Syntactic Variation in Papiamentu/o: Directional and Resultative Serial Verb Constructions

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Para mi familia
y
para André

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You have ALL made this dissertation possible!

Table of contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of abbreviations

ASP: aspect
AUX.PASS: passive auxiliary
COMP: complementizer
COMPL: completive
COP: copula
COP.PST: copula past
DEF: definite
DEM: demonstrative
DET: determiner
EMPH: emphatic
EXT: existential
INDF: indefinite
IPFV: imperfective
fn.: footnote
FOC: focus marker
FUT: future
GER: gerund
GJT: grammaticality judgment test
Lit.: literally
LOC: locative
LVC: light verb construction
NEG: negator
NP: nominal phrase
PFV: perfective
PL: plural
POSS: possessive
Pp: Papiamentu/o
PREP: preposition
PROG: progressive
PST.IPFV: past imperfective
PTCP: participle
REDUP: reduplication
REFL: reflexive
REL: relative
SG: singular
SVC: serial verb constructions
TA: tense aspect
TNS: tense
VP: verbal phrase
V-V: verb compound

1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives of this study

The present dissertation investigates the syntactic variation attested in the creole language Papiamentu/o in resultative and intransitive directional serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions have been regarded as unstable structures cross-linguistically due to the fact that they tend to evolve into non-serial constructions over the course of time on account of internally- and externally-motivated factors. As regards internal factors, processes of grammaticalization affecting serial verbs have been described cross-linguistically (e.g. Lord 1973, 1993, Li and Thompson 1974, Durie 1988, Bisang 1992, 1996, Crowley 2002, Aikhenvald 2006). With respect to external factors, serial verb constructions tend to be replaced by non-serial structures when serializing languages are in intense contact with high-prestige non-serializing languages (e.g. Hajek 2006):

> [I]t is relatively likely that a language which originally had only serial verbs as a case-marking device would subsequently develop prepositions, either by a type of reanalysis already attested for West African languages… or by direct borrowing from a high-prestige language with which it was in contact… (Bickerton 1981: 119)

The dissolution of serial verb constructions can therefore be connected to language-internal or language-external factors, as well as to the convergence of the two.

Since Papiamentu/o exhibits verb serialization and has been in contact with high-prestige non-serializing languages – English, Dutch and Spanish – for quite some time, this study investigates how the internally- and externally-motivated pattern of evolution attested in serializing languages cross-linguistically affects these two types of serial verb constructions, i.e. intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions, in this creole language.

The objective of the present study is two-fold. First, it primarily analyses the level of grammaticalization affecting directional and resultative serial verbs. Second, it examines the extent to which the Indo-European contact languages on the ABC islands – Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao – exert an influence on the phenomenon of verb serialization in Papiamentu/o and on the expression of direction and result via non-serial structures.

1. Grammaticalization of directional and resultative verbs

First, I will look at the grammaticalization processes taking place within the frame of intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions. The former exhibit a motion-direction semantic relation, whereas the latter express an action-result or a cause-effect association. Following the state of the art on the internal evolution of Papiamentu/o directional serial verb constructions, I will argue that directional serial verbs have undergone two divergent paths of grammaticalization: from verb to

preposition and from verb to affix. With regard to the first grammaticalization cline, Bendix (1972), Endruschat (2005, 2007) and Jacobs (2015) suggest the reinterpretation of *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come" as prepositions that indicate the direction of the main verb they accompany. However, these linguists neither present evidence for the evolution of the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions nor for their prepositional status. Morphosyntactic evidence will be provided in this dissertation to demonstrate the prepositional status of these directional verbs in Papiamentu/o and the coexistence of all stages of the grammaticalization path from full verb to preposition.

In terms of the second grammaticalization path, Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995), Arends, Muysken and Smith (1995), Muysken (2001) and Jacobs (2015) succinctly propose the compounding of intransitive directional serial verb constructions like *bula bai*/*bay* "fly go" due to their frequent use in Papiamentu/o. Building on this suggestion, the insertion of prepositions to indicate direction after directional serial verb constructions will be proposed as evidence for the compounding of some intransitive directional serial constructions in Papiamentu/o. Although the insertion of prepositions may be related to the influence of language contact, it may also be linked to the desemanticization of the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), mainly *bai*/*bay*, within the verb compounds.

With respect to the grammaticalization of serial verbs in Papiamentu/o resultative serial constructions, Sebba (1987: 201) briefly touches upon serial verb constructions with *mata* "kill" in V_2 position, regarding them as lexical idioms or compounds, for example *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) "shoot dead" or "shoot to death". I will provide evidence that the emergence of resultative verb compounds is linked to the grammaticalization of resultative serial verbs, which have entered the cline from serial verbs to affixes.

Furthermore, it has been proposed that the motion verbs *bula* "fly, jump" and *kore*/*core* "run", which usually occupy V_1 position in intransitive directional serial verb constructions, as well as *dal* "hit" and *kai*/*cay* "fall", which are frequently found as V_1 in resultative serial constructions, have desemanticized. I will claim that in some constructions these verbs have not undergone grammaticalization, but are best analysed as light verbs. Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974) and Jacobs (2015) already acknowledged differences between actual serial verb constructions and other structures in which *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* behave like auxiliaries modifying the main verb in manner and aspect. Here, these lexemes will be analysed as light verbs that form light verb constructions with the main verb, i.e. V_2, which they modify adverbially or aspectually in the complex predicate. The exhibiting of adverbial/aspectual functions in some contexts is due to the fact that the four verbs' underlying lexical entry gives rise to a main and a light verb interpretation that is contextually dependent.

2. Influence of language contact on the expression of direction and action-result

Second, it will be shown that direction and the action-result semantic relation can not only be conveyed in Papiamentu/o using verb serialization or the grammaticalized version of the intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions, but also

by means of alternative non-serial structures. The following non-serial counterparts will be presented. Several structures will be presented in regard to the expression of direction in Papiamentu/o: motion verbs with and without a preposition, as well as directional verbs with and without a preposition. Endruschat (2007: 163) suggests that the use of directional serial verbs with prepositional function is decreasing, and Sebba (1987: 179) claims that there is a preference for prepositions rather than serializing strategies. Two non-serial structures will be shown to denote cause-effect or action-result in Papiamentu/o: overt and covert coordination. While some speakers admitted that direction and action-result are both conveyed via serial and their non-serial counterpart structures, other participants acknowledged semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences, as well as a distinction as regards the perception of identity between the constructions. Some authors have already pointed out semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences between serial and non-serial resultative structures in Papiamentu/o (see Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974). Quantitative data will be presented to show the variation among the preferences of speakers. Moreover, information will be provided regarding the differences perceived by the participants in the use of a serial verb construction and its respective non-serial variant(s).

The primary data used here come from fieldwork conducted in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, as well as from literary texts and newspapers written in Papiamentu/o. The methodology used in this dissertation will be explained below.

1.2 Methodology

Fieldwork to gather empirical data for this study was conducted on the ABC islands during four weeks in February 2015: two weeks were spent in Curaçao, one week in Aruba and the remaining week in Bonaire. The data were collected using the mixed-methods research, which includes a combination of quantitative and qualitative tasks. The quantitative tasks included a Grammaticality Judgement Task (GJT) and a stimulus test. Interviews were carried out as the qualitative task. The data gathered by means of the stimulus test were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The GJT consisted of 34 items: seven aimed at testing the linguistic phenomena analysed in the present study, and a total of 27 items were inserted as distractors and control items. The distractors were used so that the objective of the research was not obvious to participants[1] and the control items to guarantee the reliability of the delivered information. Some of the distractors aimed at investigating other linguistic aspects that, in the end, were not taken into consideration for this dissertation: expletive subjects, null subjects and subject-verb inversion in Papiamentu/o.

Since there are two different spelling systems in Papiamentu/o, the items were adapted to the spelling with which informants were familiar. Therefore, two questionnaires were prepared: one that applied the spelling rules followed in Curaçao and Bonaire and another one that applied the orthography used in Aruba. I considered it necessary to use both spelling norms so that informants were not distracted by "spelling

[1] For stylistic reasons the terms "participants", "speakers" and "informants" will be used interchangeably.

mistakes" and could concentrate on the syntactic aspects that were actually being tested. Two native speakers improved the spelling and participated in the pilot questionnaire.[2]

The stimulus test consisted of two pictures and two picture stories that the informants were asked to briefly describe. During the interview the participants could speak on a topic of their choice individually or in conversation with another participant. Both the stimulus test and the interview were recorded. An Olympus LS-11EU recorder was used to record the two oral tasks. The transcription of the spoken data was carried out using EXMARaLDA Partitur-Editor 1.5.2.[3] EXMARaLDA EXAKT 1.3 was used to generate a corpus for the data analysis. Microsoft Excel was used to create the tables and the Matplotlib plotting library to plot the figures.

The sequence in which the tasks were completed was subject to variation. Some informants filled in the GJT first and then did the stimulus test and interview, while other participants did the tasks in the reverse order. As will be shown below, most speakers completed all three tasks. However, some of them were only able to participate in the GJT. The majority of the informants (66/91) preferred to fill in the GJT on their own, while the rest (25/91) felt more comfortable if some help was provided. In the latter case, the items were read to the informants[4] and their judgement, improvements and comments were noted down. Depending on how much time the speakers who filled in the GJT on their own had at their disposal, the items that were relevant for this study were discussed, i.e. I asked the speakers for their interpretation.

Initially, 94 people took part in the research. Unfortunately, the data of three participants (a man from Aruba aged 31–50 and two women also from Aruba aged 31–50 and 51–70) had to be disregarded in terms of the quantitative outcomes because they had learnt Papiamento as adults. However, some examples taken from their interviews and stimulus tests were used. The examples taken from these speakers are marked accordingly.

Data from 91 speakers were taken into condiseration for the GJT. The distribution of speakers who participated in the GJT is indicated below with regard to two sociolinguistic factors (age and gender) and the island they came from (the diatopic variation):

a) Age

<18	18–30	31–50	51–70	>70	Total
3	38	18	19	13	91

Table 1. Fieldwork: Age of those who participated in the GJT

Only speakers who were 18 or older were eligible to participate in the fieldwork. However, I decided to include three underage participants because they were eager to take part in this study on their native language.

[2] I kindly thank Marta B. Dijkhoff and Joyce Pereira for taking the time to check and improve the spelling in the GJT for Curaçao/Bonaire and Aruba, and also for participating in the pilot project.

[3] The transcription of the interviews and stimulus tests was done by the author. I thank Randy Gabriël Rosa, a Papiamentu native speaker, for checking the transcription, especially those parts that presented difficulties.

[4] This is known as a spoken questionnaire.

b) Gender

Male	Female	Total
46	45	91

Table 2. Fieldwork: Gender of those who participated in the GJT

c) Island

Curaçao	Aruba	Bonaire	Total
39	30	22	91

Table 3. Fieldwork: Island home of those who participated in the GJT

It should be added that of the 39 informants who represented the Curaçaoan dialect, 21 had always lived in Curaçao, while 14 had lived in other places (mostly in the Netherlands) and had later returned to Curaçao. Besides, four speakers were currently living on the two neighbouring islands.

Of the 30 participants who represented the Aruban dialect, 15 had always resided in Aruba,[5] ten had lived abroad (mainly in the USA and the Netherlands, but also in Saint Martin, Haiti, France, Portugal and Spain) and were back in Aruba, two had been living in Curaçao for between one and three years, and one had been living in Bonaire for six years. Two of the participants were born in Colombia and were students in their late teens/early twenties. They had been living in Aruba for between seven and 16 years.

Of the 22 speakers who represented the Bonairean dialect, ten had always lived in Bonaire,[6] while nine had lived in other places (Curaçao, Aruba and the Netherlands) and were back in Bonaire. Three participants in this group were actually born in Curaçao, but were included in the Bonairean dialect group because they had been living in Bonaire for between 33 and 50 years.

As is the case for most creole speakers, none of the participants was monolingual. All of them were either bilingual/multilingual in English, Dutch and/or Spanish, or spoke these languages fluently or to some extent. Only two female participants – one from Aruba (51-70) and another from Bonaire (+70) – could be said to be almost monolingual because, according to their own assessment, their knowledge of other languages was quite low.

Neither the participants' level of education nor their occupation was taken into account when analysing the data. However, I made sure that the informants had diverse levels of education and different jobs so that the data is representative of society.

Of the 91 speakers who participated in the GJT, 69 also took part in the interviews and 62 of them in the stimulus test as well. A total of 6 hours 24 minutes and 14 seconds were recorded. The participants' distribution across the three factors cited above is as follows:

[5] I also include in this group those participants who, having been born in other countries, arrived in Aruba at a very early age and learnt Papiamento as their mother tongue.

[6] I also include in this group those speakers who were born elsewhere but arrived in Bonaire as children and, hence, are Papiamentu native speakers.

a) Age

<18	18–30	31–50	51–70	>70	Total
3	22	18	13	13	69

Table 4. Fieldwork: Age of those who participated in the interview

b) Gender

Male	Female	Total
32	37	69

Table 5. Fieldwork: Gender of those who participated in the interview

c) Island

Curaçao	Aruba	Bonaire	Total
25	28	16	69

Table 6. Fieldwork: Island home of those who participated in the interview

Besides the data gathered during the fieldwork, examples taken from literary works written in Papiamentu/o as well as from local online newspapers were used in order to further illustrate the syntactic variation under investigation in this study.

1.3 Structure of this study

The rest of chapter 1 provides the reader with general information concerning the creole language Papiamentu/o.

Chapter 2 elaborates on the theoretical approach used to analyse the syntactic variation attested in Papiamentu/o intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions, as well as in the variation to express direction and action-result using serial and non-serial structures. An overview of the theory of grammaticalization, contact-induced change and contact-induced grammaticalization will be provided. Since the focus of this study is on the language-internal processes affecting serial verbs in Papiamentu/o, the grammaticalization theory is presented in more detail.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the current state of research with regard to the study of serial verb constructions and the grammaticalization processes that affect their constituents. Since serial verbs and serial verb constructions have been distinguished from light verbs and light verb constructions, information will also be provided concerning the latter category and type of construction. Serial and light verbs are presented in this chapter as elusive categories owing to the fact that they display diverse properties cross-linguistically and, as a result, sometimes they cannot be easily identified.

Chapter 4 offers a summary of the state of the art in regard to verb serialization in Papiamentu/o. The focus is laid on the state of research regarding intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions, as well as the evolution of these serial constructions into non-serial structures. Some notes on motion and directional verbs in Papiamentu/o are provided in section 4.4 because they are relevant for the data

presented in chapter 5 on expressing direction using non-serial structures in Papiamentu/o.

Chapter 5 first looks at intransitive directional serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o and the processes of grammaticalization affecting directional verbs (V_2). Second, intransitive directional serial verb constructions are distinguished from another syntactic construction in which the motion verb in V_1 position acts as a light verb constituting a light verb construction together with the main verb (V_2) it accompanies. Third, the non-serial structures that can be used in Papiamentu/o to express direction are presented. Quantitative data about participants' preferences and the interpretation of the perceived differences between serial and non-serial structures are also offered.

