Grammars). George 1973 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) analyzes serial verbs across Kwa languages. Serial verbs, their features, and comparison with other African languages are addressed in many comprehensive grammars of African languages, including Ikoro 1995 on Kana, Elders 2000 on Mundang, Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 on Fongbe, Carlson 1994 on Gur, and Noonan 1992 on Lango (all cited under Monographs and Grammars). Ameka 2005, Ameka 2013, Ameka and Essegbey 2013, Bamgbos'e 1974, Bamgbos'e 1982, and George 1975 (all cited under General Articles) address typological features of serializing languages with a special focus on West African (mostly Kwa). Givón 1975 (cited under General Articles) addresses the development of serial verbs across the putative Niger-Congo grouping. Stewart 1963 (cited under General Articles) reintroduces the term *serial verb construction* applying it to argument-marking serial verbs in Twi (Akan). Ansre 1966 (cited under General Articles) and Botne 1998; Lawal 1991; Lord 1973; and Lord, et al. 2002 (all cited under Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions) address the processes of grammaticalization in serial verbs, further elaborated on in Lord 1993 (cited under Monographs). General features of Kwa languages, with special attention to Akan, are outlined in Stahlke 1970 and Schachter 1974 (cited under Articles). Defina 2016 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation) focuses on correlations between gestures and eventhood in serial verbs in contrast to other verb sequences in Avatime. Individual studies of serial verbs in West African languages are Agheyisi 1986 on Edo, Ameka 2006 on Ewe, Bodomo 1998 on Dagaare and Akan, Defina 2016 on Avatime (all cited under Articles on West African Languages), Lawal 1989 (cited under General Articles) as well as Lawal 1993 on Yoruba in a general perspective, Lord 1975 on Igbo, Lefebvre 1991 on Fon, van Leynseele 1975 on Anyi, N'Guessan 2000 on Baule, and Osam 1997 on Akan (all cited under Articles on West African Languages); Kilian-Hatz 2006 and König 2010 (cited under Articles on Khoisan Languages) outline serial verbs in different families of Khoisan languages. Amuzu 2013 (cited under Mixed Languages and Code-Switching) contains a brief characterization of serial verbs in Ewe. Winkler and Obeng 2000 (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages) offers a brief description of serial verbs in Akan. General issues in the structure of serial verbs in West African languages feature in the literature on Creole Languages.

Monographs and Grammars

The existence of serial verbs in Ewe and Akan is signaled in the pioneering studies Balmer and Grant 1929 and Christaller 1875; Welmers 1973 outlines a few features of serial verbs in West African languages; George 1973 describes serialization across Kwa languages. Kiessling 2011 offers a general picture of the spread of verb serialization in African languages, focusing on a Grasslands Bantu language.

Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 discusses synchronic and diachronic properties of serial verbs in Fongbe and other Gbe varieties. Stewart 2001 (cited under Monographs) is an analysis of serial verbs in Ewe cast in the Minimalist framework. Elders 2000 is a concise description of serial verbs in an Adamawa language, Carlson 1994 that of a Gur language, Ikoro 1995 that of a Cross-River Benue Congo language, and Noonan 1992 that of a West Nilotic language.

Balmer, W. T., and F. C. F. Grant. 1929. *A grammar of the Fante-Akan language*. London: Atlantis Press.

An early grammar of Akan, a Kwa language, and its dialects. The first attested source to have introduced the term *serial verb*, referring to “the use of double or twofold verbs,” observing, inter alia, that “Fante tends to analyse, into separate parts, actions which in other languages are conceived as a whole” (p. 115) and employ serial verbs where English would employ a preposition.

Carlson, Robert. 1994. *A grammar of Supyire*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive grammar of a language from the Gur family, spoken in Mali. Multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions are shown to be distinct from verb sequences with consecutive meanings. Serial verbs express grammatical meanings, including directionality, aspect, and modality. A number of components within serial verbs are described as functioning as manner adverbs.

Christaller, J. G. 1875. *A grammar of the Asante and Fante languages called Tshi [Chwee, Twij]: based on the Akuapem dialect with reference to the other Akan and Fante dialects*. Basel, Switzerland: Basel Evangelical Missionary Society.

A pioneering grammar of the Akan language and its dialects that clearly identified the phenomenon of serial verbs, distinguishing “essential combinations” (with one verb being the “principal,” and another being “supplemental” to it) and “accidental combinations” with “two or more predicates . . . expressing different successive actions, or a state simultaneous with another state or action, but having the same subject” (p. 73).

Elders, Stefan. 2000. *Grammaire mundang*. School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS) Publications, 97. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School of Asia, African, and Amerindian Studies.

A comprehensive grammar of Mundang, an Adamawa language spoken in southern Chad and northern Cameroon, with a detailed description of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs and how these have to be differentiated from coordinate clauses and consecutivization. Serial verbs can have directional, aspectual, valency-changing, and comparative meanings.

George, Isaac. 1973. *A grammar of Kwa-type verb serialization: The nature and significance in current generative theory*. PhD diss., Univ. of California.

An in-depth study of serial verbs in the Kwa languages of Nigeria within the framework of the then current generative theory, with a focus on their varied uses in Nupe. Serial verbs are used in numerous functions, including datives, benefactives, and comitatives. It is argued that the restricted use of prepositions is a corollary of the varied functions of serial verbs. Serial verbs are also linked to the preference of “nuclear” verbs with generic meanings in Nupe.

Ikoro, Suanu. 1995. *The Kana language*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS.

A comprehensive grammar of Kana, a Cross-River Benue-Congo language, with a variety of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions. All the components share the subject, but not necessarily the object. Tense and aspect are marked once, on the first component. Serial verb constructions have a number of valency-changing functions (such as instrumental and benefactive) and express comparison. Choosing a serial verb over a monoverbal predicate can have a pragmatic motivation as a means of emphasizing the predicate phrase.

Kiessling, Roland. 2011. *Verb serialisation in Isu (West-Ring): A Grassfields language of Cameroon*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

A pioneering and comprehensive analysis of serial verbs in a Grassfield Bantu language of Cameroon. Starts with an overview of serial verbs in African languages. A comparison of serial verbs with other multi-verb constructions is followed by an in-depth discussion of symmetrical and asymmetrical noncontiguous multi-word serial verbs. There is additional discussion of a new class of adverbs via grammaticalization of minor verbs within asymmetrical constructions.

Lefebvre, Claire, and Anne-Marie Brousseau. 2002. *A grammar of Fongbe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive grammar of Fongbe (or Fon), a Kwa language from Benin, with a detailed discussion of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions, their definitional features, and the ways in which they differ from clause sequences in terms of the expression of categories, order of components, and focusing, with a comprehensive comparison of the properties of serial verbs across the Gbe varieties. Semantic types of serial verbs (including aspectual, instrumental, and comparative) are addressed in minute detail. The status of verb sequences with verbs “be too much” and “be enough” as serial verbs is problematic.

Noonan, Michael. 1992. *A grammar of Lango*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive reference grammar of a Western Nilotic (Nilo-Saharan) language spoken in Uganda, based on work with consultants located in the United States. The language has limited serialization, with multi-word noncontiguous constructions characterized by concordant marking of verbal categories. Serial verb constructions express directional, sequential, causative, and comparative meanings.

Welmers, Wm E. 1973. *African language structures*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

A general survey of phonology, morphology, and syntax of African languages with a short overview of serial verbs across West African languages. Examples of sequential and other semantic types of serial verbs come from Igbo and Efik, followed by Yoruba and other Niger-Congo languages. Consecutivization is treated as a subtype of serialization.

General Articles

Ameka 2005 focuses on the areal dimensions and variation in serial verbs across the West African languages in coastal areas. Ameka 2013 and Ameka and Essegbey 2013 address typological features of serial verbs in West Africa. Stewart 1963 analyzes serial verbs in their argument-introducing functions in Twi (Akan), reintroducing the term *serial verb construction*. Ansre 1966 is a pioneering study recognizing special properties of components of serial verbs on their way toward becoming grammatical markers in West Africa. Bamgbos`e 1974, Bamgbos`e 1982, George 1975, and Givón 1975 outline typological properties of serial verb constructions in West African languages and across the putative Niger-Congo grouping, making connections among verb serialization, typological profiles of languages, and their syntactic change in terms of constituent order.

Ameka, Felix K. 2005. Multiverb constructions on the West African littoral: Micro-variation and areal typology. In *Grammar and beyond: Essays in honour of Lars Hellan*. Edited by Mila Vulchanova and Tor A. Áfarli, 15–42. Oslo, Norway: Novus.

An overview of multi-verb constructions in West African languages, carefully distinguishing serial verbs from consecutive constructions, overlapping clauses, and covert coordination, in terms of their properties, including grammaticalization, lexicalization, the expression of shared subject, and the marking of negation, aspect, and modality, with a special focus on Likpe.

Ameka, Felix K. 2013. Three place predicates in West African serialising languages. *Studies in African Linguistics* 41.2: 1–32.

A detailed discussion of the types and functions of three place predicates in a number of West African languages, mostly from the Kwa family, which goes against the popular hypothesis concerning the absence of ditransitive verbs in serializing languages where serial verbs

perform argument-adding functions.

Ameka F. K., and James Essegbey. 2013. Serialising languages: Verb-framed, satellite-framed or neither? *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 2.1: 19–38.

A concise argument against attempts to fit languages with serial verbs into the typological parameters of verb-framed versus satellite-framed. Serial verb constructions are composed of several verbs of equal status, and one cannot be treated as framing the other; therefore, a new concept is needed.

Ansre, Gilbert. 1966. The verbid: A caveat to serial verbs. *Journal of West African Languages* 3.1: 29–32.

A pioneering discussion of serial verbs in Ewe and a number of other West African languages that contain verbal forms which coexist with full verbs but have a reduced set of grammatical properties. These grammaticalized components in serial verbs are referred to as “verbids.”

Bamgbos`e, Ayo`. 1974. On serial verbs and verbal status. *Journal of West African Languages* 9.1: 17–48.

A classic paper on serial verbs, with a survey of literature and the focus on Yoruba. Serial verbs in Yoruba are classified into “modifying” type (where one verb modifies the other) and “linking type” with both verbs of equal status, which can be derived from an underlying clause sequence. Modifying verbs include bound forms no longer used on their own, calling for a reappraisal of the concept “serial verb.”

Bamgbos`e, Ayo`. 1982. Issues in the analysis of serial verb constructions. *Journal of West African Languages* 12.2: 3–21.

A reappraisal of serial verbs and the status of their components across a variety of West African languages, suggesting that the concatenation of verbs in the surface structure of serial verbs can result from convergence of different underlying structures, and that serial verbs form part of a continuum ranging from coordination through consecutivization to complex verbs.

George, Isaac. 1975. Typology of verb serialization. *Journal of West African Languages* 10.1: 78–97.

A typological study of subtypes of serial verb constructions in Kwa and other West African languages, classified by semantic types. Serial verbs are divided into comparative (equative versus non-equative), and non-comparative (covering non-simultaneous, which include sequential and resultative), and simultaneous, including concomitant, purposive, modality (covering instrumental, manner, causative, and accompaniment), and restrictive (locative, directional, dative, and benefactive).

Givón, Talmy. 1975. Serial verb constructions and syntactic change: Niger Congo. In *Word order and word order change*. Edited by Charles Li, 49–111. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.

A discussion of patterns of verb serialization in a number of language families from the putative Niger-Congo phylum, including Benue Kwa, Ijo, and Voltaic, their meanings and correlation with the patterns of order of constituents, arguing for a correlation between final verb-order and the presence of serial verbs, with a further focus on grammaticalization within serial verbs.

Lawal, Adenike S. 1989. The classification of Yoruba serial verb constructions. *Journal of West African Languages* 19.2: 1–14.

A survey of previous attempts at a classification of serial verb constructions in Yoruba in general perspective, followed by a proposal to analyze serial verbs as adverbial phrases, and a discussion of independent serial verbs (including those with directional and locational meanings, resultative, comparative, circumstantial, and purposive constructions), and serial verbs with one component having a prepositional meaning.

Stewart, J. M. 1963. Some restrictions on objects in Twi. *Journal of African Languages* 2.2: 145–149.

This classic paper reintroduces the term *serial verb construction* originally used in Balmer and Grant 1929 (cited under Monographs and Grammars) and provides a pioneering analysis of argument-introducing functions of serial verbs in Twi (Akan) cast in the transformation framework of the time. Serial verbs are seen to be derived from underlying coordinated sequences of clauses, with a subsequent deletion of co-referential subjects and the coordinator.