Chapter 6 parallels the structure of chapter 5. The first part is devoted to resultative serial verb constructions and the grammaticalization affecting resultative serial verbs (V_2) in Papiamentu/o. Next, resultative serial verb constructions are differentiated from light verb constructions. The non-serial alternatives used to express an action-result semantic relation in Papiamentu/o are also introduced, namely covert and overt coordination. Quantitative data indicate the tendency among speakers to express cause and effect in Papiamentu/o. Lastly, interpretations of the differences between the variable structures are also provided.

Chapter 7 offers a summary and a discussion of the data presented in chapters 5 and 6. Some ideas are proposed for accounting for the syntactic variation in Papiamentu/o concerning intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions, as well as expressing direction and cause-effect using alternative non-serial constructions. Furthermore, one factor is suggested as contributing to the diversity that serial verb constructions present in the literature and the fact that verb serialization is regarded as a non-unified syntactic phenomenon cross-linguistically.

1.4 Papiamentu/o: General information

Papiamentu/o (hereafter Pp) is the creole language spoken on the ABC islands, i.e. Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, situated to the north of Venezuela. Curaçao is the largest of the three islands with a surface area of 444 km^2, followed by Bonaire with a surface area of 288 km^2 and Aruba with a surface area of 180 km^2 (Eckkrammer 2013: 493). Curaçao is the most populated island, with 160,337 inhabitants (CBS Curaçao 2017).[7] Aruba follows, with 110,576 inhabitants (CBS Aruba 2017)[8] and Bonaire has a population of 19,408 (CBS Bonaire 2016).[9] Apart from that, a total of 153,469 people

[7] http://www.cbs.cw/website/population_3208/item/population-tables_1198.html (last accessed 01.08.2017)

[8] http://cbs.aw/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/QDB0317.pdf (last accessed 01.08.2017)

[9] https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2016/29/population-caribbean-netherlands-stable (last accessed 01.08.2017)

originating from Aruba and the former Dutch Antilles[10] live in the Netherlands (CBSNL 2017).[11]

Prior to European colonialization, the three islands were inhabited by Arawak Indians of the Caiquetio subgroup. Curaçao was discovered by the Spaniard Alonso de Ojeda in 1499. The three islands were under the Spanish crown for over a century, but the settlers never showed any actual interest in the islands due to their arid climate, barren soil and the lack of natural resources, which earned them the name *las islas inútiles* "the useless islands". However, the Dutch, who were interested in its salt pans and the strategic position of its natural harbour, seized Curaçao in 1634 and used it as an *entrepôt* to ship African slaves to other parts of the American continent. Aruba and Bonaire also fell under Dutch dominium in 1636. After two failed revolts in Curaçao and one in Bonaire, slavery was finally abolished on the ABC islands in 1863. The three islands together with the SSS islands, i.e. Saba, Saint Martin and Saint Eustace, formed the Netherlands, or Dutch, Antilles in 1954. Aruba was granted *status aparte* in 1986, i.e. it obtained autonomy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Fouse 2002). The Netherlands Antilles dissolved in 2010 and the legal status of the islands changed. While Curaçao and Saint Martin attained *status aparte* within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Bonaire, Saba and Saint Eustace were declared special municipalities of the Netherlands (J. Kramer 2011: 116).

It has been hypothesized that Pp developed around 1650, coinciding with the arrival of the Sephardic Jews and the slaves (Fouse 2002: 83). There are different hypotheses regarding its origin. While some scholars have claimed that Pp is an Afro-Portuguese creole language (e.g. Lenz 1926,[12] 1927: 322, Navarro Tomás 1953, van Wijk 1958, Birmingham 1970) or have argued that it is related to the Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (Quint 2000, Jacobs 2009, 2012b, 2014), others have proposed that Pp is a Spanish-based creole (e.g. Wood 1972b, DeBose 1975, Munteanu 1996, Patzelt 2009: 113). Some linguists have taken into consideration both the Portuguese and Spanish elements, and prefer to define Pp as an Ibero-Romance creole language (Bartens 1995, J. Kramer 1995, 2004: 100, 2005) or as an Iberian-based creole with Dutch elements (J. Kramer 2004: 137, see Bouscholte 1978, Wood 1971a, Kowallik and J. Kramer 1994 for the Dutch influence on Pp). It should be noted that Jacobs (2012a) argues that Pp is a mixed language with Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole morphosyntax and Spanish lexicon. Moreover, some authors have indicated the influence of Judeo-Spanish on Pp and the relevance of the Sephardic Jews in the propagation of the creole language among society (see Lloret Florenciano and Fischer 2016 and references therein). Maurer (2013: 166) comes out in favour of the Afro-Portuguese creoles spoken by the slaves having exerted a joint influence: a pidgin Portuguese used by seamen and soldiers and

[10] Bonaire, Curaçao, Saint Eustace, Saint Martin and Saba. Note that Pp is spoken by a low percentage of the population in Saint Eustace, Saint Martin and Saba (see Eckkrammer 2013: 494). The island of Saint Martin is divided into two nations: a southern Dutch part, i.e. Sint Maarten, and a northern French part.

[11] http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb/publication/?vw=t&dm=slen&pa=37325eng&d1=a&d2=0&d3=0&d4=0&d5=0-4,139,145,216,231&d6=0,4,9,14,(l-1),l&hd=160114-1625&hdr=g2,g1,g3,t&stb=g4,g5 (last accessed 01.08.2017)

[12] Lenz (1926: 141f.) considers Pp prepositions to be one of the most powerful pieces of evidence of the Portuguese origin of the creole language.

the Portuguese and Spanish spoken by the Sephardic Jews. The English contribution to the Pp lexicon has also been reported (see Wood 1971b). Bantu and Kwa languages of the Niger-Congo language family are mentioned in the literature as substrate languages that were present during the process of creolization (see Maurer 2005, Jacobs 2015).

In the beginning, Pp was considered to be a corrupted language and had negative connotations. Several pejorative reflections (see the quotations cited in Maurer 1998: 141f.) and terms such as *neger-spaansch* and *slaventaaltje* (Bachmann 2005: 101) illustrate the negative attitude that used to be shown towards the language. However, the pejorative terms have given way to a positive denomination: *lenga dushi* "sweet language" is commonly used by speakers to refer to the local creole language. Pp has been an official language alongside Dutch in Aruba since 2004, and in Curaçao and Bonaire since 2007 (Eckkrammer 2013: 494). Furthermore, Pp has been integrated, to a greater or lesser extent, in the three islands' school systems. In some cases, it is used as the language of instruction, while in other cases it is taught as a subject (see Dijkhoff and Pereira 2010 for details).

The first known document written in Pp, a fragment of a letter that a Curaçaoan Jew addressed to his mistress, dates back to 1775/6[13] (Wood 1972b, Salomon 1982). From that date onwards, Pp has been used in religious and literary texts as well as in newspapers (Maurer 1991a, 2013: 166, J. Kramer 2011: 129-131). Further, several foreign literary works have been translated into the local creole language (see Eckkrammer 1996 for an overview). The increase in literary production in Pp, together with a growing identity and political awareness, as well as plans to integrate the creole language as a means of instruction in the educational system definitely required the standardisation of Pp (e.g. Eckkrammer 1999, 2005b, Fouse 2002: 193-198, J. Kramer 2004: 208-216, 2012b). Nowadays, Pp has two spelling systems: the *ortografía fonológiko* used in Curaçao and Bonaire and the *ortografia etimologico* established in Aruba (J. Kramer 2011: 126). The two different spelling systems are also used in the title of this dissertation. While the form ending in *–u* in *Papiamentu* corresponds to the spelling rules used on Curaçao and Bonaire, the form ending in *–o* in *Papiamento* follows the Aruban orthography.

Pp has high prestige and is used among people belonging to all social strata. Moreover, it is used in newspapers, radio and television programmes (Maurer 1998: 142f., 2013: 166, Wiel 2010). Further, most Pp speakers are multilingual, i.e. they are also competent in at least one of the contact languages on the ABC islands, i.e. Dutch, English and Spanish, (J. Kramer 2011: 128f., Maurer 2013: 166, Eckkrammer 2005a: 123):

> Most native speakers of Papiamentu are at least bilingual and speak the official language Dutch as well, although to varying degrees of proficiency. Many also have a good command of Spanish and English, which means that currently Papiamentu is in contact with – and therefore influenced by – the three languages Dutch, English, and Spanish. (Maurer 2013: 166)

[13] There is inconsistency regarding the year in which the letter was written. While Wood (1972b) claims that it was written in 1776, Maduro cited in Salomon (1982) states that the letter dates back to 1775.

Despite the high status of Pp and the fact that the language is perceived as a crucial element of the local identity, multilingual speakers frequently resort to code-switching in both the oral and written registers. Thus, Pp speakers tend to switch to another code – English, Dutch and/or Spanish – in their daily conversations and also in written texts that have oral features such as internet posts (Maurer 1998: 144, Muysken, Kook and Vedder 1996, Eckkrammer 2005a, Eckkrammer 2007: 80-83).

Pp presents variation mainly at the lexical and phonetic levels, and only to a lesser extent in the morphosyntax. Diatopic and diastratic factors seem to play a significant role in the differences (Maurer 1998: 143, 2013: 166).

2. Theoretical approach

The variation in Pp intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions will be analysed primarily by taking account of the grammaticalization processes to which serial verbs are subject cross-linguistically, and secondarily taking into consideration the pressure exerted by language contact on the use of non-serial syntactic structures to express direction and action-result in Pp. The non-serial syntactic alternatives will be presented and compared taking into account the diatopic varieties – Aruban, Bonairean and Curaçaoan – and the sociolinguistic factors of age and gender.

Hence, the syntactic variation will be examined taking into account language-internal as well as language-external factors. Contact-induced change will, further, be considered in those cases in which contact with the Indo-European languages spoken on the ABC islands may also have been influential, e.g. the use of prepositions after directional verbs.

This chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I will look into the field of grammaticalization in a detailed manner in 2.1. An introduction to grammaticalization theory will be provided in 2.1.1. The role of discourse, context and frequency will be discussed in 2.1.2. The semantic-pragmatic and cognitive aspects that are relevant in grammaticalization processes will be regarded in 2.1.3. The relevant processes leading to grammaticalization that will be considered in the data analysis in chapters 5 and 6 will be presented in 2.1.4. The gradual nature of grammaticalization and its consequences in terms of variation and the overlap of functions and stages at the synchronic level will be addressed in 2.1.5. The hypothesis of unidirectionality will be taken into consideration in 2.1.6, and lastly, the relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization will be discussed in 2.1.7. Secondly, I will briefly focus on the study of contact-induced change in 2.2. Thirdly, in section 2.3, I will show that language contact and grammaticalization do not need to be exclusive processes leading to variation and language change, but they can also be seen to interact. Grammaticalization and language contact are unified in contact-induced grammaticalization.

2.1 Grammaticalization theory

2.1.1 Introduction to grammaticalization theory

There seems to be agreement that the term grammaticalization[1] understood as "le passage d'un mot autonome au role d'élément grammatical"[2] (Meillet 1926: 131) was coined by Meillet (1926 [1912]: 133). However, various scholars had previously dealt

[1] Some scholars have opted for the term *grammaticization* (e.g. Bybee and Pagliuca 1985, Hopper 1991, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1991, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). See Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 9-11) for a discussion of the terminology.

[2] The transition of an autonomous word into a grammatical element (translated by Lloret Florenciano, hereafter (LF)).

with this linguistic phenomenon, e.g. von Humboldt.[3] Grammaticalization is defined as a process whereby a lexical category – a content word – evolves into a grammatical category – a function word –, and whereby an already grammatical category becomes more grammatical (e.g. Heine and Reh 1984: 15, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 2, Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 11). In Kuryłowicz's (1975 [1965]: 52) words, taken from his classic definition, "[g]rammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status".

Two types of grammaticalization have been traditionally distinguished in the literature. The first refers to the evolution of a lexeme into a grammatical or a function word. The second refers to the further development of an already grammatical item into a more grammatical or an abstract category. The former has been referred to as *primary grammaticalization*, while the latter has been defined as *secondary grammaticalization* (Traugott 2002: 26f.). The term *delexicalization* has also been employed to refer to the first type of grammaticalization because it points to the loss of lexical status. Both types of grammaticalization are attested cross-linguistically as frequent and productive language-internal processes that lead to variation and eventual language change.

Common instances of primary grammaticalization can be found in the rise of adpositions from lexical categories – nouns and verbs[4] – and the emergence of auxiliary verbs from full lexical verbs.[5] Examples of secondary grammaticalization can be attested in the further grammaticalization of auxiliaries into unbound or bound tense/aspectual markers[6] and the further grammaticalization of already grammatical morphemes that are assigned new grammatical functions.[7] Therefore, a lexical item can undergo only the first type of grammaticalization, whereas another linguistic item may move on and complete the grammaticalization path from lexical item to zero morpheme. Moreover, a lexeme can undergo part of the grammaticalization path in a specific language, while the very same lexeme can complete the whole path in another language.

[3] See e.g. Hopper and Traugott (1993: 18-31), Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 1-8) and S. Fischer (2010: 14ff.) for a broad overview of the history of grammaticalization.

[4] Heine and Reh (1984: 253-258) suggest that verbs develop into prepositions and nouns into postpositions in Ewe. See also Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991a: 123-147) for further examples of deverbal and denominal adpositions in African languages, and Kortmann and König (1992) for cases of deverbal prepositions and conjunctions in the Indo-European language family.

[5] For an overview of the evolution of verbs and complex lexical constructions into auxiliaries and auxiliary constructions, see, e.g., Heine (1993), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), Kuteva (2001) and Anderson (2006).

[6] Heine and Reh (1984: 116-119) claim that auxiliaries develop into tense and aspect markers in diverse African languages. Likewise, the inflectional future morpheme in Romance languages derives from auxiliaries (Fleischman 1982).

[7] Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991a: 150ff.) propose the further grammaticalization, i.e. increase in the level of abstraction, of the allative suffix case marker in Ik and Kanuri into benefactive, purposive, cause and manner case markers. Haspelmath (1989) argues that the allative preposition *to* used to mark location and goal in several languages can also be used to indicate purpose. Afterwards, the preposition undergoes semantic bleach, losing the purposive function, and its use expands to indicate infinitive. Bolinger (1971) notes that particles expressing completion, e.g. *drink up* and *finish up*, or duration, e.g. *drink on*, *burn on*, in two-part verbs, derive from adverbs that no longer refer to directionality but to the bondedness and non-bondedness of an event. See also the further grammaticalization of grammatical markers in English in Traugott (1980).