Articles on West African Languages

Agheyisi 1986 discusses two coexisting kinds of serial verb constructions in Edo. Ameka 2006 is an in-depth study of serial verbs in Ewe, in the context of other Kwa languages. Van Leynseele 1975 is a pioneering study of serial verbs and the ways of distinguishing them from other multi-verb structures in Anyi-Baule, a Kwa language. N'Guessan 2000 discusses serial verbs and the pragmatic foundation for their choice in Baulé. Defina 2016 analyzes serial verbs in Avatime, also Kwa. A comprehensive analysis of serial verbs and their pragmatic features is in Osam 1997. Bodomo 1998 offers a comparative analysis of serial verbs in Akan and Dagaare. Lawal 1989 (cited under General Articles) and Lawal 1993 offer a discussion of serial verbs in Yoruba, Lord 1975 is a pioneering study of one-word serial verbs in Igbo and their similarities with multi-word serial verbs in other languages. Lefebvre 1991 is an in-depth analysis of one type of serial verbs in Fon.

Agheyisi, Rebecca N. 1986. Verb serialization and lexical reanalysis: The case of compound verbs in Edo. *Studies in African Linguistics* 17.3: 269–282.

A discussion of multi-word serial verb constructions in Edo, an Edoid language from Nigeria, in the context of serial verbs in African and East Asian languages, with special focus on single-word serial verbs (labeled “compounds”), with one of the components undergoing grammaticalization into a verbal affix.

Ameka, Felix K. 2006. Ewe serial verb constructions in their grammatical context. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 124–143. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive discussion of multi-word contiguous serial verbs in Ewe, a Kwa language from Ghana. Serial verbs are contrasted with consecutive clauses and overlapping clauses in terms of argument sharing, overt expression of subjects, and mood marking. Grammaticalization and lexicalization in serial verbs is contrasted with other multi-verb structures. The marking of aspect, modality, focus, and negation are discussed alongside the possibility of questioning a component of a serial verb.

Bodomo, Adams B. 1998. Serial verbs as complex predicates in Dagaare and Akan. In *Language history and linguistic description in Africa: Trends in African linguistics*. Vol. 2. Edited by Ian Maddieson and Thomas J. Hinnebusch, 195–204. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

A discussion of defining properties and major semantic features in Dagaare, a Gur language, in comparison with Akan (Kwa).

Defina, Rebecca. 2016. Serial verb constructions and their subtypes in Avatime. *Studies in Language* 40.3: 648–680.

An attempt at a semantic and structural classification of multi-verb noncontiguous serial verbs in Avatime, a Ghana Togo Mountain language (Kwa family), which conform to generalizations concerning Kwa languages as formulated in Ameka 2005 (cited under General Articles). Individual verbs can be marked for focus, like in many other West African languages. A notable feature of Avatime not shared with other West African languages is reduced agreement markers on non-initial serial verbs.

Lawal, S. Adenike. 1993. The Yoruba serial verb construction: A complex or simple sentence. In *Topics in African linguistics*. Edited by Salikoko S. Mufwene and Lioba Moshi, 79–101. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A concise and well-argued analysis of serial verb constructions in Yoruba and the ways in which they differ from combinations of clauses, in terms of a number of parameters, including subject marking, adverb insertion, adverb preposing, focusing, and reflexivization. Syntactic causative constructions behave differently from serial verbs and parallel multi-clausal structures in terms of their grammatical behavior (e.g., the scope of reflexives).

Lefebvre, Claire. 1991. Take serial verb constructions in Fon. In *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative and cognitive approaches*. Edited by Claire Lefebvre, 37–38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An in-depth discussion of instrumental serial verbs involving the verb “take” in Fon, a Kwa language from Benin, with special attention to the combinability of “take” with other verbs, and the contribution of the verb “take” to sequential serial verb constructions.

Lord, Carol. 1975. Igbo verb compounds and the lexicon. *Studies in African Linguistics* 6.1: 23–48.

A discussion of single-word serial verb constructions termed *compounds* in Igbo, which display all the properties of serial verb constructions, with detailed discussion of their action-result semantics, which distinguishes them from consecutive constructions, and a special focus on their non-compositional meanings.

N’Guessan, Jérémie Kouadio. 2000. Les séries verbales en baoulé: Questions de morphosyntaxe et de sémantique. *Studies in African Linguistics* 29.1: 75–90.

A concise analysis of serial verbs in Baule, their meanings and functions, illustrating the difference between serial verbs, conjoined verbs, and auxiliary verb constructions. Special focus is on argument-adding functions of serial verbs and the pragmatic basis for a choice between a simple verb and a serial verb construction with three-place predicates and comitatives.

Osam, E. K. 1997. Serial verb constructions and grammatical relations in Akan. In *Grammatical relations: A functionalist perspective*. Edited by Talmay Givón, 253–279. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An analysis of grammatical relations in Akan, a Kwa language of Nigeria, with a discussion of argument sharing in serial verbs, and the ways in which their use correlates with the definiteness of the “gift” in Akan with a limited number of prototypical ditransitive verbs, such as “give” or “bring.” A monoverbal clause is acceptable if the gift is indefinite. If the “gift” is definite, a serial verb has to be used.

van Leynseele, Hélène. 1975. Restrictions on serial verbs in Anyi. *Journal of West African Languages* 10.2: 189–217.

A pioneering discussion of serial verb constructions in a dialect of Anyi-Baule, a Western Kwa language, demonstrating that serial verb constructions are different from coordinated and consecutive clauses and cannot be derived from clause sequences without meaning change. An attempt to derive serial verb constructions from an underlying simple sentence, with subsequent discussion of restrictions on verbs in serial verbs of “relational” type (covering dative, instrumental, and other argument adding constructions).

Articles on Khoisan Languages

Serial verb constructions are found in all the branches of the putative Khoisan phylum. Kilian-Hatz 2006 addresses serial verbs in Khwe, from the Central Khoisan family. König 2010 discusses verb serialization in !Xun, a North Khoisan language.

Kilian-Hatz, Christa. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Khwe (Central Khoisan). In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 108–123. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A pioneering discussion of symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verbs in Khwe. Serial verb constructions differ from a coordinated sequence of finite verbs and converb constructions. They can be contiguous or noncontiguous depending on their semantic type. Object

sharing is not compulsory. All the verbal categories are marked once per construction. Minor components in asymmetrical serial verbs have grammaticalized into aspect markers.

König, Christa. 2010. Serial verb constructions in !Xun. *Khoisan languages and linguistics*. In *Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium, January 4–8, 2003, Riezlern/Kleinwalsertal*. Edited by Matthias Brenzinger and Christa König, 144–175. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.

A concise discussion of contiguous serial verbs in !Xun. A serial verb can contain up to five verbs that have the same tense, aspect, modality, and mood value and share the subject. Minor components (referred to as coverbs) in asymmetrical serial verbs impart directional, aspectual, and modal meanings to the construction, and may also mark a new event. The ordering of components is always iconic.

Creole Languages

Serial verbs are a prominent feature of most Creole languages. General discussion and references are in Holm 2000; Jansen, et al. 1978; Muysken and Veenstra 1994 (all cited under General), and Sebba 1987 and Veenstra 1996 (both cited under Monographs). Holm and Patrick 2007 (cited under General) contains case studies from various Creole languages with a wealth of data on serial verbs. The assumption that serial verbs are a definitional feature of Creoles is qualified by in-depth studies in Lefebvre 2011 (cited under General). The role of the substrata from West African and other languages contributing to their formation in the genesis of Creoles is addressed in Lefebvre 1998, McWhorter 1997, and Migge 1998 (cited under General), Jacobs 2015 and Sycia 2013 (both cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages), and Jacob and Grimes 2011 and Hagemeyer and Ogie 2011 (both cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages). The structure of serial verbs and their origins in Papiamentu and other Portuguese-based Creoles of the region is discussed in Jacobs 2015 (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages). Hagemeyer and Ogie 2011 (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages) discuss serial verbs in Santome, Jacob and Grimes 2011 in Kupang Malay (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages), Sycia 2013 in Indian Ocean Creoles (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages), and Winkler and Obeng 2000 (cited under Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages) in Limonense Creole English. Adone 2012 (cited under Serial Verbs in Language Acquisition and in Language Dissolution) addresses the genesis of serial verbs and their structure in Morisyen and Seselwa Creoles.

General

Holm 2000 offers a summary of the main features of serial verbs in Creole languages. Holm and Patrick 2007 contains brief descriptions of seventeen Creole languages, most of them with serial verbs, following a generalized scheme of analysis. Typological features of serial verbs in Creoles are discussed in Jansen, et al. 1978; Lefebvre 2011; and Muysken and Veenstra 1994. Lefebvre 1998 discusses serial verbs in Creoles (special attention to Haitian Creole) in the light of Creole genesis. Analyses of serial verbs within the perspective of various approaches to Creole genesis are in McWhorter 1997 and Migge 1998.

Holm, John. 2000. *Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An accessible introduction to Pidgin and Creole languages, outlining their typical features, serial verbs among them. Serial verbs are defined as a sequence of verbs with the same subject not joined by conjunction or complementizer. Examples come from Atlantic Creoles. There is a discussion of most commonly attested types, including serial verbs with the verb “give” in benefactive function, and serial verbs with “pass” expressing comparison.

Holm, John, and Peter L. Patrick, eds. 2007. *Comparative Creole syntax: Parallel outlines of 18 Creole grammars*. London: Battlebridge.

A collection of short sketches of eighteen Creoles from various parts of the world, most of them European-based, in addition to Nubi (Creole Arabic). Each sketch follows a unified scheme, addressing directional serial verbs, serial verbs with “give” meaning “to, for,” serial verbs with “say” as complementizer, with “pass” meaning “more than,” and constructions with three or more components. A useful resource for a general idea about serial verbs in the selection of Creoles.

Jansen, Bert, Hilda Koopman, and Pieter Muysken. 1978. Serial verbs in the Creole languages. In *Amsterdam Creole studies II*. Edited by Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith, 125–159. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam.

A pioneering discussion of serial verb constructions in Creole languages, defined as a sequence of more than one verb with one overt subject without any overt conjunctions or complementizers, explicitly excluding constructions with auxiliaries and infinitive complements, with a survey of serial verbs across Creoles and the analysis of verbs in Sranan, comparing prepositions with verbs *gi* “give” and *teki* “take” that undergo grammaticalization and develop some prepositional-type syntactic features.

Lefebvre, Claire. 1998. *Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar: The case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A detailed comparison of Haitian Creole with its contributing French and West African languages focusing on the process involved in Creole genesis, with a concise discussion of verb serialization and typological properties associated with the phenomenon and the role of substrate and the available language structure in the development of verb serialization.

Lefebvre, Claire. 2011. The problem of the typological classification of Creoles. In *Creoles, their substrates, and language typology*. Edited by Claire Lefebvre, 1–33. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A comprehensive typological classification of Creole languages with an outline of serial verb constructions as a property of those Creole languages whose substrate languages had them.

McWhorter, John H. 1997. *Towards a new model of Creole genesis*. New York: Peter Lang.

A classic work on the genesis and development of Creole languages, with special focus on serial verb constructions in Saramaccan and other Creoles (with a perspective on languages from other regions), demonstrating that serial verbs in Saramaccan are a result of transfer from West African languages as their substratum (contrary to the bioprogram hypothesis).

Migge, Bettina. 1998. *Substrate influence in the formation of the Surinamese Plantation Creole: A consideration of sociohistorical and linguistic data from Ndyuka and Gbe*. PhD diss., Ohio State Univ.

A comprehensive discussion of the history and structure of the Surinamese Plantation Creole, with an up-to-date definition of serial verbs across Creole languages and a detailed analysis of substrate influence from Gbe languages in the formation of serial verbs in the Creole (with a competent overview of the literature on the role of substrate in the formation of serial verbs in Creoles).

Muysken, Pieter, and Tonjes Veenstra. 1994. Serial verbs. In *Pidgins and Creoles: An introduction*. Edited by Jacques Arends, Pieter C. Muysken, and Norval Smith, 289–301. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An overview of serial verb constructions in Creole languages, with an evaluation of potential typological correlates of serial verbs, e.g., absence of verbal derivational morphology and non-distinctness of verbs and prepositions (but not the order of constituents). Serialization does not involve subordination (pace Jansen, et al. 1978). Discussion of semantic relations in serial verbs is limited to two verbs forming one semantic unit and one verb modifying the other in a similar way to an adverb.

Origins of Serial Verbs in Creole Languages

The origin of serial verbs in Creole languages has been a matter of debate for several decades. Various proposals include, first, the “bioprogram” approach summarized in McWhorter 1997 and Migge 1998 (both cited under General) and, more recently, in Jacobs 2015, and, second, general typological tendencies in the evolution of languages with little inflectional and derivational morphology. Adone 2012

(cited under Serial Verbs in Language Acquisition and in Language Dissolution) addresses the principles of Creole genesis in the light of their acquisition by children. Numerous studies concentrate on the role of substrata from West African and other languages that contributed to the formation of Creoles, among them Jacobs 2015, Hagemeyer and Ogie 2011, Jacob and Grimes 2011, Syea 2013, and Winkler and Obeng 2000.

Hagemeyer, Tjerk, and Ota Ogie. 2011. Èdó influence on Santome: Evidence from verb serialization. In *Creoles, their substrata, and language typology*. Edited by Claire Lefebvre, 37–60. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Extensive verb serialization in Santome, a Portuguese-based Creole spoken in São Tomé, shows strong similarities with Èdó, a Central Edo language, as a consequence of early contact and substratum influence.

Jacob, June, and Charles E. Grimes. 2011. Aspect and directionality in Kupang Malay serial verb constructions: Calquing on the grammars of substrate languages. In *Creoles, their substrata, and language typology*. Edited by Claire Lefebvre, 337–366. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An exploration of Kupang Malay, a Malay-based Creole from eastern Indonesia, and the influence of its substratum languages (all Papuan), especially in the domain of serial verb constructions (absent from Standard Malay).

Jacobs, Bart. 2015. Serial verb constructions in Papiamentu: Historical, synchronic and comparative observations. *Linguistique et langues africaines* 1:59–79.

A discussion of the properties and the origins of an array of serial verb constructions in Papiamentu, a Portuguese-based Creole of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. The language has symmetrical and asymmetrical multi-word serial verbs with single marking of aspect. The emergence of serial verbs in Papiamentu and also in Cape Verdean Creole can be accounted for by language contact with speakers of Kwa languages rather than substrate or universal grammar.

Syea, Anand. 2013. Serial verb constructions in Indian Ocean French Creoles (IOCs): Substrate, universal, or an independent diachronic development? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 28.1: 13–64.

A discussion of serial verbs in French-based Creoles of the Indian Ocean and their properties (including marking of shared subjects, tense, and aspect). The origin of serial verbs is mainly due to independent development based on the reanalysis and extension of paratactic sequences of commands into other contexts and may be only partly accounted by substrate influence (from Malagasy).

Winkler, Elizabeth Grace, and Samuel Gyasi Obeng. 2000. West Africanisms in Limonese Creole English. *World Englishes* 19.2: 155–171.

Serial verb constructions in Costa Rican Limonese Creole (English-based) show numerous parallels with Kwa languages, especially Akan, in their meanings and structure, and are indicative of Kwa substratum in the Creole.

Serial Verbs in Individual Creole Languages

Serial verb constructions are described in numerous grammars and sketches of Creole languages, e.g., Holm and Patrick 2007 (cited under Creole Languages: General), Adone 2012 (cited under Serial Verbs in Language Acquisition and in Language Dissolution), and Sebba 1987 and Veenstra 1996 (both cited under Monographs). Baxter 1988 offers a detailed analysis of serial verbs in Kristang; Escure 2009 discusses serial verbs in Chinese Pidgin English; Law and Veenstra 1994 focuses on one subtype of serial verbs in Haitian Creole, and Voorhoeve 1957 identifies serial verbs in Sranan (without employing the term). Byrne 1992 addresses the scope of tense and its marking in Saramaccan; Winford 1992 discusses the diversity of directional serial verbs across the English-based Creoles of the Caribbean. Crowley 1990 analyzes serial verbs in Bislama; further analysis of serial verbs across Tok Pisin, Bislama, and Solomons Pijin is

in Crowley 2002 (cited under Oceanic Languages). Serial verbs in Australian Creoles are discussed in Meakins 2010 (cited under Mixed Languages and Code-Switching) and Mittag 2016.

Baxter, A. N. 1988. *A grammar of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese)*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A comprehensive grammar of Kristang, a Portuguese-based Creole spoken in Malacca, West Malaysia, with an array of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions. The person of the subject is marked on each component, while other categories are expressed once per construction. Serial verbs are shown to be different from coordination and subordination. They cover aspectual, modal, and valency-changing functions. Subjects are shared in all serial verbs except for the causative switch-function constructions.

Byrne, Francis. 1992. Tense, scope, and spreading in Saramaccan. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7.2: 195–222.

A concise discussion of properties of serial verbs in Saramaccan, including the scope of tense, and the distribution of single and concordant tense marking patterns with the language. The same tense value for the whole serial verb is its defining property, independently of overt marking (which can occur on each component or be marked once per construction).

Crowley, Terry. 1990. Serial verb constructions and prepositions in Bislama. In *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Pidgins and Creoles in Melanesia*. Papers presented at a conference held at Madang, Papua New Guinea, in July 1987. Edited by John W. M. Verhaar, 58–89. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A concise characterization of several types of serial verbs in Bislama, the Creole language of Vanuatu, and their differences from coordinate and subordinate clauses. Serial verbs in Bislama reflect the substratum of Oceanic languages. A number of verbs are in the process of grammaticalization into prepositions, while maintaining their use as verbs.

Escure, Geneviève. 2009. Is serialization simple? Evidence from Chinese Pidgin English. In *Simplicity and complexity in Creoles and Pidgins*. Edited by Nicholas Faraclas and Thomas B. Klein, 109–123. London: Battlebridge.

A discussion of serial verb constructions in Chinese Pidgin English in comparison with Cantonese, with a focus on serial verbs with causative or sequential relations between the components and directional serial verbs. Verb serializations in the language are simpler than those in Cantonese in that they allow fewer options in terms of the choice of components, and they cannot be seen as indicative of language simplification as a corollary of its creolization.

Law, Paul, and Tonjes Veenstra. 1994. A note on *theme*-serial verb constructions in Haitian. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 9.2: 121–126.

An argument in favor of object (“theme”) sharing in serial verb constructions in Haitian Creole as their defining feature.

Mittag, Joanna Ewa. 2016. A linguistic description of Lockhart River Creole. PhD diss., Univ. of New England.

A comprehensive grammar of the Lockart River Creole spoken on Cape York Peninsula (Queensland, Australia), with an in-depth discussion of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs of asymmetrical and symmetrical types. Asymmetrical serial verbs are limited to those with a direction verb in the minor slot. Symmetrical serial verbs have sequential or simultaneous meanings.

Voorhoeve, J. 1957. The verbal system of Sranan. *Lingua* 6:374–396.

A pioneering outline of the verb structure and verb categories in Sranan, with a discussion of serial verb constructions (called “verbal chains”) focusing on the semantic relations between the components, the possibility of inserting some morphemes between them, and person marking.

Winford, Donald. 1992. Directional serial verb constructions in Caribbean English Creoles. In *Atlantic meets Pacific: A global view of pidginization and creolization*. Edited by Francis Byrne and John Holm, 183–203. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

This pioneering study of directional serial verb constructions in Jamaican Creole and Guyanese Creole starts with a general perspective on the study of serial verbs in Creole languages. It then outlines the ways of distinguishing serial verb constructions from paratactic coordination and focuses on two basic uses of serial verbs—to express purpose and to express path and direction of motion.

Indo-European and Dravidian Languages

Hock 2013 addresses serial verbs and their Proto-Indo-European roots in Vedic; Luraghi 1993 focuses on serial verbs in Hittite; Yates 2013 reexamines the phenomenon across ancient Indo-European languages. Serial verbs consisting of sequences of inflected verbs in Dravidian are discussed in Steever 1988. Weiss 1993 and Weiss 2012 focus on serial verbs in Russian.

Hock, Hans Henrich. 2013. Come and get it: The Indo-European background of the Vedic *éta* . . . *stávāma* construction. In *Proceedings of the 24th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles, October 26th and 27th, 2012*. Edited by Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine, 47–66. Bremen, Germany: Hempen.

A discussion of the Vedic construction consisting of two verbs in imperative form with identical inflection, its similarity to serial verbs in Dravidian languages as outlined in Steever 1988, and its possible Proto-Indo-European origins.

Luraghi, Silvia. 1993. Verb serialization and word order: Evidence from Hittite. In *Historical linguistics 1989: Papers from the 9th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Rutgers University, August 1989*. Edited by Henk Aertsen and Robert J. Jeffers, 267–281. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A concise analysis of noncontiguous sequences of verbs, with motion verb as V_1 and with identical inflection in Hittite, and their monopredicative features that demonstrate their status as serial verbs. Verb serialization in Hittite is claimed to be linked with the word final order of syntactic constituents.

Steever, Sanford. B. 1988. *The serial verb formation in the Dravidian languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

The major study of serial verbs in Dravidian (covering South Dravidian, South-Central Dravidian, Central Dravidian, and North Dravidian), which consist of two or more inflected verbs, one of which comes from a restricted class and imparts grammatical meaning (e.g., aspect, modality, tense, or negation). Person marking can be the same on both verbs, or it can be truncated on at least one of the components. Serial verbs can be reconstructed to the proto-language.

Weiss, Daniel. 1993. Dvojnye glagoly v sovremennom ruskom jazyke. In *Kategorija skazuemogo v slavjanskih jazykah. Modal'nost' i aktualizacija*. Slavistische Beiträge 305. Edited by P. Render, 67–97. Munich: Otto Sagner.

Detailed investigation of so-called double verbs in Russian consisting of two components that take identical inflection, always share their subjects, and do not have to be contiguous. The constructions may contain a verb of motion or posture, which imparts the meaning of associated motion or associated posture to the construction. They refer to one event and can be considered serial verbs. Translated as: "Double verbs in modern Russia," in "The category of predicate in Slavonic languages: Modality and actualization."

Weiss, Daniel. 2012. Verb serialization in northeast Europe: The case of Russian and its Finno-Ugric neighbours. In *Grammatical replication and borrowability in language contact*. Edited by Björn Wiemer, Bernhard Wälchli, and Björn Hansen, 611–646. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Further analysis of the composition and functions of double verbs in Russian, which have all the features of serial verbs. The order of components is not fixed. The constructions can be of asymmetrical or of symmetrical type. The constructions often form idiomatic collocations. Comparison with Finno-Ugric languages indicates that some of the Russian serial verbs—absent from other East Slavic languages—could be the relic of a Finno-Ugric substrate.

Yates, Anthony D. 2013. On the PIE “quasi-serial verb” construction: Origin and development. In *Proceedings of the 24th annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles, October 26th and 27th, 2012*. Edited by Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine, 237–255. Bremen, Germany: Hempen.

An incisive analysis of monopredicative sequences of two verbs across ancient Indo-European languages. In Hittite, they contain a motion verb in the minor slot, and they are not restricted to any mood form. Productivity of serial verbs in Classical Armenian may be due to contact with Syriac Aramaic. In Ancient Greek and Vedic they are limited to imperatives and can thus be considered quasi-serial verb constructions, reconstructible to the proto-language.

Finno-Ugric Languages

Sequences of two, rarely three, verbs with identical inflection in a few Finno-Ugric languages have the features of serial verbs. Ojutkangas 1998 discusses serial verbs in a variety of Finno-Ugric languages. Tragel 2003 is the first study of the phenomenon in Estonian. Tragel 2017 elaborates on this. Serial verbs and similar constructions in some Finno-Ugric languages are mentioned in Weiss 2012 (cited under Indo-European and Dravidian Languages).

Ojutkangas, Krista 1998. Asyndeettisista verbi-ilmaisuiista suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä. In *Kieliopillistumisesta, analogiasta ja tyypologiasta*. Edited by Anneli Pajunen, 110–143. Helsinki: SKS.

A discussion of various instances of asyndetic combinations of inflected verbs in Finno-Ugric languages, some of which have the defining properties of serial verbs. Translated as: “Asyndetic verb expressions in Finno-Ugric languages.”

Tragel, Ilona. 2003. Eesti keele seriaalkonstruktioonist. *Keel ja Kirjandus* 12:919–934.