(1) Content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix > (∅)[8]

Grammaticalization has also been described as the conversion of free syntactic items into tighter structures; a process that has been termed *syntacticization*[9] (Givón 1979): "[L]oose, paratactic, "pragmatic" discourse structures develop – over time – into tight, "grammaticalized" syntactic structures" (1979: 208). The author regards grammaticalization as a diachronic, cyclical process that ends in attrition:

(2) Discourse → Syntax → Morphology → Morphophonemics → Zero
(Givón 1979: 209)

2.1.2 The role of discourse, context and frequency in grammaticalization

Discourse, context and frequency are factors that have been considered as contributing to the grammaticalization of linguistic units.

As regards the role of discourse, Hopper and Thompson (1984) note that a lexical unit starts losing the features that demarcate it as a specific word class, such as noun or verb, when it loses autonomy and saliency in the discourse in which it appears. Thus, verbs may lose their autonomy and discourse-saliency when they are no longer used to refer to an event: "V[erbs] which do not report discourse events fail to show the range of oppositions characteristic of those which do" (1984: 726). Similarly, nouns that refer to body parts may lose features that are characteristic of this word category when they lose their prominence in the discourse.

Closely related to discourse, context has also been regarded as an important factor in the grammaticalization of linguistic signs. An originally lexical item may be interpreted to function as a grammatical item in a specific linguistic environment first, while it is still perceived as the original content word in all other contexts. Thus, the new function is only interpreted within a specific context, i.e. giving rise to context-induced interpretation. However, at some point, this function starts being used in a new context that is actually incompatible with the source category, which has been referred to as the switch context. Lastly, the originally lexical item acquires the target meaning or function through conventionalization and frequency of use (Heine 2002):

[8] Hopper and Traugott (1993: 7) propose a cline of grammaticalization from content item to inflectional affix. Norde (2010: 126) adds the zero morpheme to the path of evolution.

[9] Givón (1979) distinguishes between syntacticization and grammaticalization. The former refers to the evolution of free lexical units in discourse into fixed syntax, whereas the latter involves the shift from syntax into morphology and the further erosion of grammatical categories.

Stage	Context	Resulting meaning
I Initial stage	Unconstrained	Source meaning
II Bridging context	Specific context, interference in favour of the new meaning	Target meaning foregrounded
III Switch context	New context, incompatible with the source meaning	Source meaning backgrounded
IV Conventionalization	Target meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context in II, new contexts may arise	Target meaning

Table 7. The role of context in grammaticalization
(adapted from Heine 2002: 86)

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985: 72) propose that frequently used concrete lexical items are candidates for expressing abstract concepts. In a similar way, Hopper and Traugott (1993: 103) claim that "the more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be. Frequency demonstrates a kind of generalization in use patterns." Heine and Kuteva (2005: 50) establish a relationship between frequency and context when they affirm that "[t]he more frequently a use pattern occurs, the more likely it is that it is extended to new contexts." Further works have indicated the importance of frequency and repetition in the process of grammaticalization (e.g. Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 142; Bybee 2003, 2006).

2.1.3 Semantic-pragmatic and cognitive aspects in grammaticalization

Apart from the three factors mentioned above, i.e. discourse, context and frequency, semantic-pragmatic and cognitive aspects have also been considered relevant in the process of grammaticalization.

Traugott (1980, 1982) looks at the influence of semantics and pragmatics in the evolution of linguistic elements along the grammaticalization path, analysing the changes that take place in the functional-semantic components of language: propositional, textual and interpersonal. On the first, i.e. propositional, level, a concrete lexical item is used to express a more abstract concept (e.g. the noun *hwile* in the prepositional phrase *for a while* to express a period of time). On the second, i.e. textual, level, the word acquires a connective function for pragmatic discourse functions (e.g. *while* as a temporal conjunction is used to render the discourse cohesive). On the last, i.e. interpersonal, level, the linguistic constituent turns out to express the speaker's attitude to what is being said and, therefore, adds an expressive component to the discourse (e.g. *while* as a concessive marker). It is on this level that the meaning becomes more expressive and less referential than the original lexical meaning.

Hence, there is an evolution from a concrete – or less abstract – to a (more) abstract language constituent and, furthermore, the meaning becomes increasingly discourse- and speaker-based. The evolution of *since* from temporal to causal marker, and the

development of affective pejorative or ameliorative meanings from neutral meanings exemplify the process that has been referred to as *subjectification* (Traugott 1986):

> Over time, meanings tend to come to refer less to objective situations and more to subjective ones (including speaker point of view), less to the described situation and more to the discourse situation. (Traugott 1986: 540)

Moreover, the evolution of concrete meanings into more general and abstract concepts has been explained via metaphorical extension (e.g. Bybee and Pagliuca 1985: 72, Claudi and Heine 1986, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 283-285). Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 157ff.) approach grammaticalization as a cognitive process by which abstract domains are conceptualized in terms of more concrete concepts: "concrete, visible/tangible objects are employed to conceptualize less concrete entities" (1991b: 175). The authors propose arranging the level of metaphorical abstractness using a series of categories, i.e. *categorial metaphors*, that represent different conceptual domains:

(3) PERSON > OBJECT > PROCESS > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY[10]
(Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 157)

The further right a category is situated, the more abstract it is than categories further to the left and, vice versa, the categories located further to the left are more concrete than the ones further to the right. The direction of development is unidirectional, from less to more abstract, i.e. from left to right, and the categories are separated by *cognitive distance*. For example, lexical items that refer to body parts are used as *vehicles* to express abstract concepts in many languages. The noun "back" (OBJECT) is employed to express a spatial concept, i.e. "behind" (SPACE), and is later used in temporal domains, i.e. "after" (TIME). Lastly, the meaning becomes more abstract and expressive (see *subjectification* in Traugott 1986) to refer to a person who is "mentally retarded" (QUALITY), as is the case in Ewe (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 161). In the present study, Pp directional verbs (PROCESS) will be shown to have evolved into prepositions that indicate SPACE and TIME.

Examples like these point to grammaticalization being a strategy that "has *problem-solving* as its main goal, its primary function being conceptualization by expressing one thing in terms of another" (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 150). Grammaticalization seems to be motivated by the need to convey a conceptual relation.[11] Going back to the example above, spatial relations are expressed in many languages by using concrete, tangible lexical items, such as the noun "back". Later,

[10] Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b) base their metaphorical hierarchy on previous work by Claudi and Heine (1986). However, they make some modifications, as can be seen if (3) is compared with Claudi and Heine's (1986) conceptual categories below:
(i) QUALITY ← PROCESS ← SPACE ← OBJECT ← PERSON (Claudi and Heine 1986: 301)
PERSON refers to an animate, mainly human, physically perceived unit; OBJECT to an inanimate unit; PROCESS to activities or events; SPACE to spatial, local orientation; TEMPORAL to space relation and QUALITY applies to different conceptualizations.

[11] Givón (1979: 209) also conceives grammaticalization as "motivated by various communicative needs".

temporal relations come to be expressed by extending the spatial use metaphorically and, lastly, the noun is used to express a more abstract concept. Thus, "concepts that are more immediately accessible to human experience are employed for the expression of less accessible, more abstract concepts" (1991b: 158f.).[12]

However, grammaticalization can also be motivated by other aspects rather than just the need to convey certain concepts in a language. Lexemes do not grammaticalize in the same way in all languages and, moreover, languages may find other means to express concepts that are not the result of grammaticalization (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985):

> Rather than subscribe to the idea that grammatical evolution is driven by communicative necessity, we suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items. The metaphorical extensions are cognitively based, and are similar across languages. (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985: 75)

Furthermore, grammatical change can also be regarded in some cases as "superfluous", i.e. "[t]here is much change just for the sake of change" (Lehmann 1985: 316), and "unpredictable", which can only be justified by the creative nature of speakers (1985: 317).

As regards the kind of linguistic items that are the source of new grammatical elements, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 152) state that

> [s]ource concepts may be said to refer to some of the most elementary human experiences… What appears to make them eligible as such is the fact that they provide "concrete" reference points for human orientation which evoke associations and are therefore exploited to understand "less concrete" concepts.

As indicated above, concrete nouns (OBJECT) such as nouns denoting body parts are common source concepts that may become function morphemes. Moreover, basic human activities (PROCESS) like "do", "make", "take", "finish", "say", motion verbs like "go", "come", "leave", "arrive" and posture verbs, such as "sit", "stand", "lie", and "be" can also be source concepts that undergo grammaticalization.[13] Nevertheless, there seem to be lexical restrictions in terms of which lexical items are likely to be chosen cross-linguistically to express more abstract concepts. For example, verbs like "drink", "eat", "sing", "hit", "die" (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 153), "read", "dance" and "jump" (Traugott 1980: 55) are not candidates for source concepts for grammaticalization, despite their being frequently used.[14] Lehmann (1985: 315) states that the number of elements that can be the source of new grammatical morphemes is limited.

[12] Some scholars have argued that both metaphor and metonym are involved in the process of grammaticalization and the structure of a language (e.g. Traugott and König 1991, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 70ff., Hopper and Traugott 1993: 77ff.).

[13] Mufwene (1996: 24) notes that "meaning plays a prerequisite role in determining what item may be grammaticized and in what direction".

[14] The lexemes for "jump" and "hit" will be shown to be source concepts for light verbs in Pp (see 5.5 and 6.3, respectively). "Hit" will be presented as behaving as a light verb cross-linguistically in 3.2.4.

Grammaticalization processes have been described for creole languages in various work. It has been assumed that creolization "involved more or less radical reduction of the morphosyntactic apparatus vis-à-vis the lexifier language, which subsequently may have been compensated by processes of grammaticalization" (Bruyn 2009: 312). One work that serves as a reference for grammaticalization processes taking place in creole languages is the volume edited by P. Baker and Syea (1996). I will come back later to the phenomenon of grammaticalization in creole languages.

2.1.4 Processes involved in grammaticalization

Phonetic, morphosyntactic and semantic processes are present in the evolution of lexical items into grammatical formatives and the (further) grammaticalization of already grammatical units. The mechanisms involved in grammaticalization entail, on the one hand, a reduction and eventual loss, i.e. semantic, morphosyntactic and phonetic reduction or loss, as well as a reduction or loss of paradigmatic and syntagmatic variability. On the other hand, they also bring about expansion in terms of the meaning/function and the contexts in which the new linguistic forms start being used. The relevant grammaticalization processes that will be taken into consideration in the data analysis in chapters 5 and 6 will be briefly introduced below.

Desemanticization

As mentioned above, lexical items may acquire grammatical functions. One step for a lexeme to evolve into a grammatical element is for it to be deprived of its original concrete lexical meaning and take in abstract functional semantics. This process has been referred to as *desemanticization* (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 127, Heine and Reh 1984: 36-39), *semantic bleaching* (Givón 1979: 316) and *semantic depletion* (Weinreich 1963: 144f.). For example, verbs such as "go" and "take" may gradually lose their verbal meaning in serializing languages and acquire a grammatical use to express direction and instrumentality/manner, respectively. Likewise, content words may lose their lexical meaning when evolving into functional words, an already grammatical category may also lose its current grammatical meaning/function and adopt a more grammatical one.

Desemanticization is accompanied by semantic/functional and structural changes that will be described in the following.

Expansion

Lexemes that undergo desemanticization do not lose their semantics abruptly but gradually.[15] Hence, there is an intermediate stage in which the original meaning or function coexists with the new one until the linguistic item is completely deprived of its original lexical meaning. Thus, the linguistic item expands its functions, i.e. it acquires

[15] See section 2.1.5 for the gradualness of grammaticalization.

an extra function. Expansion is considered to be a process whereby an already grammatical item acquires an additional function, while desemanticization is regarded as a type of expansion where a lexeme receives a non-lexical function (Heine and Reh 1984: 39).

Decategorialization

When a lexical item undergoes desemanticization, not only is the semantics of the lexeme affected, its morphosyntactic properties are also altered. The desemanticized item starts losing the morphosyntactic properties that are characteristic of its categorial status, i.e. the lexeme appears to be defective as it lacks the semantic and structural features applicable to its word class. Lexical items belong to major categories – nouns and verbs – but when they grammaticalize, they convert into minor categories, e.g. prepositions, auxiliaries and conjunctions. Lexical elements thus undergo a process of decategorialization, i.e. they change their category from a major to a minor one (Hopper and Thompson 1984, Hopper 1991: 30f.).

The paths of grammaticalization have been given different terms in the literature. Lehmann (1985, 1995 [1982]: 25) refers to them as *grammaticalization scales*, Heine and Reh (1984: 113) as *channels of grammaticalization* and Hopper and Traugott (1993: 6-8, 105ff.) as *grammaticalization clines*. Two grammaticalization paths will be considered in the analysis of Pp directional and resultative serial verbs in chapters 5 and 6, respectively:

(4) full verb → serial verb → coverb → adposition (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 34, 104)

(5) full verb > (vector verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix
(Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108)

In the case of serial verbs, the loss of meaning also has an effect on the gradual loss of verb properties, e.g. the verbs are no longer inflected and evolve into a new category. For example, the lexeme "go" has developed into a directional adposition in diverse serializing languages. The transition of "go" into an adposition exemplifies cline (4). The evolution of directional or resultative serial verb constructions into verb compounds represents cline (5).[16]

Split, adjustment, shift and persistence

As presented above, a linguistic unit may lose its original meaning and morphosyntactic properties. However, the item expands its functions because it gains a new function (Heine and Reh 1984: 39-41). The new grammatical function does not replace the original lexical or already grammatical meaning abruptly. Rather the original meaning and the new grammatical function coexist side by side for a certain period of time, giving rise to different intermediate stages between the source and the output meaning.

[16] Both grammaticalization clines affecting serial verbs will be presented in section 3.1.4.

Thus, the linguistic item still exhibits the original function in some contexts while it displays the new grammatical function in others, which gives rise to *hybrid words* (Heine and Reh 1984: 83-87). This process has been referred to as *split* (Heine and Reh 1984: 57-59)[17] and *divergence* (Hopper 1991: 24f.). Furthermore, as the original lexical item is maintained in the system, it may undergo further changes independently of the grammaticalization path due to its lexical categorial status.

When a new function or meaning is transferred to a linguistic unit, the new function needs to adjust to the new morphosyntactic structure: "Adjustment is a long process and what we frequently meet in a given language is some intermediate stage of it rather than its end product" (Heine and Reh 1984: 98). Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 135) refers to this process as *paradigmaticization*, i.e. grammaticalized items integrate a new paradigm. In the process of integration, the original linguistic unit needs to assimilate to the features shared by the members of the new paradigm. Thus, deverbal prepositions need to adjust to the morphosyntactic properties of the prepositional paradigm, levelling out the differences. When the new grammatical function completely replaces the original meaning, there is a *shift* in the categorial nature of the linguistic sign (Heine and Reh 1984: 59ff.).

Some semantic nuances from the original source form may be retained in the output category during the process of grammaticalization, which can limit the distribution of the new grammatical category. The preservation of specific original traits in the output form has been referred to as *persistence* (Hopper 1991: 28-30) and *semantic retention* (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 15-19).

Obligatorification or specialization

As seen above, linguistic items undergoing grammaticalization initially exhibit the new grammatical function only in a specific context, maintaining their original function and properties in all other contexts (see the influence of context in grammaticalization in 2.1.2): "[T]he more we enlarge the context, the more a specific sign becomes obligatory" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 140). In this respect, the increase in obligatoriness of a linguistic item is related to the reduction in selectional restrictions and an increase in its distribution across the language. Moreover, *obligatorification* refers to the reduction in paradigmatic variability, i.e. speakers no longer have several possibilities from different paradigms for expressing a specific function. Rather the possibilities have been reduced to one grammaticalized unit. Hopper (1991: 25ff.) refers to this process as *specialization*, only taking into consideration the reduction in and eventual loss of choices that typically occurs when an item grammaticalizes:

> [I]t is only in the final stages of grammaticization that the use of a form becomes obligatory, and it does not seem appropriate to think of this evolution as being one in

[17] The *split* resembles the asymmetry between meaning and form pointed out in Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b), i.e. a linguistic item acquires a new meaning or function while still exhibiting the old morphosyntax.

> which forms become "increasingly obligatory"…"[S]pecialization" is just one possible kind of change which may or may not lead to grammaticization.
>
> (Hopper 1991: 25f.)

Phonetic erosion

Grammaticalizing items usually undergo a process of phonetic reduction, i.e. the form loses part of its phonetic material due to the acquisition of a grammatical function (Heine and Reh 1984: 21ff.). Terms such as *attrition* (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 126) have also been used to denote this process. Another important factor for phonetic erosion to take place is the frequency with which grammaticalized forms are used in a language.

Coalescence, fusion, merger and compounding

The level of bondedness or syntagmatic cohesion has been taken to be a factor for measuring the degree of grammaticality. The process that increases the level of bondedness or, put another way, reduces the boundary between linguistic units, has been called *coalescence*. In the first stage of coalescence, the grammaticalizing item juxtaposes, then cliticizes, later becomes an affix and finally fuses, or merges, with the adjacent morpheme, becoming an integral part of it (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 148, 1985: 308). One requirement for coalescence to arise is that the grammaticalizing unit needs to share some kind of grammatical relation with the item towards which it grammaticalizes (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 149).[18]

According to Heine and Reh (1984: 25-28), when the linguistic units that come closer are roots, there is a process of *compounding*.[19] The authors use the term *fusion* to denote the phonetic process whereby the linguistic units form a phonological unit, i.e. boundary loss, and *merger* to refer to the functional process whereby "the meaning or function of two linguistic units merges into one new meaning/function which is different from that of the combined units" (1984: 43f.).

The level of grammaticalization can be measured by the possibility of inserting other linguistic constituents between the grammaticalizing item and the adjacent unit with which it merges. Here, too, there is a stage that exhibits variation in the level of fusion between the constituents. The syntagmatic variability or freedom in the order in which the grammaticalizing item and the adjacent constituent surface is regarded as a natural consequence of a period of *positional adjustment* (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 159) or *fixation* (Lehmann 1985: 308). At the end of this process, the syntagmatic variability vanishes and the grammaticalized morpheme occupies a fixed position.

[18] However, Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 149) provides some examples of the coalescence of elements with no grammatical relation.

[19] Compounding differs from other processes like *univerbation* on the basis that the participating morphemes in compounding have the same status, especially roots, whereas any constituents forming a syntagm are eligible to merge into a word in univerbation (Heine and Reh 1984: 32, Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 151f.). An example of univerbation is the merger of the German syntagm *keines Weg* (lit. of no way) into the adverb *keineswegs* "by no means" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 151).

Reanalysis

There has been debate around the accuracy of including reanalysis as a process within grammaticalization or as an independent mechanism.

The term *reanalysis* was coined by Langacker (1977: 58) as a "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation. Reanalysis may lead to changes at the surface level". Langacker distinguished two types of reanalysis: *resegmentation*, i.e. the reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries, and *reformulation*, i.e. the reinterpretation of the semantic content of morphemes. The former type of reanalysis can be attested in those examples where the boundary between morphemes shifts, is lost or, conversely, is created.

The term "reanalysis" has been used as a synonym of grammaticalization by some linguists (e.g. Lord 1976: 179, Lefebvre 1998: 41ff.). However, several authors have argued the need to differentiate between the two processes. Heine and Reh (1984: 95ff.) prefer to distinguish between the two on the basis that grammaticalization is unidirectional, i.e. the evolution from lexical to grammatical category, whereas reanalysis does not necessarily entail such a development from major into minor category. The linguists claim that these processes are best regarded as independent principles despite the "striking similarities" they share (1984: 97) and consider the possibility that syntactic reanalysis "leads to grammaticalization, rather than the other way round" (1984: 96).

Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 168f.) observe that, although "[t]ypically, reanalysis accompanies grammaticalization" and "both appear like inseparable twins", the two processes should be regarded as different on the basis that only grammaticalization is unidirectional, as claimed by Heine and Reh (1984) above, as well as due to the fact that there are cases where these linguistic processes manifest independently.[20] Unlike Heine and Reh (1984), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 170) suggest that "grammaticalization triggers a series of reanalysis".

Hopper and Traugott (1993: 48-50) also note that some cases of reanalysis do not involve grammaticalization, as linguistic items may gain more autonomy, i.e. the opposite of the unidirectionality hypothesis, which is involved in grammaticalization. Examples include the verbalization and nominalization of prepositions like *up* and *down* in *to up the ante* and *what a downer*. The two linguists claim that "[r]eanalysis modifies underlying representations, whether semantic, syntactic, or morphological, and brings about rule change… reanalysis is the most important mechanism for grammaticalization, as for all change" (1993: 32) and conclude that grammaticalization is "a subset of changes involved in reanalysis" (1993: 50).

Haspelmath (1998) narrows down the concept of reanalysis and distinguishes it drastically from grammaticalization as a process that does not involve loss of autonomy

[20] Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 168) affirm that "grammaticalization and reanalysis are the result of one and the same strategy, namely the one which aims at expressing more "abstract" concepts in terms of less "abstract" ones".

or substance, is abrupt (vs. gradual)[21] and bidirectional (vs. unidirectional). Haspelmath observes that grammaticalization does not entail reanalysis and, therefore, cases of linguistic change that have traditionally been related to reanalysis are best explained as examples in which only grammaticalization processes are responsible for the change, e.g. word-class shifts like from verb to preposition taking place in serializing languages. Furthermore, Haspelmath identifies grammaticalization with language use, i.e. it can be caused by children and adults, whereas reanalysis is related to language acquisition and, hence, it is restricted to children.

According to Hopper and Traugott (1993: 40, 49), one common example of reanalysis is *compounding*, which is based on Langacker's (1977) boundary loss. In cases of compounding, two or more linguistic elements come closer as their boundaries are weakened and, in the last stage, lost. That is, the linguistic constituents fuse. Compounding is, thus, regarded as a consequence of syntactic reanalysis, which in some cases can lead to grammaticalization. Note that Lehmann (1995 [1982]) and Heine and Reh (1984) pointed to compounding as the result of grammaticalization above.

In the literature on creole languages, some cases have been proposed to be instances of reanalysis without grammaticalization. The TMA marker *té*/*ti* in French creoles (from the French past tense *était*) and the Sranan preverbal marker *ben* (from the English participle *been*) functioned as tense markers from the very beginning. Thus, as opposed to grammaticalization where the initial and the grammaticalized function coexist, at least in the initial stage, the preverbal markers only exhibited those functions from the very beginning. There was only a process of restructuring of the lexifier linguistic material or reanalysis from the imperfect *était* and the past participle *been* to preverbal tense markers (Detges 2000, Bruyn 2009).

2.1.5 The gradualness of grammaticalization

Grammaticalization has a diachronic and a synchronic axis. The former is responsible for the shift from lexical to function words and from less to more grammatical items over time, as was shown in the definitions of grammaticalization provided by Meillet 1926 [1912] and Kuryłowicz 1975 [1965] in 2.1.1. The diachronic axis of grammaticalization leads to language change. However, the transition from one category to another is not immediate but gradual. The synchronic axis of grammaticalization is related to the synchronic variation and the different degrees of grammaticalization that a morpheme undergoing grammaticalization exhibits (Lehmann 1985). In this subsection, I will focus on the synchronic axis of grammaticalization and its gradual nature, which leads to synchronic variation. I consider this aspect of grammaticalization in detail because it will be quite relevant when analysing the data on Pp serial verbs in chapters 5 and 6.

The evolution along the stages from lexical to grammatical words has been portrayed as a gradual, continuous process in which the boundaries between each stage

[21] Lightfoot (1979) and Lichtenberk (1991a) also point to the difference between gradualness and abruptness for setting grammaticalization and reanalysis apart. While grammaticalization is gradual, reanalysis is abrupt, radical and entails a rapid restructuring.

of grammaticalization are hazy rather than sharp and where the lexical and new grammaticalized forms of a linguistic item can coexist synchronically (e.g. Lichtenberk 1991a, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 161ff., Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 12).[22]

A linguistic item displaying a function (A) may develop a new function (B). Once B has been consolidated, a new function (C) may be further acquired by the grammaticalizing form. However, the item may still exhibit function A in the process of moving from B to C:

(6) A→B→C, not A→C→B (Lichtenberk 1991a: 39)

Therefore, grammaticalizing linguistic items shift their functions in a non-abrupt way along the grammaticalization path that includes various intermediate stages during which the original function coexists with the new one. The different functions or meanings displayed by the grammaticalizing item overlap in the process of developing from lexeme to grammatical category (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 163, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 105).

Several terms have been used metaphorically to represent the gradual and non-discrete nature of grammaticalization, e.g. *continuum* (e.g. Heine and Reh 1984: 15, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 163), *grammaticalization chains*[23] (Craig 1991, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 220-229, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 171-174, Heine 1992) and *layering* (Hopper 1991: 22-24, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 124-126).

The difficulty in establishing boundaries between the functions/meanings also gives rise to difficulties when it comes to classifying the categorial status of a linguistic formative that is undergoing grammaticalization. The overlapping stages in a grammaticalization process often lead to semantic ambiguity. Thus, a linguistic item can behave like a lexical category in certain contexts, but the same linguistic item can perform a grammatical function in other contexts. These have been referred to as *amphibious* or *hybrid* (Heine and Reh 1984: 83-87) morphemes in the literature. Furthermore, the overlap of the various stages during the grammaticalization process creates asymmetry between meaning and form. The difference between the cognitive and the linguistic structure has been explained as a consequence of meaning change preceding structural shift (see Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b).

Moreover, the characteristic hybridity that morphemes exhibit when undergoing grammaticalization is directly related to polysemy, i.e. different functions are related to a single morpheme. The fact that the different functions are historically derived from a

[22] Janda (2001) argues in favour of the discontinuous nature of grammaticalization, as the transmission of language is also discontinuous. Bruyn (1996) also argues in favour of a break in transmission of the lexifier in the development of creole languages. However, Mufwene (2001, 2006) rejects the break in transmission and proposes that creoles and non-creoles are transmitted gradually but with modifications.

[23] Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 171) distinguish *grammaticalization chains* from *grammaticalization channels* (see Heine and Reh 1984: 113, Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 25, Givón 1979), claiming that the latter refer to the endpoint of the path of grammaticalization without considering its internal structure. The internal structure of the channels characterized by the overlap and asymmetry is taken into account in the chaining.

morpheme has been taken as a relevant argument in favour of treating grammaticalizing items as polysemous rather than homophonous, as was previously claimed by Lord (1973, 1976) and Li and Thompson (1974), among others (see Heine 1992: 358-360 and Hopper and Traugott 1993: 69-72 for a discussion in favour of polysemy being involved in grammaticalization). Furthermore, the combination of all functions displayed synchronically by a grammaticalizing item has been taken to be a separate linguistic category, i.e. *grammaticalization chains* as a linguistic category (Heine 1992, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a: 225-229, 1991b: 171-174).

Heine (1991) claims that the inconsistency in the definition and characterization of auxiliaries in the literature – as main verbs or as different categories – is due to the grammaticalization chains, on account of which a morpheme can act diachronically and synchronically as a lexical or as a grammatical item:

> [A]uxiliaries may be defined as linguistic items located along the grammaticalization chain extending from full verb to grammatical marker of tense, aspect and modality as well as a few other functional domains: their behavior can be described with reference to their relative location along this chain. (Heine 1991: 99)

The grammaticalization chains explain the debate about the categorial status of serial verbs, which is addressed in chapter 3. While some scholars have argued their grammatical condition, others have claimed their original lexical character. Thus, the disagreement relates to the fact that both the original or source meaning, i.e. verbal, and the target meaning or function, i.e. adposition, coexist together with another category called "coverb", which represents the intermediate stage in the grammaticalization path. Hence, "there is no sharp boundary between (co-)verb and adposition" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 105):

Stage I: The word occurs only as a verb.
Stage II: The word occurs both as a verb and as an adposition: coverb stage.
Stage III: The word occurs only as an adposition.

Table 8. Grammaticalization of verbs into adpositions
(adapted from Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 106)

Moreover, the same morpheme may be the source of two or more different grammaticalization paths. This linguistic phenomenon has been referred to as *polygrammaticalization* (Craig 1991).[24]

Lehmann (1985: 314f.) justifies the typical synchronic variation in cases of grammaticalization by taking into consideration the *constant tension* that speakers experience in terms of creative and normative/prescriptive aspects. Lehmann considers speakers to be creative beings who actively participate in the evolution of their languages. However, he believes that there is a certain tension between the speakers' creativity and the pressure to conform to the grammatical rules of their language. This

[24] Heine and Reh (1984: 38) refer to this aspect as a linguistic unit that can undergo different *functional channels*; Hopper and Traugott (1993: 112f.) as a unit that undergoes *multiple paths*. See also Heine (1992: 354-358) for a further account of polygrammaticalization.

internal conflict results in the coexistence of the old and the new functions of a linguistic item for a certain amount of time.

Even though many have argued that grammaticalization is a gradual process, it has been proposed that grammatical changes tend to take place more rapidly in creole than in non-creole languages, i.e. languages with a longer history. Bruyn (1996) distinguishes "ordinary" grammaticalization in creole languages – a gradual, language-internal process – from "instantaneous" grammaticalization, where changes occur within a short time span:

> [C]ertain developments that normally proceed gradually can take place within a short time span during creolization… That such more or less instantaneous grammaticalization can take place may be attributed to the discontinuity in transmission and the communicative pressure that exists in the situation in which the new Creole language emerges and expands. (Bruyn 1996: 39)

Similarly, Plag (2002: 239) proposes that "creoles develop much faster than non-creoles".

To conclude, while some linguists have assigned changes in creole languages to the role of grammaticalization, others are more cautious and take other linguistic mechanisms into account (see contact-induced grammaticalization in 2.3).