A pioneering study of noncontiguous combinations of two (rarely more) inflected verbs in Estonian that form one predicate and have the defining properties of serial verbs, with additional focus on the grammaticalization of the minor verb of motion within the constructions. Translated as: “On serial verb constructions in Estonian.”

Tragel, Ilona. 2017. Serial verb constructions in Estonian. In *Argument realization in complex predicates and complex events*. Edited by Brian Nolan and Elke Diedrichsen, 169–189. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A convincing argument made in favor of sequences of two or even three verbs with identical inflection in Colloquial Estonian having the properties of serial verbs, with special focus on constructions with “go” based on a corpus. A general context of other Finno-Ugric languages is provided.

Afroasiatic Languages

Serial verbs have been documented in a number of Chadic languages of analytic profile (Frajzyngier 1993, Hellwig 2006), and in Arabic and Syriac Aramaic from the Semitic branch (Hussein 1990, Versteegh 1984). Hussein 1990 addresses serial verbs in Palestinian Arabic. Versteegh 1984 lists serial verbs as a feature of many Arabic dialects. Serial verbs in Syriac Aramaic are mentioned in Yates 2013 (cited under Indo-European and Dravidian Languages), which contains references to previous mentions of similar constructions in the language.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1993. *A grammar of Mupun*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

A comprehensive grammar of Mupun, a West Chadic language spoken in Nigeria, with special focus on multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions. Serial verbs typically consist of just two components. Person is marked on each verb, while negation and other categories are marked once per construction. Serial verbs are used as a grammatical device to express directionality, configuration of the subject, manner, and comparatives.

Hellwig, Birgit. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Goemai. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 88–107. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs in Goemai, a West Chadic language of Nigeria, may have developed as a result of contact with Benue-Congo languages. This is a concise analysis of serial verbs in the language in terms of their properties, including monoclausality, shared arguments, and shared aspect and locational setting, and of their semantics and grammaticalization, as minor components in asymmetrical serial verbs become exponents of tense, aspect, and modality.

Hussein, Lutfi. 1990. Serial verbs in colloquial Arabic. In *When verbs collide: Papers from the 1990 Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs*. Edited by Brian D. Joseph and A. M. Zwicky, 340–353. Ohio State Univ. Working Papers in Linguistics 39. Columbus: Ohio State Univ., Department of Linguistics.

The first concise analysis of serial verbs in a Semitic language. Serial verb constructions in Palestinian Arabic consist of two or more components without any marker of coordination or subordination; they share subjects and also tense, aspect, and mood marking, while negation is marked once per construction. They refer to one event; the components may express simultaneous or consecutive sub-actions, or purpose.

Versteegh, Kees. 1984. *Pidginization and creolization: The case of Arabic*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A comprehensive discussion of the processes of pidginization and creolization in Arabic dialects. Serial verbs are listed as a feature the dialects share with Creole languages. Serial verbs consist of two components, with one component indicating motion of the subject, providing perfective meaning, expressing causative, or adding an argument. The components share subjects and tense-aspect. References to the previous mentions of asyndetic verb-verb constructions in various Arabic dialects are provided.

Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia

Serial verbs are a general property of the languages of the Mainland Southeast languages, with their isolating and analytic profile. This trait is highlighted in general outlines of the languages of the region in Enfield 2017 and Goral 1986 (both cited under General), Matisoff 1969, Matisoff 1991 (both cited under Tibeto-Burman languages), and Jarkey 2015 (cited under Monographs). Patterns of grammaticalization and semantic change within serial verb constructions characteristic of the region are addressed in Enfield 2003 (cited under General), Diller 2001, Diller 2006, Enfield 2007, and Enfield 2008 (all cited under Tai-Kadai Languages). Enfield 2002 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation) analyzes serial verbs in Lao as representing conventionalized sequences of sub-actions. Serial verbs figure prominently in discussions of Sinitic languages in Wu 1992 (cited under Monographs), Li and Thompson 1981, Chan 2002, Bai 2015, Law 1996, Tham 2015 on Mandarin, and Francis and Matthews 2006, Matthews 2006, Matthews and Yip 1994, and Luke and Bodomo 2000 on Cantonese (cited under Sinitic Languages). Problems with a strict definition of serial verbs in the languages of the region in comparison with West African languages are highlighted in Paul 2008 (cited under Sinitic Languages). Serial verbs and their grammaticalization patterns in Tibeto-Burman languages are addressed in DeLancey 1991 for Tibetan, Matisoff 1969, Matisoff 1991 with a focus on Lahu, Solnit 2006 on Karenic, and Yu 2007 on Lisu (all cited under Tibeto-Burman Languages). Serial verbs play an important role in the grammar of Tai-Kadai languages, as discussed in Diller, et al. 2008 (cited under Tai-Kadai Languages). Diller 2006, Iwasaki 1989, and Iwasaki and Inkaphirom 2005 focus on serial verbs and other multi-verb constructions in Thai; Thepkanjana and Uehara 2008 discusses one type of serial verbs and its development in Thai; Enfield 2007 and Enfield 2008 focus on Lao; and Luo 2008 deals with Zhuang (all cited under Tai-Kadai Languages). Serial verbs in Mon-Khmer languages are addressed in Clark 1978, Gradin 1976, Haiman 2011, and Kruspe 2004 (all cited under Other Languages of the Region). Jarkey 2006, Jarkey 2010 (both cited under Other Languages of the Region), and Jarkey 2015 (cited under Monographs) address serial verbs and superficially similar constructions in Hmong-Mien languages.

General

Enfield 2017 contains a general outline of serial verbs in the languages of Mainland Southeast Asia. Goral 1986 analyzes the phenomenon in a selection of languages of the region. Enfield 2003 is a general study of shared grammaticalization patterns across the area.

Enfield, N. J. 2003. *Linguistic epidemiology: Semantics and grammar of language contact in mainland Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.

A detailed examination of semantic and pragmatic patterns centered on the verb with the basic meaning of “acquire” and its grammaticalization into a marker of ability, success, and attainment within serial verbs across thirty languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, with a focus on Lao, Vietnamese, Khmer, Khmu, Hmong, and varieties of Chinese. The most comprehensive study of an areal grammaticalization within serial verb constructions to date, with a focus on semantic change.

Enfield, N. J. 2017. Language in the mainland Southeast Asia area. In *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 601–623. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A survey of typological properties of the languages of the mainland Southeast Asia area, including Cambodia, Laos, Peninsular Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam, China, and neighboring areas of South Asia, covering 600 languages of the region from five families: Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic, and Austronesian. The languages have highly productive noncontiguous multi-word serial verbs and ellipsis and constituent order freedom that render surface sequences of verbs ambiguous.

Goral, Donald. 1986. *Verb concatenation in Southeast Asian languages: A cross-linguistic study*. PhD diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley.

A pioneering cross-linguistic study of serial verbs (termed *verb concatenations*) across Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Thai, and Vietnamese, establishing semantic and syntactic criteria for their monopredicative character, and tracing their origins partly to language contact and partly to genetic inheritance.

Sinitic Languages

Wu 1992 (cited under Monographs) offers a detailed analysis of serial verb constructions in Mandarin and other Sinitic languages. Li and Thompson 1981 is a classic study of serial verbs in Mandarin. Further discussion of varied types of serial verbs is in Law 1996 and Tham 2015. Paul 2008 addresses the issues dealing with defining serial verbs in Sinitic languages and distinguishing them from constructions of other types. Bai 2015 focuses on similarities and differences between coordination, subordination, and serialization in Mandarin. Serial verbs in Cantonese are discussed in Matthews and Yip 1994 and Matthews 2006, with argument sharing addressed in Francis and Matthews 2006 and Luke and Bodomo 2000. Nishiyama 1998 (cited under Japanese) also addresses some properties of single-word serial verbs in Chinese, comparing them with Japanese.

Bai, Junwei. 2015. *Coordination or subordination? A cognitive-semantic investigation into the concatenation principles of Mandarin Chinese serial verb constructions*. MA thesis, English Department, School of Foreign Studies, Nanjing Univ.

Serial verb constructions in Mandarin are analyzed from the perspective of cognitive grammar. The focus is on similarities and differences between serial verbs, on the one hand, and coordinate and subordinate constructions, on the other, with in-depth discussion of intransitive and transitive motion serial verbs, sequence of action and manner serial verbs, and their concatenations.

Chan, Alice Yin Wa. 2002. *Syntactic structures of Chinese serial verb constructions*. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 30.1: 16–38.

A discussion of serial verb constructions in Chinese (mostly Mandarin) consisting of two verbs denoting two separate events with purposive, consecutive, or circumstance interpretation, and their interpretation as coordinate or subordinate structures.

Francis, Elaine J., and Stephen Matthews. 2006. Categoriality and object extraction in Cantonese serial verb constructions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24:751–801.

A discussion of the so-called coverb construction in Cantonese—a serial verb construction in which the first verb (or the coverb) has a preposition-like meaning and function. Cantonese “coverbs” have the morphosyntactic properties of verbs rather than prepositions; for instance, they resist the extraction of objects by topicalization or relativization. Coverb phrases are shown to have the properties of adjunct islands.

Law, Paul. 1996. A note on the serial verb construction in Chinese. *Cahiers de Linguistique: Asie Orientale* 25:199–233.

The discussion of two similar kinds of serial verb construction in Chinese that differ in the order of components, placement, and scope of adverbs, and possibilities of argument extraction, offering a syntactic account of their differences.

Li, C., and S. A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

A classic grammar of Mandarin Chinese with a comprehensive analysis of various types of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions, including same subject constructions and switch-function, or pivotal, constructions. Constructions with grammaticalized minor verbs (“coverbs”) are treated separately.

Luke, Kang Kwong, and Adams Bodomo. 2000. A comparative study of the semantics of serial verb constructions in Dagaare and Cantonese. *Languages in Contrast* 3.2: 165–180.

A concise discussion of the semantics of serial verbs in Dagaare, a Gur language from Ghana, and Cantonese, with special attention to the causative, benefactive, causative, instrumental, and deictic (or directional) constructions as major types.

Matthews, Stephen. 2006. On serial verb constructions in Cantonese. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 69–87. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive analysis of several types of multi-word and one-word serial verb constructions in Cantonese, with an outline of their defining features, grammaticalization and lexicalization, and scope of aspect markers (differentiating them from other multi-verb sequences), with a brief introduction to the history of studies of serial verbs and alternative approaches.

Matthews, Stephen, and Virginia Yip. 1994. *Cantonese: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

A comprehensive reference grammar of Cantonese, written in an accessible style, with a discussion of serial verbs expressing actions that would correspond to a verb and a preposition in English, and of serial verbs containing verbs of motion and having directional meanings, with a brief comparison with similar constructions in Mandarin.

Paul, Waltraud. 2008. The serial verb construction in Chinese: A tenacious myth and a Gordian knot. *The Linguistic Review* 25.3–4: 367–411.

A comparison between serial verb constructions in a selection of Niger-Congo languages with different construction types grouped under the label of “serial verb constructions” in Chinese linguistics demonstrates the futility of postulating a general “serialization parameter” that would account for the differences between “serializing” and “non-serializing” languages.

Tham, Shiao Wei. 2015. Resultative compounds in Mandarin. In *The Oxford handbook of Chinese linguistics*. Edited by William S-Y. Wang and Chaofen Sun, 306–321. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A discussion of so-called verb compounds in Mandarin Chinese that have all the features of monopredicative single-word serial verb constructions (e.g., Matthews 2006 as well as Wu 1992 [cited under Monographs]), with V_2 expressing the result of V_1 , in terms of their argument realization, transitivity, and semantic properties.

Tibeto-Burman Languages

Matisoff 1969 and Matisoff 1991 describe serial verbs in Lahu and other Tibeto-Burman languages, focusing on their grammaticalization patterns. DeLancey 1991 addresses the role of serialization in Tibetan. Solnit 2006 analyzes serial verbs in a Karenic language, and Yu 2007 addresses the various kinds of serial verbs and their grammaticalization and lexicalization in Lisu.

DeLancey, Scott. 1991. The origins of verb serialization in Modern Tibetan. *Studies in Language* 15.1: 1–23.

A concise discussion of patterns of verb serialization in a number of varieties of Modern Tibetan (including Lhasa Tibetan). Multi-word serial verbs describe different aspects of the same event (especially motion event) and tend to grammaticalize into aspect markers.

Matisoff, James A. 1969. Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of “simple” juxtaposition. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12.1: 69–120.

A pioneering account of different types of serial verbs (called “verb concatenations”) in Lahu, their functions, monopredicative character, and internal structure.

Matisoff, James A. 1991. Areal and universal dimensions of grammatization in Lahu. In *Approaches to grammaticalization. Vol. 2, Focus on types of grammatical markers*. Edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and B. Heine, 383–453. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Focusing on Lahu, a Tibeto-Burman language, the author analyzes patterns of grammaticalization, including those within serial verbs within the context of numerous languages of Southeast Asia, including the development from verb to modal or aspectual marker (e.g., “think, desire” to a desiderative particle, “place, put down” to a marker of perfective or durative) or a complementizer. Within serial verbs (called “verb concatenations”), in Lahu verbs with concrete meanings develop generic overtones.

Solnit, David. 2006. Verb serialization in Eastern Kayah Li. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 144–159. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The most comprehensive account to date of serial verbs in a language from the Karen subgroup of Tibeto-Burman, with a discussion of defining properties of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs of symmetrical and asymmetrical types with special attention to argument sharing and transitivity of components, the semantic types of serial verbs, their grammaticalization, and also combinations and the principles of nesting of serial verb constructions depending on their semantic type.

Yu, Defen. 2007. *Aspects of Lisu phonology and grammar, a language of Southeast Asia*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A comprehensive grammar of Lisu, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in China, Myanmar, Thailand, and India, with a large array of multi-word noncontiguous symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verbs with single marking of grammatical categories. Grammaticalized minor components express various categories, including evidentiality, aspect, and changing valency.

Tai-Kadai Languages

Diller, et al. 2008 offers a general perspective on the grammatical makeup of Tai-Kadai languages, including the patterns of serialization. Diller 2001 discusses serial verbs from a historical perspective, with a focus on Thai. Synchronic analyses of serial verbs in Thai are in Diller 2006, Iwasaki 1989, Iwasaki and Inkaphirom 2005, and Thepkanjana and Uehara 2008. Enfield 2007, and Enfield 2008. Enfield 2003

(cited under Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: General) and Enfield 2002 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation) address serial verbs in the context of other multi-verb constructions in Lao, and Luo 2008 focuses on Zhuang.

Diller, A. V. N. 2001. Grammaticalization and Tai syntactic change. In *Essays in Tai linguistics*. Edited by M. R. Kalaya Tingsabadh and Arthur S. Abramson, 139–175. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn Univ. Press.

A comprehensive account of shared grammaticalization patterns in serial verbs across Tai languages, some of which may have been a feature of the proto-language, followed by an analysis of syntactic change and grammaticalization throughout the history of Thai in the context of Southeast Asian languages.

Diller, A. V. N. 2006. Thai serial verbs: Cohesion and culture. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 301–318. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A concise and informative analysis of different types of serial verbs in Thai and the issues in defining serial verbs in the language, contrasting serial verbs and other complex concatenations, with a semantic classification of serial verbs. Special attention is paid to cultural factors responsible for the co-occurrence of verbs within a serial verb and representing single event-type. Serial verbs are more frequent in Thai informal conversations than in formal registers.

Diller, Anthony V. N., Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo, eds. 2008. *The Tai-Kadai languages*. London: Routledge.

A comprehensive overview of the Tai-Kadai languages, both synchronically and diachronically, with special attention to lesser-known Tai-Kadai languages (including Zhuang, Lue, and the Tai languages of Assam and of Vietnam), each of which has a variety of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions that undergo comparable processes of grammaticalization.

Enfield, N. J. 2007. *A grammar of Lao*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

A comprehensive reference grammar of Lao with special focus on multi-verb constructions (which subsume serial verbs), their composition and semantics, and the representation of events through a sequence of verbs.

Enfield, N. J. 2008. Verbs and multi-verb constructions in Lao. In *The Tai-Kadai languages*. Edited by Anthony V. N. Diller, Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo, 83–183. London: Routledge.

A comprehensive discussion of multi-verb constructions, including serial verbs, in Lao, in terms of their semantics, eventhood, and argument sharing. The most detailed study of multi-verb constructions in any Tai-Kadai language to date.

Iwasaki, Shoichi. 1989. Clausehood and verb serialization in Thai narratives. *Phasa lae Phasasat* 7:84–130.

A controlled analysis of a corpus of parallel Thai and English narrations of a constant set of events shows that informal oral Thai narrations use multiple verbs, and especially serial verb constructions per unit of discourse, about twice as frequently as English narrators. In contrast to English, a clause in Thai is not equal to a one-verb unit, due to the monoclausal character of serial verb constructions that consist of several verbs.

Iwasaki, Shoichi, and Preeya Inkaphirom. 2005. *A reference grammar of Thai*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive reference grammar of Thai, with a discussion of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs divided into “subordination” type (covering serialization of modal verbs), “coordinating” type (covering sequential, purposive, motion, and simultaneous serial verbs), and the “hybrid” type (which includes causative and resultative serial verbs), without providing clear and unambiguous criteria for distinguishing serial verbs from other verb sequences.

Luo, Yongxian. 2008. Zhuang. In *The Tai-Kadai languages*. Edited by Anthony V. N. Diller, Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo, 317–377. London: Routledge.

A concise description of Zhuang, a Tai language from China, with a sketch of serial verb constructions of various semantic types (including sequential, simultaneous, and cause-effect).

Thepkanjana, Kingkarn, and Satoshi Uehara. 2008. Directional verbs as success markers in Thai: Another grammaticalization path. In *The Tai-Kadai languages*. Edited by Anthony V. N. Diller, Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo, 484–506. London: Routledge.

An analysis of directional verbs in serial verb constructions in Thai and their grammaticalization as markers of achievement and telicity.

Other Languages of the Region

Serial verbs are a feature of additional families of languages of Southeast Asia. A comprehensive study, Jarkey 2015 (cited under Monographs) offers a general perspective and references on Hmong-Mien and Austroasiatic languages. Jarkey 2006 and Jarkey 2010 address specific issues in White Hmong. Gradin 1976 and Haiman 2011 analyze serial verbs in Mon-Khmer languages; Clark 1978 focuses on Vietnamese. Kruspe 2004 is the first study of serial verbs in an Asian language.

Clark, M. 1978. *Coverbs and case in Vietnamese*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A detailed analysis of partially grammaticalized minor verbs within serial verb constructions in Vietnamese used for marking arguments, exploring the properties they share with prepositions.

Gradin, Dwight. 1976. The verb in Jeh. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 5:25–42.

A concise analysis of types of verbs and semantic and structural types of serial verb constructions (called “clusters of primary verbs”) in Jeh, a poorly known Mon-Khmer language, in terms of the transitivity of the components and semantic relations. Minor components that impart modal and aspectual meanings to the constructions and can also function as independent predicates are analyzed as auxiliaries.

Haiman, John. 2011. *Cambodian: Khmer*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A reference grammar of Khmer with a discussion of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs used to express grammatical meanings and sequences of sub-actions.

Jarkey, Nerida. 2006. Complement clause types and complementation strategy in White Hmong. In *Complementation: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, 115–136. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A concise discussion of general features of White Hmong, with a special focus on complement clauses and serial verb constructions, showing how a complementation strategy differs from serial verbs in the language.

Jarkey, Nerida. 2010. Cotemporal serial verb constructions in White Hmong. In *Complex predicates: Cross-linguistic perspectives on event structure*. Edited by Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker, and Mark Harvey, 110–134. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A detailed semantic and structural analysis of a semantic subtype of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs in White Hmong with the “cotemporal” (or simultaneous) relationship between the components, and their expression of a complex event.

Kruspe, Nicole. 2004. *A grammar of Semelai*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive reference grammar of a previously undescribed Aslian (Mon-Khmer) language of the Malay Peninsula with an extensive set of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions, consisting of two components and covering a plethora of semantic types. The best and most detailed description of serial verbs in a Mon-Khmer language to date.

Japanese

One-word verb sequences in Japanese share many features with serial verb constructions cross-linguistically, and they can be considered a type of single-word contiguous serial verb, as demonstrated in Nishiyama 1998. Quinn 1990 offers a diachronic approach to affixes in Japanese, demonstrating their origins in grammaticalized serial verb constructions.

Nishiyama, Kunio. 1998. V-V compounds as serialization. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 7.3: 175–217.

A pioneering analysis of single-word verb sequences in Japanese as serial verb constructions (cast in the Minimalist framework), demonstrating their monopredicative properties, and discussing argument sharing and semantic relations between the components, with additional comparison with productive single-word serial verb constructions (known as “compounds”) in Chinese.

Quinn, Charles. 1990. Suffixal concatenation in the Classical Japanese predicate: Erstwhile serial verbs? In *When verbs collide: Papers from the 1990 Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs*. Edited by Brian D. Joseph and Arnold M. Zwicky, 247–264. Ohio State Univ. Working Papers in Linguistics 39. Columbus: Ohio State Univ., Department of Linguistics.

A convincing argument is made in favor of a number of verbal derivational affixes in Classical Japanese (which still have some verbal features) grammaticalized from full verbs within serial verb constructions, displaying a pattern of incomplete grammaticalization comparable to that of “verbal prepositions” in Oceanic languages.

Languages of North America, Including Meso-America

Serial verbs are a feature of numerous languages of South America and a few in Meso-America and North America. A selection of studies is in Aikhenvald and Muysken 2011 (cited under Edited Collections). One-word serial verb constructions as a feature of Cheyenne, an Algonquian language, are described in Corral Esteban 2017. Several types of serial verbs in Lakota, a Siouan language, are identified in de Reuse 2006. Pustet 2000 demonstrates grammaticalization paths from components of serial verbs into adpositions in Lakota. Thornes 2003 and Thornes 2011 argue that so-called secondary verbs in a number of Uto-Aztecan languages have properties of serial verbs. Olutec, a Mixean language as analyzed in Zavala 2006, and Totonacan languages, all spoken in Mexico, have single-word serial verbs, some of them grammaticalized, as demonstrated in Beck 2011 and Watters 2017. Asymmetrical serial verbs in Chibchan languages express aspect, motion, and posture and are analyzed in Quesada 2011.

Beck, David. 2011. Lexical, quasi-inflectional, and inflectional compounding in Upper Necaxa Totonac. In *Multi-verb constructions: A view from the Americas*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter Muysken, 107–132. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Upper Necaxa Totonac, a Totonacan language from Mexico, is shown to have one-word asymmetrical contiguous serial verbs with the minor components imparting stative, inchoative, and dynamic specifications to the construction. The minor components tend to grammaticalize into bound morphemes.

Corral Esteban, Avelino. 2017. Multi-verb constructions in Cheyenne. In *Argument realization in complex predicates and complex events*. Edited by Brian Nolan and Elke Diedrichsen, 305–346. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cheyenne, a Plains Algonquian language, is shown to have one-word asymmetrical serial verb constructions (analyzed as “constructions with preverbs” and “verb initials” in the traditional Algonquian literature). The minor component imparts the meanings of motion, posture, orientation, and aspectual and modal meanings to the construction. This is the first attempt to analyze an Algonquian language as having multi-verb constructions.

de Reuse, Willem J. 2006. Serial verbs in Lakota (Siouan). In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 301–318. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Lakota, a Siouan language, has serial verb constructions that are monoclausal and always share subjects. They form one phonological word, and two grammatical words. Serial verbs are symmetrical (expressing manner and simultaneous actions) and asymmetrical (with aspectual and modal meanings). Minor verbs tend to grammaticalize into aspectual and modal markers; some causative markers may have originated in grammaticalized minor components within serial verbs.

Quesada, J. Diego. 2011. The grammar of Teribe verb serialization. In *Multi-verb constructions: A view from the Americas*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter C. Muysken, 107–132. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Teribe, a Chibchan language of Costa Rica and Panama, has multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs of asymmetrical type. Minor components are motion or posture verbs, which provide aspectual specification to the construction (which may consist of up to four verbs). Grammatical categories can be marked on each verb, or just once per construction. Asymmetrical serial verbs in Teribe are compared with similar constructions in Bribri, Cabecar, and Cuna, from the same family.

Pustet, Regina. 2000. Lakhota postpositions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 66.2: 157–180.

Postpositions denoting location, direction, reason, and comitative (“with”) in Lakhota, a Siouan language, are transparently related to verbs (as are a few case-marking suffixes in the language). These can be traced to grammaticalized minor verbs of motion, posture, and existence, used in asymmetrical serial verb constructions.