2.1.6 The unidirectionality hypothesis

Several scholars have pointed to the unidirectional nature of grammaticalization (e.g. Givón 1975: 96, Lehmann 1985: 315, 1995 [1982]: 19, Heine and Reh 1984: 74-76, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 126-128, Haspelmath 1999). Initially, it was observed that the path of evolution could only be unidirectional, i.e. from lexeme to grammatical morpheme and from less to more grammatical status. As a consequence, it was proposed that grammatical items habitually derive from lexical or content words (e.g. Givón 2015 [1971]: 23,[25] Traugott 1980: 47, her Hypothesis C, 1982: 257, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 151): "Given the theory of unidirectionality, it can be hypothesized that diachronically all minor categories have their origins in major categories" (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 104).[26]

Even though a few instances of the reverse process were acknowledged by several linguists that actually supported the unidirectionality hypothesis, it was concluded that grammaticalization is unidirectional in nature on the basis that the counterexamples were scarce compared to cases of grammaticalization. Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 19) claimed that there are "no cogent examples of degrammaticalization", thus coining what he considered to be the hypothetical opposite process of grammaticalization.

The controversy in the literature regarding the unidirectionality of grammaticalization also adds to the disagreement about what the opposite process of grammaticalization should be. Some linguists have argued that the mirror process of

[25] "In the overwhelming majority of the cases where etymological information is available, bound morphemes turn out to have arisen from lexical words" (Givón 2015 [1971]: 23).
[26] Lass (2000) objects to the idea that all grammatical elements necessarily derive from lexical items.

grammaticalization is degrammaticalization (e.g. Lehmann 1995 [1982], 2002, Ramat 1992, van der Auwera 2002), while other scholars have taken lexicalization to be the reverse path (e.g. Kuriłowicz 1965: 69, Ramat 1987, Moreno Cabrera 1998: 224).

Ramat (1992: 550f.) tries to solve the controversy by claiming that lexicalization is part of degrammaticalization, i.e. degrammaticalization is conceived as a subtype of lexicalization, hence the reverse of grammaticalization:[27]

> [D]egrammaticalization processes may lead to new lexemes. In fact lexicalization has to be seen as a process whereby linguistic signs formed by rules of grammar are no longer perceived (parsed) in this way but simply as lexical entries.
>
> (Ramat 1992: 550f.)

Van der Auwera (2002), following Ramat (1992), argues that degrammaticalization and lexicalization can both be involved in some cases, but they can also emerge independently. Hence, degrammaticalization and lexicalization co-occur in the use of *if* in the phrase *the ifs and buts*, but they are exclusive processes in the creation of the lexeme *songwriter*, which involves lexicalization and not degrammaticalization, as well as in the rise of the English and Scandinavian genitive *'s*, which is related to degrammaticalization and not lexicalization.

> The undoing of grammar invites the term "degrammaticalization" and the making of lexicon invites the term "lexicalization". But there is only one process: with "degrammaticalization" one looks at it from one end, and with "lexicalization" from the other. (van der Auwera 2002: 20)

Likewise, Traugott (2002) differentiates primary from secondary grammaticalization, Norde (2010) distinguishes between primary (from function to content word) and secondary degrammaticalization (from affix to unbound morpheme) and notes that, unlike grammaticalization, degrammaticalization entails "a single shift from the right to left on the cline of grammaticalization" (2010: 126). As such, while lexical items can undergo the whole path of grammaticalization, grammatical items can only move up one stage.

Numerous studies have in any case challenged the unidirectionality hypothesis, presenting evidence in favour of the existence of an inverse process in grammaticalization (e.g. Newmeyer 1998: 260ff., Lass 2000, O. Fischer 2000, Campbell and Janda 2001). When it comes to creole languages, Plag (2002: 236-238) takes three cases (see references cited there) to present evidence against the unidirectionality hypothesis.

The relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization will be addressed in the following.

[27] Ramat (1992: 550) defines degrammmaticalization as the process whereby grammatical formatives are "devoid of any grammatical function, that is, separated from their grammatical rules… and acquired concrete lexeme status with their own autonomous lexical meaning."

2.1.7 Grammaticalization and lexicalization

The term "lexicalization" has been used in different ways. One approach has regarded lexicalization as the opposite process of grammaticalization. This conception leads to a discussion of the relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization. In this debate, grammaticalization and lexicalization have been considered to be opposite processes, but they have also been considered to be complementary processes that share some features. Both points of view will be presented below.

Grammaticalization and lexicalization have been regarded as opposite processes. In this view, if grammaticalization is understood as the evolution of lexical items into grammatical elements, then lexicalization accounts for the opposite development, i.e. the transformation of grammatical constituents into lexical units.[28] The opposite nature of grammaticalization and lexicalization is put forward by Givón and Ramat. Givón first affirmed "today's morphology is yesterday's syntax",[29] to which Ramat (1987: 461) amended "today's grammar may become tomorrow's lexicon".

Hopper and Traugott (1993: 49) also conceive lexicalization in these terms: "The process whereby a non-lexical form such as *up* becomes a fully referential lexical item is called 'lexicalization'". Moreno Cabrera (1998) further regards grammaticalization and lexicalization as opposite, complementary processes that interact with each other to bring about language change:

> Language evolution is… bidirectional and comprises both grammaticalization and lexicalization. In language change there is a constant movement from the lexicon to the syntax and the other way around… [L]anguage evolution is not exclusively a process of grammaticalization or lexicalization. Only the interaction of the two processes can produce the balanced results we observe in language evolution.
>
> (Moreno Cabrera 1998: 224)

Following Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer's (1991b) metaphorical abstraction hierarchy (3), lexicalization would involve the evolution of a linguistic item from abstract to more concrete – from right to left along the scale. Hence, the noun *reading* (OBJECT) is a lexicalization of the inflected verbal form *reading* (PROCESS) (see Moreno Cabrera 1998 for further examples).[30] Lexemes, phrases and even sentences, e.g. the noun *forget-me-not* in different languages, can undergo processes of lexicalization.

Grammaticalization and lexicalization have also been described as processes that, first, have much in common and, second, can interact in processes leading to language change.

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[28] Examples include the adjectivization of the originally reflexive morpheme *phílos* in Greek and the substantivization of prepositions and conjunctions as in *the ups and downs* and *the ifs and buts* in English (Ramat 1987: 458, 460). Haspelmath (1998: 348, footnote 12) argues that cases of prepositions becoming verbs, e.g. *to up, to down*, are examples of word formation by conversion and cases of shifts from conjunction to noun, e.g. *the ifs and buts* are instances of metalinguistic word formation.

[29] In the edition that I used, Givón's (2015 [1971]) statement appears as "[i]f today's bound morphemes are yesterday's lexical words, then today's morphotactics is yesterday's syntax" (2015 [1971]: 25). I take Givón's words from Givón (1971: 431), as cited in Ramat (1987).

[30] Grammaticalization is a metaphorical process, since abstraction and similarity are involved, whereas lexicalization is metonymic, dealing with concretion and contiguity (Moreno Cabrera 1998).

First, some scholars have presented similarities between the processes that lead to grammaticalization and lexicalization. Lehmann (1989, 2002) argues that both mechanisms entail processes of reduction at the phonetic and semantic level.[31] Similarly, Wischer (2000: 364) proposes that lexicalization and grammaticalization share similarities, as they undergo similar processes: phonetic reduction, syntactic reanalysis, demotivation, fossilization and conventionalization. However, they differ in regard to the semantic changes they involve. Moreover, Wischer argues that lexicalization is related to desyntacticization, i.e. a structure loses its syntactic transparency and merges with a lexical item. Himmelmann (2004) also claims that both grammaticalization and lexicalization are processes that involve conventionalization, while according to others conventionalization is only related to lexicalization.

Second, some have viewed lexicalization and grammaticalization as complementary, overlapping, parallel or sequential processes (see Giacalone Ramat 1998, Lehmann 2002, Mithun 2002, Himmelmann 2004 and Bisang 2009: 807-810). According to Lehmann (2002: 1), in some contexts "grammaticalization presupposes lexicalization". Once new complex lexical items such as complex prepositions, e.g. Spanish *a base de* "on the basis of", have been created (lexicalized), they can undergo grammaticalization (2002: 9). Mithun (2002) also takes the lexicalization of causative verbal compounds to be the initial stage of the grammaticalization of the non-head root or modifying component in several North American languages. However, "[c]omplex units may be grammaticalized without having been lexicalized" too (Lehmann 2002: 13).

Brinton and Traugott (2005: 68ff., 104ff.) show similarities and differences between the processes involved in grammaticalization and lexicalization. The two linguists argue that the parallelisms between both processes are responsible for the confusion in the literature. In some cases, the same example has been defined as a case of lexicalization by some scholars and of grammaticalization by others.

A further approach has considered lexicalization as a process whereby a linguistic item enters the lexicon or inventory of a language (e.g. Lehmann 1989: 12, 14f.). Lehmann (2002: 14) prefers this definition of lexicalization rather than the development of concrete meaning within a linguistic item, which he regards as an instance of degrammaticalization. Wischer (2000) also shares this notion of lexicalization as the incorporation of a linguistic unit into the lexicon of a language but extends it to cover a second stage as well. Therefore, in the same way that two stages or subtypes are distinguished in grammaticalization – primary grammaticalization as the process from lexical to grammatical item and secondary grammaticalization from less to more grammatical –, Wischer (2000: 359) understands lexicalization in exactly the opposite way, that is as "the process that turns linguistic material into lexical items, i.e., into lexemes, and renders them still more lexical".[32]

[31] Himmelmann (2004) argues that grammaticaliation involves expansion, whereas lexicalization entails reduction.

[32] Note that Wischer (2000: 364) does not consider grammaticalization and lexicalization as opposite processes. According to her, "lexicalization cannot be considered to be the reverse of grammaticalization or 'degrammaticalization'" based on the view that it is unlikely that a grammatical item will again become a lexeme and due to the fact that lexicalization and grammaticalization share similarities.

Lipka (2002 [1990]:111) conceives lexicalization in a similar way as the reanalysis of a syntagmatic structure whose constituents are no longer separated by boundaries, i.e. resegmentation: "[T]he phenomenon that a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme. Through this process it loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser degree". Note that Hopper and Traugott (1993) interpreted compounding as an example of reanalysis above.

Moreover, Brinton and Traugott (2005: 96) perceive lexicalization as a process whereby the semantics of the target lexicalized form does not necessarily reflect the individual contribution of the constituents, which relates to idiomaticization. The authors propose the following definition:

> Lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical.
>
> (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 96)

I consider lexicalization to be a process whereby a linguistic item is adopted in the lexicon or the inventory of a language (see Lehmann 1989, 2002), as well as that the constituents are treated as a single lexeme (see Lipka 2002 [1990]) with or without a shift in meaning. I take idiomaticization to be a process that involves semantic opacity. The compounding of intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions in Pp will be taken to be an example of grammaticalization in chapters 5 and 6. However, some examples of lexicalization and idiomaticization taking place in the frame of these syntactic structures will also be provided.

2.2 Contact-induced change

In the previous section, grammaticalization was presented as a language-internal process based on language universals. This internally-motivated process is a source of variation and language change cross-linguistically. However, variation and change, as well as the maintenance of specific linguistic material can also be externally motivated. Despite the fact that this dissertation places the focus on language-internal processes, the linguistic consequences of language contact and the role of bilinguals/multilinguals will be briefly considered as well.

The syntactic variation affecting directional and resultative serial verbs in Pp will be primarily analysed taking account of the grammaticalization theory. However, the influence of language contact and attitudinal factors (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) will be briefly regarded in some cases in which they may have played some role in accelerating grammaticalization (see Heine and Kuteva 2010). Furthermore, the apparent increasing use of prepositions after directional verbs and the variable preferences for using serial or non-serial structures to express direction and a cause-result semantic relation will be accounted for via language-internal as well as language-external factors.

Since Pp has been in long-term contact with three Indo-European languages –English, Dutch and Spanish – and both bilingualism and multilingualism is widespread on the ABC islands,[33] structures that are available in these languages are eligible to be transferred to the creole language. The linguistic consequences of language contact and the role of bilinguals in the evolution of languages have been addressed in much previous work (e.g. Weinreich 1953, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, 2010, Myers-Scotton 2002, Winford 2003, Mufwene 2001, 2008). Bilingual speakers play a crucial role in transferring linguistic material from a source into a borrowing or recipient language, as indicated in the following quotations:

> The traditional prerequisite for structural borrowing – that is, for structural interference initiated by native speakers of the recipient language – is the existence of a bilingual group within the borrowing-language speaker population.
>
> (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 66)

> In most if not all cases… the speakers who initiate such structural change are bilinguals. (Winford 2003: 62)

Thus, bilingual speakers impose source language features on the recipient language. However, some speakers may avoid implementing these borrowings because they perceive them to be an external threat and want to be identified with the inner group or the local community. Other speakers may imitate the borrowed features because they want to be identified with the outer group. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 238) argue that language "plays a very complex role in relation to ethnic or national or racial identity". The perception of identity has been assigned an important role in protecting the local language from the "intrusion" of foreign structures or, on the contrary, in adhering to the innovations taken from a contact language (see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74ff.), the intensity of contact determines the kind of transfer that takes place in a given language-contact situation. While lexical transfer can occur in cases of casual contact, intense contact is required for structural features to be borrowed into another language. Thomason and Kaufman explain that conditions of intense contact result in extensive structural *borrowings*, where borrowing is understood as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features" (1988: 37). Weinreich (1953) refers to the product of language contact as *interference*, i.e. "instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact" (Weinreich 1953: 1).

Given the fact that Pp has been in contact with English, Dutch and Spanish for quite some time and multilingualism is widespread on the ABC islands, structural diffusion can be predicted.

[33] Only two of my informants were quasi-monolingual. The rest were competent speakers of at least one of the Indo-European contact languages on the ABC islands.

2.3 Contact-induced grammaticalization

As shown in the above, grammaticalization has traditionally been regarded as a language-internal phenomenon, whereas contact-induced change relies on language-external factors that are historically motivated as two or more languages come together in the same context. Thus, the two linguistic phenomena have been presented as divergent processes in the literature, which has given rise to debate. Grammaticalization and contact-induced change bring about language change, but they do not interact to create a new structure. Instead, they are conceived of as mutually exclusive processes.

Nevertheless, several scholars have acknowledged the relevance of language contact in grammaticalization (e.g. Traugott 1982: 265, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 150, Keesing 1991) and in the areal diffusion of grammaticalized structures in different regions of the world (e.g. Heine 1994, Bisang 1996, 1998, 2008, Dahl 2000, Stolz and Stolz 2001, Kuteva 1998, 2000, Giacalone Ramat 2008). Consequently, there are convergent linguistic areas in which a specific or several linguistic patterns are transferred into other contact languages. This phenomenon has given rise to the terms *grammaticalization area* (Kuteva 1998) and *areal grammaticalization* (Kuteva 2000). Thus, language contact is regarded as a relevant factor that makes it possible for a grammatical structure to spread over a linguistic area.

Work by Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005) is taken as the point of reference for the interaction of grammaticalization and contact-induced language change because it is argued that both phenomena can jointly be at work in processes that lead to language change. In other words, grammaticalization patterns that are present in a specific language can be replicated in a contact language. Once the pattern has been transferred, it can further undergo grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva show that two types of contact-induced grammaticalization exist: *ordinary grammaticalization* and *replica grammaticalization*. In both processes the linguistic communities are considered to have been in contact for a long time and the speakers exhibit large-scale bilingualism.

In ordinary grammaticalization, speakers of language A develop a category in their own language that is present in language B. To do so, they use linguistic material from their own language A and rely on universals of grammaticalization to create the new category in their language. In some cases, speakers intend to fill a non-existent category in their language. However, in other cases, speakers develop a new category even though their language already exhibited an equivalent category. In replica grammaticalization, the initial stages are identical to the ones found in ordinary grammaticalization, the only difference being that speakers of language A do not draw on universals of grammaticalization to grammaticalize the new category. Instead they imitate or replicate the grammaticalization process that occurred in language B, from which they are taking the new category. Thus, "rather than a grammatical concept, it is a grammaticalization process that is transferred from the model [B] to the replica language [A]" (Heine and Kuteva 2003: 539). In any case, what appears to be a process that is led by universal strategies of grammaticalization may have been determined by the transfer of a function or pattern, and what appears to be an instance of contact-induced change may also have been conditioned by a grammaticalization process.

The extent to which grammaticalization is present in language change processes in pidgin and creole languages has been debated, as has how language contact may have contributed to these processes. Keesing (1991) accords an important role to the influence that Oceanic substrata exerted in the development of Melanesian Pidgin:

> [T]he existence of corresponding grammatical forms and patterns in substrate languages … would seem to have led to some shortcuts in the grammaticalization process that would not have been possible if a simple jargon had progressively developed into a creole without mapping onto a relatively uniform substrate pattern.
>
> (Keesing 1991: 337)

Bruyn (1996, 2009) argues that some cases that may resemble processes of regular grammaticalization – gradual, language-internal process – are better explained by means of external factors, which she refers to as *apparent grammaticalization*. In her view, some cases "are the result of the continuation or the calquing of patterns from other languages present in the contact situation… perhaps converging with universal, cognitively-based developments" (Bruyn 1996: 42). Thus, some instances of grammaticalization actually represent the transfer of patterns that are found in contact languages:

> It may be difficult to distinguish language-internal developments from those brought about by language contact. It is conceivable that in many cases the two reinforced each other and are thus inseparable. Another difficulty arises from the universal character of processes of grammaticalization, rendering it difficult to establish what part has proceeded within the Creole language itself and what part has proceeded in a contributing language. This pertains not only to the substrate languages but to the lexifier languages as well. (Bruyn 1996: 42)

Furthermore, Bruyn (2009: 325) argues that lexical items may exhibit a grammatical function in a specific language without presenting a path of grammaticalization that is actually characteristic of this language-internal process:

> It is thus important to bear in mind that a synchronic pattern that appears to reflect grammaticalization, even when supported by cross-linguistic evidence, is not sufficient evidence that grammaticalization in its usual sense has actually taken place.
>
> (Bruyn 2009: 331f.)

Plag (2002) continues Bruyn's view and argues in favour of the existence of ambiguous cases that can represent language-internal developments – universal tendencies –, external factors due to language contact – transfer – or a "conspiracy" of both factors. Furthermore, the linguist argues that the synchronic variation present in cases of grammaticalization in creole languages does not necessarily reflect a gradual language-internal diachronic development, which he terms the *synchrony-diachrony fallacy* (Plag 2002: 236, see also Bruyn 1996: 43, 2009).

However, Mufwene (1996, 2001, 2006) argues against the view that grammaticalization proceeds differently in the development of creole languages, and proposes that language contact was also present in the evolution of non-creole

languages such as English and the Romance languages. Consequently, the same principles of grammaticalization that have been applied to these languages should also be applied to creoles.

One example of apparent grammaticalization that is quite relevant for this study is the ambiguous status of serial verbs as verbs and prepositions. In chapter 3, I will provide an overview of work in which this phenomenon has been treated as a consequence of a language-internal process, i.e. grammaticalization, as a result of the transfer of a pattern present in the substrate languages and as a combination of both processes.

3. Elusive categories: Serial verbs and light verbs

Two categories of verbs will be introduced in this chapter that are difficult to identify due to the similarities and the diverse properties that they display cross-linguistically. The categories being referred to are serial verbs and light verbs. Since this study places its focus on verb serialization in Pp, more attention will be devoted to serial verbs and serial verb constructions in this chapter. Light verbs will be presented more briefly.

Section 3.1 provides the reader an overview of the state of the art regarding serial verbs and serial verb constructions. The history of the study of verb serialization, the features of this syntactic phenomenon and the classification of serial verb structures are outlined in 3.1.1. An overview of this linguistic structure cross-linguistically, mainly focusing on creole languages, is provided in 3.1.2. Serial verb constructions are shown to be a non-unified phenomenon cross-linguistically in 3.1.3. Two features that present considerable variation across serializing languages will also be introduced: the presence and absence of tense/aspect and subject marking in serial verbs. Some instances of this kind of variation have been related to the historical instability exhibited by serial verb constructions and their tendency to undergo grammaticalization. Two paths of grammaticalization affecting serial verbs worldwide are presented in 3.1.4: from serial verb to adposition and from serial verb to auxiliary and further. The focus is on the repercussions of grammaticalization, i.e. a language-internal process, on the syntactic variation affecting serial verbs. Since serial verb constructions tend to gradually evolve into non-serial structures, some of the differences exhibited by these constructions cross-linguistically can be linked to the different stages of grammaticalization that they represent. Lexicalization processes have also been put forward in some cases. A conclusion follows in 3.1.5.

Section 3.2 presents an overview of light verbs and light verb constructions. Since I will argue that some syntactic structures in Pp that on the surface look like intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions are in fact light verb constructions, a brief overview of light verbs and light verb constructions is provided in this section. Light verbs are distinguished from other categories in 3.2.1. The diachronic stability of this category is shown in 3.2.2. Light verbs and their heavy counterparts are considered in 3.2.3, and the properties of light verbs are introduced in 3.2.4. A conclusion is provided in 3.2.5.

Finally, section 3.3 presents a conclusion to this chapter.

3.1 Serial verbs and serial verb constructions

3.1.1 Historical background, features and classification

There seems to be agreement that the term *serial verb construction* was coined by Stewart (1963) when he observed that verbs in certain structures can share an overt object in Akan-Twi. This linguistic phenomenon had previously been acknowledged by other scholars, though. Christaller (1875: 69) referred to it as “combinations of verbs”

and "verbal combinations" in his description of Twi. Westermann (1930: 86) wrote about "two verbs forming one idea" and "verbal combinations" (1930: 126) in his study on Ewe. Welmers (1946: 63) made reference to this construction as a "series of verbs" in his grammar of Fanti, while Ward (1952: 106) called them "verbal combinations" in her description of Yoruba.

In the extensive literature on serial verb constructions (SVCs), several features have been proposed as characterizing these structures and demarcating them from other multi-verb constructions.[1] I will thus next provide a summary of the main features that have been proposed for SVCs.[2]

An SVC consists of a sequence of two or more verbs or verb phrases (VPs) that act together as a single predicate.[3] The VPs that constitute these mono-clausal structures are juxtaposed in such a way that they form a prosodic unit, i.e. a single intonation contour with no pause between the verbs.[4] There are no overt signs of coordination, subordination or any kind of syntactic dependency. The components share the same polarity, tense, aspect, mood, modality and illocutionary force[5] that can be marked on only one of the verbs or on all the verbs in the series. Verbs share at least one argument and, therefore, SVCs can exhibit subject sharing, object sharing and switch reference (causatives). However, some SVCs do not share any of their arguments, as occurs with event-argument SVCs or ambient serialization.[6] The verbs in an SVC constitute subparts of a single event that could not be expressed any more briefly. In some cases, the sequence of subevents is culturally conventionalized[7] or may iconically represent the order in which the subevents take place in the world:

> What serial constructions have in common semantically is the fact that the verbs in the construction all refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event. The action or state denoted by the second verb phrase is, in terms of the real world, an outgrowth of the action denoted by the first verb phrase; the second verb phrase represents a further

[1] See Aikhenvald and Muysken (2011) for an overview of multi-verb constructions across the Americas, Ameka (2005) for a distinction between SVCs and other multi-verb constructions in West African languages, and Bril and Ozanne-Rivierre (2004) for verb serialization and other complex predicates in Oceanic languages.

[2] For an overview of the features of SVCs see, e.g., Foley and Olson (1985), Crowley (1987, 2002: 8ff.), Zwicky (1990), Durie (1997), Aikhenvald (2006), Muysken and Veenstra (2006).

[3] Note that Li and Thompson (1973: 101) present examples of SVCs with two predicates in Mandarin Chinese. Foley and van Vallin (1984: 189) and Foley and Olson (1985: 18) define SVCs as having two or more predicates, i.e. multi-predicate syntactic structures.

[4] Givón (1991a, 1991b) considers prosodic properties as an important feature of SVCs. According to the author, SVCs are characterized by the same intonational properties as mono-verbal clauses, i.e. intonation breaks and pause markers between the components of SVCs are shorter than in constructions consisting of more than one verb. However, Foley and Olson (1985: 39) consider core layer juncture to be verb serialization, although it entails two intonation contours. Nuclear layer juncture has a single contour.

[5] However, verbs in series can be marked for different aspect and modality in West African littoral languages (Ameka 2005: 20, 31f.; 2006: 137f.). As regards the variation in tense/aspect marking in SVCs, see in section 3.1.3.2.

[6] See Crowley (1987) and Aikhenvald (1999, 2006: 18f.). Note that Aikhenvald (2006: 19f.) also claims that no arguments are shared within the group she refers to as "resultative SVCs".

[7] An action involving the subevents "climb a tree" and "look for insects" is an acceptable SVC in Alamblak. However, an action involving the subevents "climb a tree" and "look at the moon" is not (Bruce 1988).

> development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the first verb. (Lord 1974: 196)

Durie (1997) and Aikhenvald (2006) argue in favour of analysing SVCs as representing a single (complex) event. However, B. Baker and Harvey (2010: 34f.) believe that SVCs express multiple events.

Since SVCs may exhibit different features in the languages of the world in which they are available, Aikhenvald (2006) proposes three parameters for defining the properties of SVCs and accounting for their cross-linguistic diversity. Accordingly, SVCs are best viewed in a continuum from more to less prototypical. Aikhenvald considers the following parameters: the contiguity of their components, the wordhood of their constituents and the marking of grammatical categories such as tense and aspect. In terms of the contiguity of the verb constituents, SVCs can be contiguous and non-contiguous. In relation to the wordhood of the components, the constructions may give rise to one-word or multi-word SVCs. As regards the marking of grammatical categories, these can be marked only on one of the verbs in the series, i.e. single marking, or on every verb constituent, i.e. concordant marking.

Three possible concatenation principles or syntactic configurations have been proposed for the structural relationship between the constituents of an SVC: coordination (e.g. Hale 1991), subordination, i.e. one of the verbs or VPs functions as an argument in an embedded complement that is dependent on the main VP in a higher clause (e.g. Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978, Sebba 1987),[8] and adjunction, i.e. one of the constituents of an SVC behaves like an adjunct (or ungoverned *pseudocomplement*, see Seuren 1991) modifying the main VP in a manner that resembles secondary predication in non-serializing languages (e.g. Larson 1991, Law and Veenstra 1992, Veenstra 1996a, 2000, 2003).

While the aforementioned linguists account for the presence of verb serialization at the syntactic level, others have proposed that verb serialization is a lexical phenomenon. Lefebvre (1991) claims that SVCs result from the conflation of two verbs that share semantic properties, one of them originating from a closed class. George (1976) suggests that serializing languages have simpler lexical rules but display a more complex surface syntax. The simplicity of the lexical rules in serializing languages contrasts with the complexity exhibited in non-serializing languages such as English where the verb *bring* is lexically decomposed into the lexical items "take" and "come" in serializing languages:

(1) Tsoda lá Gàná bé. (Nupe)
Tsoda took Gana come
"Tsoda brought Gana" (George 1976: 71)

[8] Li and Thompson (1973) propose two possible syntactic configurations for Mandarin Chinese SVCs: a coordinate structure for those SVCs that express conjunction – consecutive, simultaneous and alternating actions – and a subordinate structure for SVCs that express a purpose. Interestingly, the scholars claim that the subordinate structure comprises a single predicate, whereas the coordinate structure consists of two predicates. The fact that coordinate structures are composed of two predicates seems to be in dissonance with the shared assumption that the series of verbs or VPs that form an SVC constitute a single predicate.

Sebba (1987: 216-218) conceives verb serialization as both an argument-increasing and a lexicon-expanding strategy. On the one hand, languages that strictly limit two arguments per verb resort to serial verbs to introduce a third argument. Non-serializing languages such as English make use of ditransitive verbs like *give* or *show*. On the other hand, verb serialization is used to expand the relatively limited lexicon of a language, as was seen above in George's (1976) example. The limited verb lexicon and the absence of NP-movement (see Stahlke 1970) have also been related to the existence of verb serialization. Further, verb serialization has been claimed to parallel the function of case-marking devices in non-serializing languages (e.g. Foley and Olson 1985: 56).

There has been some debate in the literature regarding the underlying structure of SVCs. Several authors have proposed a multi-source hypothesis, i.e. SVCs are derived from two or more underlying (coordinate and/or subordinate) sentences in the deep structure that surface as a chain of verbs via a process of transformation or rules of deletion of identical elements (e.g. Awobuluyi 1973, partially Bamgboṣe 1974,[9] 1982, see also references in Bamgboṣe 1974: 18, fn. 6, Li and Thompson 1973, Hyman 1971). Other linguists have argued against SVCs being traceable to two or more underlying sentences in the deep structure and have supported the mono-source hypothesis, claiming that mono-clausal structures are what underlie SVCs (e.g. Schachter 1974a, Lord 1974). Schachter (1974a: 256) proposes that "the underlying structure of serial verb constructions is in all cases essentially identical to what seems to be the surface structure: a subject noun phrase and a sequence of concatenated verb phrases". Those arguing against the multi-sentential underlying structures provide evidence that these structures may convey a different meaning from the one intended by an SVC and even produce ungrammatical sentences (Stahlke 1970: 78f., Foley and Olson 1985: 18-22). In the example below, the derivation of an SVC from a series of underlying sentences entails a drastic change of meaning:

(2) a. ó so fún mi[10] (Yoruba)
he said give me
"He told me" (Bamgboṣe 1974: 31)

b. ó so ; ó fún mi (Yoruba)
he said he gave me
"He said; he gave me" (Bamgboṣe 1974: 32)

Furthermore, some authors have pointed out the difficulty or ambiguity in interpreting SVCs because different semantic interpretations are possible. For example, Boadi (1968: 87) shows that sentence (3) can have two readings:[11] the subject of V_1 and V_2 is

[9] Bamgboṣe (1973, 1974) supports the derivation of some SVCs in Yoruba from conjoined underlying sentences, which he refers to as the *linking type*. There is no change in meaning between the underlying structure and the surface SVC. However, he argues for a single underlying sentence as the source of other SVCs where a serial verb modifies the other verb in the series, which he labels the *modifying type*.