Thornes, Timothy. 2003. A Northern Paiute grammar with texts. PhD diss., Univ. of Oregon.

This comprehensive grammar of Northern Paiute contains a detailed analysis of two kinds of one-word serial verb constructions. One consists of a component from a large open class followed by a posture verb, which undergoes grammaticalization into a marker of aspect, direction, or stance. The other consists of two components, each from an open class of verbs, and tends to develop into semantically non-compositional lexicalized combinations.

Thornes, Tim. 2011. Dimensions of Northern Paiute multi-verb constructions. In *Multi-verb constructions: A view from the Americas*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter C. Muysken, 107–132. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

One-word serial verb constructions in Northern Paiute and other Uto-Aztecan languages (sometimes referred to as secondary verb constructions) consist of two verb stems; the second component, from a closed class of motion and posture verbs, and a few others, imparts aspectual and modal meanings to the constructions. The components are not contiguous. The origin of additional directional and aspectual markers in the language points toward patterns of grammaticalization in serial verbs across the family.

Watters, James K. 2017. Verb-verb compounds and argument structure in Tepehua. In *Argument realization in complex predicates and complex events*. Edited by Brian Nolan and Elke Diedrichsen, 277–303. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tepehua, a Totonacan language from Mexico, has productive one-word serial verb constructions (called “compounds”) of asymmetrical and symmetrical composition. The components share arguments and have all the defining properties of serial verbs. The constructions are noncontiguous (another morpheme can intervene between them). There are restrictions on transitivity values of the components of a serial verb construction.

Zavala, Roberto. 2006. Serial verbs in Olutec (Mixean). In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 273–300. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Olutec, a highly endangered Mixean language from Mexico, has one-word serial verbs that typically consist of just two components. Asymmetrical serial verbs have aspectual and modal meanings. The relations between components of symmetrical constructions are sequential and simultaneous, with many serial verbs forming idiomatic collocations. Grammaticalization processes within asymmetrical serial verbs have resulted in the creation of verbal classifiers, directionals, causatives, and passives.

Languages of South America

Serial verbs are a feature of numerous Amazonian languages; their diversity is addressed in Aikhenvald 2012 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions) and also Aikhenvald 2018 (cited under Monographs), and also chapters in Aikhenvald and Muysken 2011 (cited under Edited Collections). Multi-word and one-word serial verbs are a feature of Amazonian languages, including Tariana, Alto Perené, and other Arawak languages as featured in Aikhenvald 2006 and Mihás 2015 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions); Barasana, Tatuyo, Wanano, Piratapuyo and other languages of Tucanoan family, discussed in Gomez-Imbert 1988 and Stenzel 2007 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions); and Kwaza, addressed in van der Voort 2004 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions); the northernmost Tupí-Guaraní languages, as addressed in Rose 2009 and Jensen 1998 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions), and spoken within Amazonia and beyond it, as demonstrated in Velazquez-Castillo 2004 for Paraguayan Guaraní (cited under Languages of the Chaco). The only description of serial verbs in a Jê language is Dourado 2002 (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions). Birchall 2014 addresses serial verbs in Chapacuran (cited under Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions). Multi-word serial verbs are a feature of the languages of the Chaco area, to the south of Amazonia, as signaled in Golluscio and Vidal 2009–2010 (cited under Languages of the Chaco). Specific features of serial verbs in Wichí, Toba, and also Kadiwéu (north of the Chaco) are described in Nercesian 2009–2010, González 2013, Messineo and Cúneo 2009–2010, and Sandalo 1997 (all cited under Languages of the Chaco).

Languages of Amazonia and Adjacent Regions

Serial verbs are a feature of the Vaupés River basin linguistic area, and they have been described for Tariana in Aikhenvald 2006, Eastern Tucanoan in Stenzel 2007, and Gomez-Imbert 1988. Aikhenvald 2012 offers a general view of the Vaupés and areas of concentration of serial verbs across Amazonia. Serial verbs are a feature of Chapacuran languages Wari' and Oro Win, addressed in Birchall 2014; Kwaza (isolate), discussed in van der Voort 2004; and a number of northernmost Tupí-Guaraní languages, as outlined in Jensen 1998 and Rose 2009. They are a feature of the Kampa subgroup of Arawak, as shown in Mihás 2015. Dourado 2002 describes serial verbs in Jê languages.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Tariana. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 178–201. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Multi-word contiguous serial verbs of symmetrical and asymmetrical types in Tariana, the only North Arawak language within the multilingual Vaupés River basin linguistic area, are shared with related languages. They require the same marking of person on each component and express a plethora of meanings, including aspect, direction, and changing valency. One-word serial verbs are more restricted and can be traced back to areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages in the area.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. *Languages of the Amazon*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

An overview of the languages of the Amazon Basin and the neighboring areas. Serial verbs are a feature of many Arawak, Tucanoan, Yanomami, Makú, and Tupí-Guaraní languages north of the Amazon, and of Nambiquara, Chapacuran, and Panoan. Serial verbs are of diverse types in terms of their wordhood, contiguity, and argument sharing. Their distribution transcends the boundaries of genetic families, and their spread is often due to contact-induced change.

Birchall, Joshua. 2014. The multi-verb benefactive construction in Wari' and Oro Win. In *Incremento de valencia en las lenguas amazónicas*. Edited by Francesc Queixalós, Stella Telles, and Ana Carla Bruno, 115–132. Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Wari' and Oro Win, two Chapacuran languages spoken in southern Amazonia (Brazil), have productive multi-verb contiguous serial verb constructions of both symmetrical and asymmetrical type. Benefactive serial verb constructions employ the verb “give” as the minor component, adding the beneficiary argument and increasing the verb's valency. Resultative serial verbs of switch subject type are also attested.

Dourado, Luciana. 2002. Construções com predicados complexos em Panará (Jê). In *Línguas Jê: Estudos vários*. Edited by Lodovico C. dos Santos and Ismael Pontes, 41–55. London: Ed. UEL.

Panará, a Jê language from Brazil, has one-word serial verbs with one of the components from a closed class of minor verbs providing manner modification to the other, and also used as a complementation strategy. Some verbs have grammaticalized into markers of aspect. Serial verbs often form non-compositional idioms.

Gomez-Imbert, Elsa. 1988. Construcción verbal en barasana y tatuyo. *Amerindia* 13:97–108.

A pioneering analysis of one-word serial verbs in two Eastern Tucanoan languages, Barasana and Tatuyo, spoken in the Colombian part of the Vaupés River basin linguistic area. Serial verb are highly productive and express a variety of grammatical meanings.

Jensen, Cheryl. 1998. Comparative Tupí-Guaraní morphosyntax. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Vol. 4. Edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum, 487–618. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive analysis of the historical development of Tupí-Guaraní languages with special attention to the system of personal cross-referencing. Many Tupí-Guaraní languages have a construction with one verb marked as dependent to the other (misleadingly called “serial verb constructions” by some scholars). Several Tupí-Guaraní languages lost the marker of dependency and developed multi-word serial verb constructions of noncontiguous type.

Mihas, Elena. 2015. *A grammar of Alto Perené (Arawak)*. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

A comprehensive grammar of Alto Perené, from the Kampa subgroup of Arawak, a highly synthetic language spoken in Peru, with a variety of asymmetrical and some symmetrical multi-word serial verb constructions. The V1 in asymmetrical serial verbs provides purpose, posture, aspectual and modal and phasal specifications. Symmetrical serial verbs consist of two verbs from open classes, with V1 providing manner modification to V2. One-word serial verbs are symmetrical.

Rose, Françoise. 2009. The origin of serialization: The case of Emerillon. *Studies in Language* 33.3: 644–684.

A discussion of multi-word serial verbs in Emerillon, a Tupí-Guaraní language from French Guyana, which appear to have arisen due to the loss of a dependent marker in a gerundive construction. Serial verbs are mostly asymmetrical, with obligatory sharing of subjects and objects. The subject is marked on each component.

Stenzel, Kristine. 2007. The semantics of serial verb constructions in two Eastern Tucanoan languages: Kotiria (Wanano) and Waikhana (Piratapuyo). In *Proceedings of SULA 4: Semantics of under-represented languages in the Americas*. Papers presented at the fourth Conference on the Semantics of Under-Represented Languages in the Americas, University of São Paulo, Brazil, 24–26 May 2007. Edited by Amy Rose Deal, 375–390. University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics 35. Amherst, MA: Graduate Linguistic Student Association.

Serial verb constructions in Wanano and Piratapuyo, two closely related Eastern Tucanoan languages from the Vaupés River basin linguistic area, have highly productive one-word serial verbs. They may not be contiguous. Minor components of asymmetrical serial verbs

provide aspectual and modal specification; serial verbs with stative components code intensification and change of state. Serial verbs differ from multi-verb constructions with dependent forms.

van der Voort, Hein. 2004. *A grammar of Kwaza*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

A comprehensive grammar of a language isolate from southern Amazonia in Brazil with a productive system of symmetrical and asymmetrical one-word contiguous serial verb constructions that express numerous meanings, including aspect, direction, and increasing and decreasing valency.

Languages of the Chaco

The Chaco is a linguistic area south of Lowland Amazonia spanning adjacent areas of Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay (Golluscio and Vidal 2009–2010). The languages spoken here belong to several families, including Guaycuruan, Tupí-Guaraní, Mataco-Mataguayan, Zamucoan, and Lule-Vilela. Multi-verb noncontiguous serial verbs appear to be a specific feature of the Chaco languages. Nercesian 2009–2010 discusses serial verbs in Wichí (Mataguayan). González 2013 and Messineo and Cúneo 2009–2010 focus on Toba (Guaycuruan). Sandalo 1997 includes a brief analysis of asymmetrical serial verbs in Kadiwéu, also Guaycuruan spoken to the north of the Chaco. A comprehensive discussion of Paraguayan Guaraní, with two types of serial verbs, is in Velazquez-Castillo 2004.

Golluscio, Lucía A., and Alejandra Vidal. 2009–2010. 'Recorrido sobre las lenguas del Chaco y los aportes a la investigación lingüística'. *Amerindia* 33–34:1–40.

A general introduction to the Chaco as a linguistic area, with multi-word serial verbs as one of their characteristic features.

González, Raúl Eduardo. 2013. 'Construcciones multiverbales en toba (familia Guaycurú)'. In *Lingüística amerindia: Contribuciones y perspectivas*. Edited by Ana Fernández Garay, Marisa Censabella, and Marisa Malvestiti, 73–89. Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras Universidad de Buenos Aires.

A reappraisal of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Toba, a Guaycuruan language from Argentina and neighboring areas of Bolivia, with special attention to the restrictions on the transitivity of components and the grammaticalization of minor verbs into exponents of aspect.

Messineo, Cristina, and Paola Cúneo. 2009–2010. 'Construcciones seriales en toba (guaycurú)'. *Amerindia* 33–34:217–248.

Serial verbs in Toba, from the Guaycuruan family, spoken in Argentina and neighboring regions of Bolivia, consist of two inflected verbs; serial verbs are multi-word and noncontiguous. They are mono-predicative and require the same marking of the subject on all the components (but not of other categories such as directionality). Asymmetrical constructions have aspectual and modal meanings. Symmetrical serial verbs consist of two components, with V_2 providing manner specification to V_1 .

Nercesian, Verónica. 2009–2010. 'Construcciones de verbos seriales en wichí (mataguayo): Características sintácticas y semánticas'. *Amerindia* 33–34:187–216.

Multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs are a feature of Wichí, a Mataguayan language. Subject is expressed on each component, while other categories are marked once per construction. Serial verbs appear to be mostly asymmetrical, with motion and posture verbs expressing direction and aspect.

Sandalo, Maria Filomena. 1997. *A grammar of Kadiwéu with special reference to the Polysynthesis parameter*. MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics 11. Cambridge, MA: MIT, Department of Linguistics.

This sketch grammar of Kadiwéu, a Guaycuruan language, cast in the Minimalist framework, addresses serial verb constructions consisting of a verb from an unrestricted class and one of the seven verbs expressing motion, posture, location, and instrument. These asymmetrical serial verbs are multi-word and noncontiguous. Their shared subjects are marked on each component. A number of tests demonstrate that minor components expressing location and instrument have verbal properties and cannot be considered prepositions.