[10] Some diacritical marks could not be transferred in the examples in (2).

[11] Boadi (1968: 90) points out the difference between deep and surface structures and how "vital structural information can be obscured on the surface".

interpreted to have the same reference in (a), whereas each verb has a different subject in (b).

(3) Kofi frɛɛ me kɔɔ fie (Akan)
a. Kofi called me (and) went home
b. Kofi called me and I went home (Boadi 1968: 87)

Li and Thompson (1973, 1978: 237ff., 1981: 595ff.) claim that SVCs can express different semantic relations in Mandarin Chinese. In some cases, the serial structures can be ambiguous, as they can have either a purposive or a conjunctive reading. The appropriate interpretation depends on the context and extralinguistic factors, i.e. "it is 'knowledge of the world', and not linguistic knowledge, which is responsible for suppressing or encouraging a particular reading for a serial verb sentence" (Li and Thompson 1973: 99). The linguists propose four strategies with which speakers can infer the accurate interpretation: language-dependent knowledge, pragmatic factors, language-independent principles and universal linguistic principles (Li and Thompson 1978: 241-252).

Moreover, some SVCs may display idiomatic meaning.[12] Thus, the semantics of the complex predicate does not result from the sum of the meanings of the individual verb constituents:

(4) Kofi gyee Amma dii. (Akan)
Kofi received Amma ate
"Kofi believed Amma" (Schachter 1974a: 254)

Some scholars have argued against the treatment of such structures as SVCs (e.g. Haspelmath 2016: 296f.), while others have proposed including them in the lexicon as single or discontinuous entries (Schachter 1974a: 263).

Classification of serial verb constructions

Different ways of classifying SVCs have been proposed in the literature. Following Olson (1981), Foley and van Vallin (1984) and Foley and Olson (1985) note that serializing languages vary in the way in which the verb constituents surface in the complex predicate. SVCs may exhibit different syntactic forms across different languages and also within a single language. These linguists distinguish between two types of junctures in verb serialization: core layer (5a) and nuclear layer (5b) serial constructions. The examples below are taken from Barai, a Papuan language:

(5) a. fu fi fase isoe (Barai)
he sit letter write
"He sat down and wrote a letter." (Foley and Olson 1985: 38)

[12] Awobuluyi (1973) refers to this kind of idiomatic expressions as *splitting verbs*.

b. fu fase fi isoe (Barai)
he letter sit write
"He sat writing a letter." (Foley and Olson 1985: 38)

In a nuclear layer juncture, two juxtaposed verbs – in some cases more than two – form a complex nucleus that functions as a single unit. Core and peripheral layer arguments, as well as operators are shared by the constituents of the complex nucleus. In a core layer juncture, the verbs are not contiguous. In any case, in both types of juncture one slot is occupied by a verb from an open class, i.e. from a wide variety of semantic sets, while the other verb comes from a closed class, i.e. from a restricted group. Foley and Olson (1985) propose semantic, intonational and syntactic differences between core and nuclear layer junctures.

Languages can exhibit only core layer serialization, only nuclear layer serialization or both patterns, e.g. Barai (see example (5)) and Ijo (see Foley and Olson 1985). Foley and Olson (1985: 46f.) explain that nuclear layer serialization is common among verb-final languages, e.g. Ijo and verb-final Papuan languages, while core layer serialization surfaces in verb-medial languages, e.g. Kwa verb-medial languages. However, Igbo displays only nuclear serialization despite being a verb-medial language. The change from verb-final to verb-medial that Kwa languages have undergone seems to explain the uniqueness of Igbo.[13] Nevertheless, Paamese displays both types of serialization, i.e. nuclear and core layer juncture, despite its SVO word order (Crowley 1987).

Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 242ff.), following Awóyalé (1988), establish a distinction between languages with clause SVCs, or IP-serials, and languages with phrasal SVCs, or VP-serials. The difference between the two types of languages lies in the semantics and the degree of independency of the subevents represented by the verbs used in the construction. While the verbs participating in clausal SVCs can belong to a wide range of semantic sets and can freely combine in verbal strings with only some semantic and pragmatic restrictions, the verbs taking part in phrasal SVCs are lexically restricted and exhibit less independence in regard to the possible combinations of their constituents. Igbo, Ijo and Saramaccan are examples of languages with IP-serialization, whereas Yoruba, Twi, Haitian and Pp are included in the list of languages with VP-serialization. Muysken and Veenstra classify SVCs into four types that reflect the division into IP- and VP-serializing languages in the following way:

[13] Givón (1975) and Hyman (1975) claim that Kwa languages shifted the word order typology from SOV to SVO and later developed verb serialization. However, Lord (1977) argues that Igbo started displaying verb serialization while still an SOV language, later developed verb compounding and shifted to SVO. Bradshaw (1982), cited in Crowley (1987: 75f.), shows that the development of nuclear serialization in Austronesian languages spoken in Papua New Guinea is related to the shift from SVO to SOV that is common to Papuan languages. Li and Thomson (1976) suggest a link between the shift from SVO to SOV in Mandarin Chinese, the development of causative compounds and the decline of causative serial verbs in the Sinitic language.

	Less independence between subevents	More independence between subevents
Restricted lexical selection	Type 1 (phrasal, VP-serials)	Type 2
Free lexical selection	Type 3	Type 4 (clausal, IP-serials)

Table 9. Classification of serializing languages and types of SVCs according to Muysken and Veenstra (2006)
(adapted from Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 243)

Type 1 SVCs can introduce an argument or can modify the verb they follow by specifying direction, aspect and degree. The fixed verbs used in these constructions appear non-initially and usually adopt the function performed by adverbs and prepositions in non-serializing languages. These verbs are prone to undergoing grammaticalization.

Directional	go (direction away), come (direction toward), surround (circumvention), come out (origin), arrive (endpoint), be (locative)
Argument-introducing	give (benefactive, experiencer, source, goal/recipient), say (finite complementizer)
Aspectual	finish (completive), return (iterative), be (continuative)
Degree	pass (comparative), spoil (excessive), suffice (enough)

Table 10. Type 1 SVCs according to Muysken and Veenstra (2006)
(adapted from Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 243f.)

Type 2 SVCs can, like type 1, introduce an argument. In this case, they introduce an instrumental or comitative argument or a direct object. Moreover, they can also participate in causative constructions. Causative verbs appear non-initially, whereas "take" occupies the initial position. They also tend to undergo grammaticalization.

Causative	make [(direct) causation], give [(indirect) causation]
Argument-introducing	take (instrument, direct object, comitative)

Table 11. Type 2 SVCs according to Muysken and Veenstra (2006)
(adapted from Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 248)

Type 1 and type 2 SVCs use verbs that surface in a fixed position, mainly non-initial position. The two types of SVCs differ in the fact that the verb combinations in type 2 exhibit more independence than in type 1.

Type 3 comprises resultative SVCs in which the verb expressing the result occupies a non-initial position. The list of verbs classed as type 3 is longer than those classed as types 1 and 2. Resultative SVCs may use transitive (6) or intransitive (7) verbs:

(6) De sikópu hen kíi. (Saramaccan)
3PL kick 3SG kill
"They kicked him dead." (Musyken and Veenstra 2006: 250)

(7) Dí wosu boóko kaí. (Saramaccan)
DET house break fall
"The house is fallen apart." (Musyken and Veenstra 2006: 250)

Type 4 SVCs has no restrictions as regards the verbs included in the verbal chain and their position. That is, "anything goes as long as it is semantically and/or pragmatically apt" (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 250):[14]

(8) A kísi di fou náki kíi limbo bói njan. (Saramaccan)
3SG catch DET bird hit kill clean cook eat
"He caught the bird, struck it dead, cleaned, cooked, and ate it."
(Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 250)

Aikhenvald (2006: 21ff.) establishes a semantic classification of SVCs cross-linguistically based on the type of verbs that participate in the constructions. Aikhenvald divides SVCs into symmetrical and asymmetrical ones. While the former (the symmetrical SVCs) combine two or more verbs from an open or unrestricted class, the latter (the asymmetrical SVCs) combine a major verb from an open class with a minor verb from a closed, or restricted, class. The verb from the closed class modifies the verb from the open class in various ways. Directional, aspectual, causative, benefactive, instrumental and comparative SVCs are included in the asymmetrical constructions. SVCs denoting, e.g., manner and cause-effect are included in the symmetrical subgroup.

Symmetrical SVCs	Asymmetrical SVCs
Two or more verbs from an open class	One verb from an open class + One verb from a closed class
E.g. manner, cause-effect SVCs	E.g. directional, aspectual, causative, benefactive, instrumental, comparative SVCs

Table 12. Semantic classification of SVCs according to Aikhenvald (2006)
(see Aikhenvald 2006: 21ff.)

3.1.2 Serial verb constructions: A worldwide linguistic phenomenon

SVCs are attested in numerous languages worldwide and have been classified geographically in different linguistic areas: West Africa, East and Southeast Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean and other American territories. SVCs are present in languages that are genetically unrelated and typologically distinct.

As regards their genetic affiliation, serializing languages are attested in several language families: in the Kwa subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family, e.g. Ijo (Williamson 1965), Yoruba (Bamgboṣe 1966, Stahlke 1970) and Ewe (Ameka 2006); in Khoisian, e.g. Hoan (Aboh 2009); in the Afroasiatic linguistic family, e.g. Goemai[15] (Hellwig 2006); in the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family, e.g. Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2006), see Crowley (2002) for an overview of SVCs in

[14] Some scholars do not regard these types of constructions as SVCs but as covert coordination, a type of multi-verb construction.
[15] Goemai is an Afroasiatic West-Chadic language spoken in Jos Plateau, Nigeria.

Oceanic languages; in the Sino-Tibetan languages, e.g. Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1973) and Lahu (Matisoff 1969); in Mon-Khmer, e.g. Vietnamese (Kuhn 1990a); in the Tai-Kadai language family, e.g. Thai (Kölver 1991: 496-505, Diller 2006); in Papuan languages, such as Yimas (Foley and Olson 1985), Alamblak (Bruce 1988) and Kalam (Pawley 2009),[16] as well as in different language families on the American continent, e.g. Lakota (de Reuse 2006) and Olutec (Zavala 2006) in North America; the Misumalpan languages Mískitu and Sumu (Hale 1991) in Central America; Tariana (Aikhenvald 1999, 2006) and Guarani (Castillo Velazquez 2004) in South America.

With regard to their typology, it has been traditionally assumed that serializing languages lack inflectional and derivational morphology and that there is a correlation between the dearth of morphology and verb serialization (e.g. M. Baker 1991, Law and Veenstra 1992, Veenstra 1996a, Lefebvre 1998: 355-357, 2004: 112f., Déchaine 1993, Muysken and Veenstra 2006, Li and Thompson 1978: 237). However, even though the isolating or analytic morphological typology may apply to creole languages, Southeast Asian and West African languages, SVCs also surface in polysynthetic languages such as Tariana (a North Arawak language; Aikhenvald 1999, 2006) and Olutec (a Mixean language; Zavala 2006). As regards word order, although most languages exhibiting verb serialization are SVO, some languages display an SOV typology, e.g. Mískitu (Hale 1991), Ijo (Givón 1975: 98-100), Lahu and Papuan languages like Barai (Schiller 1990a), and VOS, e.g. Anejom̃, an Oceanic language (Lynch 2004). Therefore, it can be concluded that SVCs appear in languages that are typologically distinct.[17]

The number of languages displaying verb serialization increases if we include those that have actually been considered to be non-serializing but exhibit structures that closely parallel or resemble SVCs.[18] The study of verb serialization thus becomes more complex.

As has been shown above, SVCs are well attested in diverse geographical areas as well as in different language families and languages that are typologically distinct. Furthermore, there are some constructions in non-serializing languages that are similar

[16] The phenomenon found in Papuan languages has been referred to as *root serialization*.

[17] See Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) for an account of SVCs in several languages that are both genetically and typologically distinct.

[18] Pullum (1990) treats the English *go get* construction as well as the pseudo-coordinated complement constructions *go & get* and *try & get* constructions as *intransitive "quasi-serial" verb constructions.* Haspelmath (2016: 298 fn. 2) agrees with the existence of *go* and *come* imperative SVCs in English. Zwicky (1990) argues that the sequence *go* V, as in *go see who's at the door*, behaves like a compound and that constructions such as *let go* and *pray tell* are idioms because the participating verbs are fixed. Hopper (2008) looks into the *take NP and* construction and analyses it as an emergent SVC, where *take* has lost its full meaning through a process of grammaticalization. See also Roberts (2012) and Flach (2015, 2017) for further information on verb serialization in English. Hilpert and Koops (2009) draw a parallel between the pseudo-coordinated constructions with *sitta* "sit" in Swedish and SVCs in which the verb "sit" is used to express the duration of the activity expressed by V_2. Kuhn (1990b) shows that some infinitive constructions in German share features and typical restrictions with SVCs. Quint (2000: 178) considers modal constructions and sequences of VPs, such as complementation, in Romance and Germanic languages to be instances of SVCs. See Mufwene (1990) and Seuren (1990a) for an account of serialization and complementation. See den Dikken (1991) for cases of serialization in Norwegian, Joseph (1990) for the possibility of imperative sequences in Modern Greek and Bisang (1995: 172) for marginal cases of verb serialization in Russian.

to verb serialization. Apart from the groups of languages mentioned above, SVCs are also found in several creole languages.[19] Since the language of study of this dissertation – Papiamentu/o – is a creole language, SVCs in these languages will be dealt with in detail in the following subsection.

Serial verb constructions in creole languages

Schuchardt (1914: IV,V) observed some similarities between Saramaccan and West African languages such as Ashanti and Ewe in the use of verbal combinations, which Voorhoeve (1957: 386) later referred to as a "verbal chain" in his description of the Sranan verbal system.

The presence and absence of verb serialization in creoles has been used as evidence for and against substratist and universalist hypotheses on the origin of creole languages and the structural similarities between them. Some scholars have attributed the presence of SVCs in creole languages to the availability of verb serialization in the language(s) that constituted their substrate (e.g. Boretzky 1983: 161-191,[20] Alleyne 1980: 167-171, 1986, Holm 1987, 1988: 183ff., see Crowley 1990 for arguments in favour of the substrate influence on verb serialization in Bislama, and Faraclas 1990 for the substratal influence on Tok Pisin and Nigerian Pidgin, see also some contributions in Lefebvre 2011[21]).