Velazquez-Castillo, Maura. 2004. Serial verb constructions in Paraguayan Guarani. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70.2: 187–213.

Paraguayan Guarani, one of the national languages of Paraguay, has multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs consisting of a motion verb followed by another verb. The same subject is marked concordantly on both verbs. Single-word serial verb constructions consist of two verbs each from an unrestricted class that form one grammatical word, with V_2 providing modification to V_1 . Serial verb constructions differ in their meanings from converbal constructions, which involve one verb bearing a marker of syntactic dependency.

Australian Aboriginal Languages

A few Australian Aboriginal languages have serial verbs. Asymmetrical serial verbs in Dyirbal were first recognized as such in Dixon 2006 (cited under Articles); symmetrical and asymmetrical types in Dyirbal and other Australian languages are addressed in Dixon 2011 and Dixon 2015, those in Burarra and Gurr-goni are discussed in Green 1987 and Green 1995. Nordlinger 2014 focuses on Wambaya in the context of a number of Australian languages; Reid 2002 and Reid 2003 treats asymmetrical serial verbs in Ngan.gityemerri; Ford 2011 deals with Emmi, and Nordlinger and Caudal 2012 focuses on Murrinh-Patha. Goddard 1988 misleadingly applies the term *serial verb* to sequences of verbs, one of which contains an overt dependency marking.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2011. Serial verb constructions in Dyirbal. *Anthropological Linguistics* 53.3: 185–214.

A detailed description of serial verb constructions in Dyirbal, based on a large corpus of texts. All components of a serial verb agree in transitivity and must have the same inflections for tense. Some aspectual suffixes and reduplication may have one component in their scope. Serial verbs are different from purposive constructions. Symmetrical serial verbs express different aspects of motion and simultaneous and interwoven activities.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2015. *Edible gender, mother-in-law style and other grammatical wonders: Studies in Dyirbal, Yidiñ, & Warrgamay*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A collection of papers dealing with Dyirbal, Yidiñ, and Warrgamay. Chapter 8, "Serial Verb Constructions in Dyirbal" (pp. 159–186), discusses general criteria for serial verbs applied to asymmetrical and symmetrical constructions in the comprehensive corpus on Dyirbal. Serial verbs describe a single activity or state and have all the properties of a single predicate. The order of components is not fixed. A survey of asymmetrical serial verbs in other Australian languages is provided.

Ford, Lysbeth J. 2011. *A description of the Emmi language of the Northern Territory of Australia*. Munich: Lincom Europa.

A comprehensive grammar of Emmi, a synthetic language from the Daly River area in northern Australia, with a variety of multi-word serial verbs that share a single intonation contour. Serial verbs consist of two components, the second of which comes from a small closed set of intransitive verbs of motion, location, or posture. The second component specifies the orientation or posture of the subject or provide aspectual information.

Goddard, Cliff. 1988. Verb serialization and the circumstantial construction in Yankunytjatjara. In *Complex sentence constructions in Australian languages*. Edited by Peter K. Austin, 177–192. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

In Yankunytjatjara, a dialect of the Western Desert language, a verb marked with a dependency-marking suffix can be accompanied by a fully inflected verb. The second verb can provide aspectual modification to the whole construction or the two may refer to subsequent or

simultaneous action. This construction is misleadingly termed *serial verb*, based on some semantic similarities with bona fide serial verbs, despite the fact that one verb is marked as dependent to the other.

Green, Rebecca. 1987. A sketch grammar of Burarra. MA diss., Australian National Univ., Canberra.

An incisive grammar of a prefixing synthetic language from northern Australia, with asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verbs. The components are strictly contiguous, have all the properties of monoverbal predicates, and share the marking of person and tense. Asymmetrical serial verbs describe motion and position of the subject; the minor verb may impart aspectual meanings. Symmetrical constructions have exclusively simultaneous meaning. Switch-subject serial verbs have a causative meaning.

Green, Rebecca. 1995. A grammar of Gurr-goni. PhD diss., Canberra: Australian National Univ.

A comprehensive grammar of a prefixing synthetic language from northern Australia, with asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verbs (of up to three components). Serial verbs are strictly contiguous, and they have all the properties of monoverbal predicates. The components have the same marking of tense and person. Besides serial verbs with the same subject, Gurr-goni has constructions with cumulative subjects and switch-subject constructions (the object of V_1 is the same as the subject of V_2).

Nordlinger, Rachel. 2014. Serial verbs in Wambaya. In *Language description informed by theory*. Edited by Rob Pensalfini, Myfany Turpin, and Giana Guillemin, 263–282. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Wambaya, from the Mirrnda group, is spoken in the Northern Territory. Asymmetrical serial verbs express motion and position. Symmetrical constructions mark manner and cause-effect. The same value of tense can be marked once per serial verb or on each component (which are noncontiguous). The order of components is not fixed. Components of cause-effect serial verbs have the same transitivity value. Serial verbs differ from constructions with coordinated clauses.

Nordlinger, Rachel, and Patrick Caudal. 2012. The tense, aspect and modality system in Murrinh-Patha. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 32.1: 73–113.

Murrinh-Patha, a highly synthetic prefixing of the Daly region of Northern Australia, has a limited number of asymmetrical serial verbs. The minor component of serial verbs conveys imperfective meanings.

Reid, Nicholas. 2002. Sit right down the back: Serialized posture verbs in Ngan.gityemerri and other Northern Australian languages. In *The linguistics of sitting, standing and lying*. Edited by John Newman, 239–268. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ngan.gityemerri, a highly synthetic language from the Daly region of northern Australia, has asymmetrical serial verb constructions consisting of two inflected verbs forming one grammatical word and sharing inflections. The minor component is a posture verb, imparting aspectual specification to the construction. This type of serial verb appears to have recently diffused into the language from the Southern and Western Daly languages.

Reid, Nicholas. 2003. Phrasal verb to synthetic verb: Recorded morphosyntactic change in Ngan'gityemerri. In *The Non-Pama-Nyungan languages of northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*. Edited by N. Evans, 95–123. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A comparison between asymmetrical serial verbs in modern Ngan.gityemerri—documented by Nicholas Reid—and previous materials on closely related dialects suggests that serial verbs in the language are a fairly recent phenomenon. They are absent in earlier documentation of the language by Gerhardt Laves conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and they can be considered part of a radical morphological restructuring of the language toward increased morphological complexity and synthesis.

Languages of the Austronesian Family

Serial verbs are a prominent feature of the Oceanic subgroup of Eastern Malayo-Polynesian branch of the extensive Austronesian language family. Senft 2008 (cited under General), Brill 2004 (cited under Oceanic Languages), and Bradshaw 1993 (cited under Edited Collections) are selected studies on serial verbs in Oceanic and a number of other Austronesian languages; typological features of serial verbs in Austronesian languages are mentioned in Aikhenvald 2006, Durie 1997, and Foley and Olson 1985 (cited under Articles). Crowley 2002 (cited under Oceanic Languages), Brill and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004 (cited under General) and Guérin 2017 (cited under Oceanic Languages) describe features of serial verbs in Oceanic. Geraghty 2017 (cited under Oceanic Languages) summarizes the current debate concerning the origin of serial verbs as an inherited feature of proto-Oceanic, or as a result of areal diffusion from Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages of the New Guinea region. Durie 1988 (cited under Oceanic Languages) investigates grammaticalization processes in serial verbs in Oceanic. Bradshaw 1993, Crowley 1987, Hamel 1993, Lichtenberk 2006, and Schokkin 2013 (cited under Oceanic Languages) analyze serial verbs in individual Oceanic languages, with a special focus on grammaticalization processes within them, also addressed in van Klinken 2000 (cited under Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions). Serial verbs were described for a number of Austronesian languages outside Oceanic, including Formosan languages of Taiwan, in Hsieh 2012, Huang and Su 2005, Lin 2015, and Teng 2008 (all cited under Other Austronesian Languages); the languages of eastern Indonesia such as Taba, described in Bowden 2008; Kéo, treated in Baird 2008; of Sumatra, analyzed in Eades 2005; of central Sulawesi, described in Quick 2007; and East Timor, analyzed in Hajek 2006 (all cited under Other Austronesian Languages). Serial verbs shared by Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages as a potential areal feature of the East Nusantara region within eastern Indonesia are discussed in van Staden and Reesink 2008 (cited under Other Austronesian Languages).

General

Senft 2008 contains a selection of studies of serial verbs in Austronesian languages. Brill and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004 addresses serial verb constructions in various subgroups of Oceanic languages within the context of the Austronesian language family.

Brill, Isabelle, and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, eds. 2004. *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages. Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Edited by Isabelle Brill and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, 1–48. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

The volume focuses on serial verbs, compounds, and multi-verb constructions of other kinds in Oceanic languages in general, with specific contributions dealing with Western Oceanic, Remote Oceanic, and Central Pacific languages. See pp. 1–48.

Senft, Gunter, ed. 2008. *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

The volume starts with a short introduction to the notion of serial verbs and their distribution in the languages of the Pacific, by Senft, followed by a discussion of serial verbs as an areal feature of eastern Indonesia and studies of serial verbs in Kéo, Taba, Tetun Dili, Tolaki, Eipo and Yale, Kalam and Kilivila.

Oceanic Languages

Serial verbs are a prominent characteristic of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages. A comprehensive study is Crowley 2002. Serial verbs as a characteristic trait of the subgroup and the existing types are discussed in Brill 2004 and Guérin 2017. Comprehensive discussion of serial verbs features in most grammars of Oceanic languages. The current debate on their origins, whether due to genetic inheritance or to areal diffusion, is summarized in Geraghty 2017. Grammaticalization in serial verbs is discussed in Durie 1988, Schokkin 2013, and Ross 2004 as well as in Lichtenberk 1991 and Lichtenberk 2013 (cited under Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions). Specific topics are addressed in Bradshaw 1993 for Numbami and Jabêm, Crowley 1987 for Paamese, Hamel 1993 for Loni, and Lichtenberk 2006 for Toqabaqita, and in chapters in Brill and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004 and Senft 2008 (both cited under Languages of the Austronesian Family: General) as well as Bradshaw 1993 (cited under Edited Collections).

Bradshaw, Joel. 1993. Subject relationships within serial verb constructions in Numbami and Jabêm. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32.1: 133–162.

A detailed analysis of serial verbs in Numbami and Jabêm, two closely related Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea, with special focus on shared subject and switch-subject serialization, in addition to the event-argument serialization in Jabêm, whereby a verb with a temporal reference occurs together with a verb from an open class in a serial verb construction.

Bril, Isabelle. 2004. Complex nuclei in Oceanic languages: Contribution to an areal typology. In *Complex predicates in Oceanic languages: Studies in the dynamics of binding and boundedness*. Edited by Isabelle Bril and Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, 1–48. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

An outline of typological properties of complex predicates of different types, including symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions, with a focus on argument sharing, compositionality, and functional features of serial verbs across Oceanic languages. Based on the assumption that serial verbs are historically linked to clause sequences.

Crowley, Terry. 1987. Serial verb constructions in Paamese. *Studies in Language* 11:35–84.

A pioneering paper dealing with various types of serial verbs in Paamese, an Oceanic language from Vanuatu, and their defining features, including argument sharing, employing the concepts of core and nuclear serialization (terms from within Role and Reference grammar), with a discussion of serializability of verbs and the diachronic development of the constructions.

Crowley, Terry. 2002. *Serial verbs in Oceanic: A descriptive typology*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive discussion of types of serial verbs and their properties in Oceanic languages in the context of typologically attested features of serial verbs (with a chapter on Paamese expanding on Crowley 1987), their grammaticalization and subsequent loss, and the characterization of serial verbs in a number of Pacific Creoles (Tok Pisin, Bislama, and Solomons Pijin) that bear an impact from the substratum of Oceanic languages.

Durie, Mark. 1988. Verb serialization and “verbal prepositions” in Oceanic languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 27.1–2: 1–23.

A classic study of one subtype of serial verbs in Oceanic languages and their grammaticalization paths. Verbs of motion and direction in Oceanic languages undergo diachronic drift into prepositions while retaining some of their verbal properties (such as markers of person and transitivity).

Geraghty, Paul. 2017. Languages of eastern Melanesia. In *The Cambridge handbook of areal linguistics*. Edited by Raymond Hickey, 821–851. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive overview of Austronesian languages spoken in eastern Melanesia and their recurrent features, including serial verbs. The paper contains a concise summary of the current controversy with regard to the origins of serial verbs in Oceanic languages as being due either to genetic inheritance from the proto-language or to an independent development due to a Papuan substratum.

Guérin, Valérie. 2017. The Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. In *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 911–941. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A general outline of the typological profile of Oceanic languages (covering about 500 languages), with a special focus on patterns of symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verbs and their distribution across the subgroup. Asymmetrical serial verbs constitute the most widely represented type.

Hamel, Patricia J. 1993. Serial verb constructions in Loniu and an evolving preposition. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32.1: 111–132.

A comprehensive analysis of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions in Loniu, an Oceanic language of the Manus Province in Papua New Guinea, in terms of their defining properties, argument-sharing, and functions in comparison with other Oceanic languages, with the discussion of ongoing grammaticalization of the third person irrealis form of the verb “go” into a valency-increasing preposition.

Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Toqabaqita. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 254–272. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Detailed analysis of a variety of types of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs in Toqabaqita, an Oceanic language spoken in the Solomon Islands. Serial verbs typically contain two components; there are complex restrictions on the transitivity options for a serial construction. The language lacks directional serial verbs whose minor components have been grammaticalized into directional markers.

Schokkin, Dineke. 2013. Directionals in Paluai: Semantics, use, and grammaticalization paths. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52.1: 169–191.

A comprehensive discussion of directional serial verbs in Paluai, an Oceanic language from the Manus Province of Papua New Guinea, and the development of directional and object markers from the minor components as a result of polygrammaticalization.

Other Austronesian Languages

Serial verbs are a feature of a number of Formosan languages spoken in Taiwan—Puyuma discussed in Teng 2008, Tsou in Lin 2015, Kavalan in Hsieh 2012, and Saisiyat in Huang and Su 2005. Serialization could be an areal feature of the East Nusantara region in eastern Indonesia, according to van Staden and Reesink 2008. Multi-word serial verbs are found in the Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia, including Taba, discussed in Bowden 2008 for Taba; central Sulawesi, as addressed in Quick 2007; the Aceh Province (Sumatra), analyzed in Eades 2005 for Gayo; and Kéo, in the region of Flores, treated in Baird 2008. Tetun Dili, the major Austronesian language of East Timor, has an array of serial verbs, some of them grammaticalized, as shown in Hajek 2006 as well as van Klinken 2000 (cited under Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions).

Baird, Louise. 2008. Motion serialization in Kéo. In *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Edited by Gunter Senft, 55–74. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Kéo, of the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian, is spoken in eastern Indonesia. This isolating language has a plethora of multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions of both asymmetrical and symmetrical types, including causative, cause-effect, and synonymic serial verbs. The paper focuses on serial verbs containing verbs of motion and the ways in which they reflect the salience of concepts of space characteristic of the Kéo worldview and event representation.

Bowden, John. 2008. Verb serialization in Taba. In *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Edited by Gunter Senft, 75–98. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

An analysis of different types of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs in Taba, an Austronesian language from the South Halmahera–West New Guinea subgroup of Austronesian (a sister subgroup to Oceanic), spoken in eastern Indonesia. Outlines the definitional properties of serial verbs in the language, including shared tense-aspect and modality value, and intonational properties, with a focus on shared argument structure, switch-function constructions, lexicalization, and grammaticalization.

Eades, Domenyk. 2005. *A grammar of Gayo, a language of Aceh, Sumatra*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A reference grammar of Gayo, from the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch, with an array of symmetrical and asymmetrical multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions, with a special focus on serial verbs expressing simultaneous state of affairs, purpose, and result.

Hajek, John. 2006. Serial verbs in Tetun Dili. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 254–272. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A detailed and accessible analysis of multi-word serial verbs in Tetun Dili, an Austronesian language of East Timor, and their structural and semantic types (compared to those in a more archaic variety). Special attention is paid to causative constructions and grammaticalization within serial verbs. Serial verbs in Tetun Dili have been influenced by the neighboring Papuan languages. Tetun Dili undergoes de-serialization, under the influence of Portuguese, a major language of the country.

Hsieh, Fuhui. 2012. On the grammaticalization of the Kavalan SAY verb zin. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51.2: 464–489.

A discussion of multi-word serial verb constructions in Kavalan, with a special focus on grammaticalization and category change of the verb “say” into a complementizer compared with similar paths in serial verbs in Sinitic and in other Formosan languages.

Huang, Shuping, and Lily I-wen Su. 2005. Iconicity as evidenced in Saisiyat linguistic coding of causative events. *Oceanic Linguistics* 44.2: 341–356.

A discussion of multi-word serial verb constructions in Saisiyat, with a special focus on causative serial verb constructions, their semantics, and marking of verbal categories.

Lin, Gujing. 2015. Wordhood and event integration in Tsou serial verb constructions. In *New advances in Formosan linguistics*. Edited by Elizabeth Zeitoun, Stacy F. Teng, and Joy J. Wu, 101–129. Canberra, Australia: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

A comprehensive discussion of several types of serial verb constructions in Tsou. Multi-word serial verb constructions divide into two kinds: the ones with concordant marking of verbal categories and the ones in which each category is marked once per serial verb. Serial verbs are contrasted with other kinds of verb sequences. Concordant marking correlates with a high degree of event integration.

Quick, Philip. 2007. *A grammar of the Pendau language of central Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A reference grammar of Pendau, from the Sulawesi group of Austronesian, with extensive discussion of directional serial verbs containing motion verbs and their properties.

Teng, Stacy Fang-Ching. 2008. *A reference grammar of Puyuma, an Austronesian language of Taiwan*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A detailed reference grammar of Puyuma, with the most detailed and well-argued discussion of serial verb in any Austronesian language of Taiwan to date, focusing on how to distinguish serial verbs from sequences of clauses, their argument sharing, semantic types, and lexicalization.

van Staden, Miriam, and Ger Reesink. 2008. Serial verb constructions in a linguistic area. In *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*. Edited by Gunter Senft, 17–54. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A discussion of a number of types of serial verb constructions as a potential areal feature shared by Austronesian and Papuan languages of the East Nusantara region of eastern Indonesia, focusing on loosely defined notions of dependent and independent serialization.

Papuan Languages of New Guinea

Non-Austronesian, or “Papuan.” languages of New Guinea display diverse patterns of serial verbs. A general perspective is in Foley and Olson 1985 (cited under Articles). Lane 2007 contains a comprehensive discussion of serial verbs in Kalam. Pawley 1993 and Pawley and Lane 1998 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation), and Pawley 2009 address semantic and pragmatic functions of serial verbs and their history in Kalam; Givón 1991 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation) compares serial verbs and clause chains in four Papuan languages in terms of their compactness. Ingram 2006 discusses serial verbs in Dumo, a Sko language of Sandaun Province. James 1983 addresses serial verbs in Siane, from the Eastern Highlands; Comrie 1995 discusses Haruai, from Madang Province. Baird 2010 and Klamer 2010 investigate serial verbs in the languages of the Alor and Pantar islands in Indonesia. Dol 2007 is a detailed study of serial verbs in a Papuan language from the Bird’s Head area in West Papua. Bruce 1988 (cited under Serial Verbs and Event Representation) and Foley 1991 contain an in-depth analysis of serial verbs in the languages from the Sepik region. Seiler 1986 (cited under Grammaticalization in Serial Verb Constructions) addresses serial verbs in Imonda and other languages of the Waris family.

Baird, Louise. 2010. Grammaticalization of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Klon. In *East Nusantara: Typological and areal analyses*. Edited by Michael Ewing and Marian Klamer, 185–201. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Klon, a Papuan language of Alor, an island in Indonesia, has a variety of multi-word noncontiguous asymmetrical and symmetrical serial verb constructions. The minor components in asymmetrical serial verbs undergo grammaticalization into exponents of aspect, directionality, comparison, and valency-increase.

Comrie, Bernard. 1995. Serial verbs in Haruai (Papua New Guinea) and their theoretical implications. In *Langages et langage: Problèmes et raisonnement en linguistique; Mélanges offerts à Antoine Culioli*. Edited by Janine Bouscaren, Jean-Jacques Franckel, and Stéphane Robert, 25–37. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Haruai, a Papuan language spoken in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea, has clearly defined multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions that are clearly monoclausal: their components cannot be negated separately and must have the same tense and aspect value. Serial verb constructions often get lexicalized.

Dol, Philomena. 2007. *A grammar of Maybrat, a Papuan language of the Bird’s Head, Irian Jaya*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A comprehensive grammar of a previously undescribed Papuan language from the Bird’s Head area in West Papua, with special focus on multi-word noncontiguous serial verb constructions whose components share subjects and other arguments and bear concordant marking of person and single marking of other categories. Serial verb constructions are shown to be different from subordination, coordination, and verb sequences of other kinds.

Foley, William A. 1991. *The Yimas language of New Guinea*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive grammar of Yimas, an endangered language from the Lower Sepik family, with a pioneering analysis of single-word contiguous serial verb constructions, the majority of which denote sequential relationships between the sub-actions. Serial verbs constructions consist of just two components, and some of them have specialized uses and undergo grammaticalization.

Ingram, Andrew. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Dumo. In *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 202–222. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A pioneering description of multi-word noncontiguous serial verbs in Dumo, from the Sko family, with numerous types of asymmetrical and symmetrical constructions (whose meanings include directionality, aspect, valency increase, and intensification). Verb serialization is a pervasive feature of the family. Typological properties of Dumo associated with serialization include a closed class of basic verb roots and little inflectional morphology.

James, Dorothy. 1983. Verb serialization in Siane. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 14:26–75.

A pioneering analysis of multi-word serial verb constructions in Siane, a Papuan language spoken on the border of the Eastern Highlands and Chimbu Provinces, outlining their monopredicative features and semantics. Serial verbs fall into “auxiliary” (or minor verb providing aspectual, deontic, or valency-increasing meanings), “progressional” (with sequential meaning of the components), and “lexical” (whose meaning cannot be considered the sum of the meanings of its components).

Klamer, Marian. 2010. One item, many faces: “Come” in Teiwa and Kaera. In *East Nusantara: Typological and areal analyses*. Edited by Michael Ewing and Marian Klamer, 203–225. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

Teiwa and Kaera, two Papuan languages spoken on Pantar, an island in Indonesia, have various types of serial verbs. The motion verb “come” undergoes polygrammaticalization into a deictic marker, a conjunction, and a marker of oblique object. The paths of polygrammaticalization are accounted for by the general deictic meaning of the verb.

Lane, Jonathan. 2007. *Kalam serial verb constructions*. Canberra, Australia: Pacific Linguistics.

A detailed study of multi-verb serial verbs in Kalam, a Papuan language of the New Guinea Highlands, based on an analysis of their textual use, with a snapshot of general properties of serial verbs worldwide, and with a special focus on aspectual and case-marking functions of serial verbs, and their coalescence into one unit, giving rise to new verbal lexemes in Kalam, a language with a closed class of underived verbs.

Pawley, Andrew. 2009. On the origins of serial verb constructions in Kalam. In *Syntactic complexity: Diachrony, acquisition, neuro-cognition, evolution*. Edited by Talmy E. Givón and Masayoshi Shibatani, 119–144. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Serial verbs in Kalam are a preferred option for telling a story when the speaker does not wish to individuate the stages of a composite action. This is in contrast to a sequence of clauses, which allow speakers to focus on particular events in a narrative.

Mixed Languages and Code-Switching

The only study that specifically addresses serial verbs in a mixed language that arose as a result of code-switching between Gurinji and Kriol is Meakins 2010. Amuzu 2013 is the only study of serial verbs in code-switching.

Amuzu, Evershed Kwasi. 2013. Bilingual serial verb constructions: A comparative study of Ewe-English and Ewe-French code-switching. *Lingua* 137:19–37.

Ewe-English and Ewe-French code-switching shows that Ewe, as the matrix language, sets the frame for bilingual serial verb constructions. The paper also addresses properties of serial verbs in Ewe.

Meakins, Felicity. 2010. The development of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in an Australian mixed language. *Linguistic Typology* 14.1: 1–38.

Gurinji Kriol is a mixed language that came about as the result of code-switching between Kriol (a Creole language) and Gurinji, the indigenous language. Minor verbs in multi-word noncontiguous constructions express motion, direction, and aspect. Kriol had initially provided the frame for restricted asymmetrical serial verb constructions in the mixed language, which expanded under the influence of the Gurinji complex verb.

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