However, scepticism has also been voiced about the claim that the substratum is the source of SVCs in creole languages. Some scholars have acknowledged language universals and universals of creolization to be a more accurate explanation for the availability of verb serialization in creole languages (e.g. Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978, Huttar 1981, Byrne 1987, Veenstra 1996a). Bickerton (1981, 1984, also in other work) strongly advocates a universalist approach to account for the genesis of creole languages in general and for the presence of SVCs in particular. In his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis, Bickerton assigns a leading role to the principles of Universal Grammar and to children's creativity in the development of creole languages, arguing that those features that are common among creole languages are related to an innate language faculty. The presence of verb serialization in some varieties of Hawaiian Creole English spoken by elderly speakers (Bickerton 1981) as well as in the French

[19] See the debate about the genetic and typological classification of creole languages in, e.g., McWhorter (1998, 2001, 2005, 2011), Chaudenson (2001), Thomason (2002), Mufwene (2003), DeGraff (2005), the *WALS*, *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2005 and online version Dryer and Haspelmath 2013), Parkvall (2008), Kouwenberg (2010a, b), Bakker et al. (2011), Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

[20] Boretzky (1983) relates the presence of verb serialization in Atlantic creole languages to the influence of the Kwa substratum. Thus, since West African languages belonging to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family are rich in verb serialization, the presence of SVCs in creole languages is connected to the availability of the Kwa substratum during the process of creolization. Moreover, the apparent absence of such constructions in some Atlantic creoles is explained by the fact that they may have been in contact with non-serializing West African languages, such as those belonging to the West Atlantic and Mande language families.

[21] For substrate influence on verb serialization in São-Tomense see Hagemeijer and Ogie (2011), in Kupang Malay see Jacob and Grimes (2011), in Papuan Malay see Donohue (2011) and in Chinese Coast English see Ansaldo, Matthews and Smith (2011).

creoles of the Indian Ocean – Seselwa and Morisyen – (Bikerton 1989),[22] where no Kwa substratum participated in the creolization process, was used to support his hypothesis. In any case, substratist and universalist views have given rise to debate. See the discussion between McWhorter (1992, 1994), who argues in favour of the influence the Kwa/Nigerian substrates had on SVCs in Saramaccan, and Bickerton (1994).

Bickerton (1981) also proposes that the presence of SVCs in languages spoken by African slaves was not as relevant a factor as the presence or absence of prepositions in the pidgin. Depending on linguistic and socio-historical factors,[23] the slaves could have borrowed prepositions from European languages. Hence, verb serialization is absent when prepositions were available in the input to which the children were exposed (see also Schiller 1993):

> Where prepositions were available, even if African influence was strong (as with Saramaccan), they would be chosen over serial models. In the absence of superstrate prepositions, serialization would always be chosen. (Bickerton 1981: 130)

Nevertheless, Lefebvre (1998: 355) claims that the correlation between verb serialization and lack of prepositions is not correct, as Haitian and Fongbe use both serial verbs and adpositions.

There have been some attempts to classify creole languages in terms of verb serialization. Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978: 128) identified three groups, taking into account the availability of these constructions in creoles and the presence or absence of SVCs with "take". Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 291) modified the list:[24]

- Creoles with SVCs, including "take": Saramaccan, Sranan, Krio, Gullah, Jamaican, Guyanais, Haitian
- Creoles with SVCs, excluding "take": São-Tomense, Principense, Tok Pisin, Negerhollands, Papiamento, Berbice, Seychellois
- Creoles without SVCs: Philippine Creole Spanish, Hawaiian Creole English, Senegal Crioulo, Mauritian Creole, Réunionais[25]

Table 13. Classification of creole languages based on the availability of verb serialization according to Muysken and Veenstra (1995)
(Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 291)

[22] See Seuren (1990b) and Corne, Coleman and Curnow (1996) for an account that argues against the existence of verb serialization in the French creoles spoken in the Indian Ocean.

[23] Bickerton (1981: 122f.) suggests that the slaves' access to the superstrate language was a relevant social factor. The unambiguity of the structure being borrowed – in this case prepositions – with respect to meaning and its phonological structure may also have determined the borrowing of a superstrate structure into the pidgin.

[24] For an overview of SVCs in creole languages, please refer to the following studies: Berbice Dutch (Kouwenberg 1993: 389-421), Sranan (Sebba 1987), Saramaccan (Byrne 1987, Veenstra 1996a), Haitian Creole (Déchaine 1988, DeGraff 2007: 115f.), Caribbean English creoles (Winford 1990, 1993a, 1993b), Angolar (Maurer: 1995: 103-113, Lorenzino 1998: 176-180), Principense (Maurer 2009: 107-120), Cape Verdean (Quint 2000, Jacobs 2015, Baptista 2002: 113-115), Nigerian Pidgin English (Faraclas 1990, 1996), the varieties of Melanesian Pidgin: Tok Pisin (Givón 1990) and Bislama (Crowley 1990, Meyerhoff 2001). See also the study of serial verbs in different creole languages in Holm (1988, 1999) and the articles in Holm and Patrick (2007).

[25] The inclusion of Philippine Creole Spanish, Hawaiian Creole English as well as the Indian Ocean Creoles in the group of non-serializing languages is further evidence of the aforementioned debate concerning the origin of SVCs in creole languages.

To sum up, SVCs are attested in creole languages regardless of the superstrata and substrata that were present during creolization. However, this construction is not a feature that is common to all creole languages in the world. For example, Palenquero lacks verb serialization, a fact that has been related to its Bantu substratum (Schwegler and Green 2007: 290). Kihm (1994: 212-215) states that there are no SVCs in Kriol, except for marginal cases of verb serialization to express comparison. In other cases, the presence or absence of this construction has led to a debate (see the disagreement over the existence of verb serialization in Indian Ocean Creoles in Bickerton 1989, 1990, 1996 and Syea 2013 for arguments in favour, and Seuren 1990b, Corne, Coleman and Curnow 1996 for arguments against; see the controversy around Zamboangueño/Chabacano in Forman 1993, Lipski and Santoro 2007: 388 and references therein). Furthermore, modal verbs have been included as part of SVCs in some studies, as well as sequences of VPs that can normally be found in non-serializing languages (see Lorenzino 1998: 180, example 113b, Maurer 1995: 103f., Quint 2000: 178, Baptista 2002: 114f.).

3.1.3 Serial verb constructions: A diverse phenomenon

It has become clear from the above overview that SVCs are available in different geographical areas worldwide and in languages that are both genetically and typologically distinct. Moreover, SVCs are heterogeneous cross-linguistically, as presented in Aikhenvald (2006), where different parameters are used to account for the differences attested in serializing-languages. Further, similar structures to verb serialization have been found in languages that have been traditionally classified as non-serializing, e.g. English. The cross-linguistic diversity in SVCs has raised some problems in the literature, as is shown below.

3.1.3.1 The cross-linguistic diversity of serial verb constructions

The apparent widespread presence of SVCs and the diverse properties they display cross-linguistically has led some scholars to urge caution when it comes to labelling a complex predicate as verb serialization:

> [T]he term *serial verb* has been used in the literature either as an umbrella term or as a historically faithful term. In the first case a serial is any combination of two or more verbal constituents… In the second case a serial is an intimate multi-V combination much like the constructions to which the label was applied by Stewart (1963), namely those exhibiting 'object sharing': a single NP serving as direct object of one verb and as subject… or as direct object… of the other verb. (Zwicky 1990: 2)

> [V]erb serialization has not been given anything like a proper grammatical definition. The concept has remained largely impressionistic… [A]s the definition gets wider, the number of languages that will have to be taken to display the feature in question will increase, and the claim may run the risk of triviality. (Seuren 1991: 193f.)

Since various definitions have been provided of the phenomenon of verb serialization (see Schiller 1990b), some scholars have attempted to narrow down the demarcation of SVCs in order not to fall into triviality. For example, M. Baker (1989) strictly assigns the term SVCs to those structures that exhibit object sharing. Thus, the criterion for a complex predicate to qualify as an SVC is that the verb constituents need to share the same internal argument[26] (see Veenstra 1993, Campbell 1996[27] and Durie 1997 for arguments against Baker's view). Déchaine (1993: 799) and Collins (1997: 462) point to the participation of a sole subject and one tense or aspect value in the construction. Durie (1997) puts forward the notion of *eventhood* and argues that the verbs in an SVC denote a single complex event that is culture specific. Haspelmath (2016) also provides a restricted notion of verb serialization.

One of the reasons for the lack of consensus in the literature as regards the definition of SVCs is related to the lack of accuracy with which the term has been used. Following Aikhenvald (2006: 56, 2011: 4), the term SVC may have been misused in some studies, leading to the classification of certain types of complex predicates as SVCs and actual SVCs being interpreted as other sorts of constructions. Another reason is linked to the heterogeneity of this linguistic phenomenon in the languages where it is attested. Durie (1997: 320) acknowledges that "[v]erb serialization is… a diverse phenomenon, appearing in a variety of morpho-syntactic guises". The great diversity exhibited by SVCs leads to conclude that the phenomenon of verb serialization is far from being a unified one, as is clear from some statements: "It may be the case that so-called serial verbs in Yoruba have different properties and require a different analysis from serial verbs in Akan" (Lightfoot 1979: 215). Similarly, Lord (1993) claims:

> The label "serial verb" has been applied to a range of linguistic constructions in a variety of languages. Generalizations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language do not necessarily apply to superficially similar constructions in another language. Within a single language, one group of serial verb constructions may show a certain property, while another group may not. This situation has encouraged a blossoming of claims and counterclaims about serial verb constructions.
>
> (Lord 1993: 1)

[26] Campbell (1996) and Collins (1997) argue that the internal argument sharing implies the presence of an empty category that is co-indexed with the internal object shared by both V_1 and V_2. Campbell and Collins disagree about the nature of the empty category. The former claims that the empty category can either be A-bound trace or *pro*, whereas the latter argues that it is *pro*.

(i) Wo ɖa $fufu_i$ ɖu ec_i. (Ewe)
they cook fufu eat
"They cooked fufu and ate it." (Collins 1997: 477)

[27] Campbell (1996: 90f.) shows that unemphatic inanimate objects in Akan are null. However, animate objects have to be overtly realized as pronouns in the dialect Akuapem:

(ii) Kofi bOO $Amma_i$ kuu *(no_i). (Akuapem)
Kofi hit Amma killed her
"Kofi hit Amma and killed her." (Saah 1992 in Campbell 1996: 90)

Furthermore, François (2006: 232f.) shows that object sharing is not obligatory in Mwotlap, an Oceanic language.

As was presented above, Aikhenvald (2006) accounts for this diversity by viewing SVCs as a continuum from less to more prototypical serial structures. Aikhenvald lists formal and semantic properties of SVCs as well as four parameters for the cross-linguistic classification of SVCs: composition (symmetrical or asymmetrical), contiguity of verbal components in SVCs (contiguous or non-contiguous), wordhood (one-word or multi-word) and marking of grammatical categories (single marking or concordant marking). SVCs can, thus, be more or less prototypical.

However, SVCs are regarded as constituting a very diverse phenomenon – not only cross-linguistically but also within a single language:

> SVCs are a number of different things that simply look alike structurally, but on deeper probing turn out to exhibit very divergent properties… Are there any universal defining properties of SVCs? Probably not, although the term may still prove useful as a convenient descriptive label… And this variation holds within languages. Our close look at Watan SVCs… shows significant differences in their behaviour, so that even to talk of a Watam SVC is somewhat of a misnomer… (Foley 2010: 107)

I now turn to an aspect that varies considerably across SVCs and will be quite relevant for the analysis of the data on Pp SVCs: the variable marking of tense/aspect on serial verbs cross-linguistically (3.1.3.2). The variation in subject marking on serial verbs, which is closely related, is presented in 3.1.3.3.

3.1.3.2 Variation in tense/aspect marking on serial verbs

One feature that varies significantly cross-linguistically in SVCs is the marking of tense and aspect on serial verbs. While some languages overtly mark tense and aspect on all verb constituents that participate in an SVC, others display tense/aspect marking on only one of the verbs in the series, usually the initial one, while the other verb(s) in the construction is/are left unmarked.[28] In some cases, the loss of tense/aspect marking on the non-initial verb constituent(s) of an SVC has been presented as evidence of the grammaticalization of serial verbs.

In the following sentences, tense is overtly marked only on the first verb in the series:

(9) a. Boukinèt te pran yon flè bay Bouki (Haitian Creole French)
B ANT take INDF[29] flower give B
"Boukinèt gave a flower to Bouki" (DeGraff 2007: 116)

b. ni dyen wa doe t'o (Goemai)
3SG PAST.YEST[30] return.home(SG) come lie (SG)
"Yesterday, he returned home (and) lay here" (Hellwig 2006: 94)

[28] Campbell (1996) argues that a single INFL can govern two VPs in serializing languages.
[29] Adapted to the glossing abbreviations used in this study.
[30] PAST.YEST: yesterday past.

c. a bIn tek di buk go na skul (Krio)
I Past take the book go Loc school
"I took the book to school" (Williams 1971: 47)

In other cases, all verb constituents of an SVC are overtly marked for the same tense and aspect value,[31] e.g. Yatye (Stahlke 1970: 80), Akan[32] (Schachter 1974a: 260f.), Anyi-Sanvi (Van Leynseele 1975) and Seselwa (Bickerton 1989: 160).[33] This phenomenon has been referred to as tense/aspect agreement, copying, spreading or concordant marking. In the examples below, the same tense or aspect marker is overtly realized on all verbs in the SVC:

(10) a. zot ti pran balye koko ti bat Kazer (Seselwa)
they TNS take broom coconut TNS beat K.
"They beat the Kaiser with a coconut broom." (Bickerton 1989: 159)

b. bann pirog in sove n ale[34] (Seselwa)
the-PL fishing boat ASP escape ASP go
"The fishing boats got away." (Bickerton 1989: 164)

c. cùá cì ákɔ ꜜdí[35] (Anyi-Sanvi)
dog catch-HAB chicken eat-HAB
"The dog eats (catch-eats) a chicken" (Van Leynseele 1975: 191)

In the examples above, both the first and the second verb constituents are tensed (10a) or carry aspect marking (10b and c). The same tense or aspect marker is overtly realized on all verbs in the series. Schachter (1974a: 260), taking an example from Yoruba from Stahlke (1970: 81), proposes that tense agreement may have been present in Yoruba at an earlier stage, as the suppletive form *bọ* "come" is used after the progressive marker rather than *wá* "come", which is used in all other contexts:

(11) mò ´N mú ìwé bọ (Yoruba)
I PROG take book come
"I am bringing a book" (Schachter 1974a: 260)

[31] Remember that verbs in series can also be marked for different aspect and modality in West African littoral languages (see Ameka 2005: 20, 31f.; 2006: 137f.). Different aspect marking is also possible in Goemai, as long as the aspectual values are semantically compatible (Hellwig 2006: 95).
[32] Apart from tense/aspect copying, subject agreement is also attested in the verbs that constitute an SVC in Akan, as will be shown below.
[33] The presence and absence of SVCs in Seselwa (Seychelles Creole) and Morisyen (Mauritian Creole) has given rise to debate. Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996) argues that this construction exists in the French creoles of the Indian Ocean region, while Seuren (1990b) and Corne, Coleman and Curnow (1996) analyse these constructions as covert (asyndetic) coordination, i.e. the juxtaposition of two finite clauses.
[34] The aspect marker has two different phonetic realisations: *in* on the first verb and *n* on the last verb. The latter has clearly lost part of its phonetic material, i.e. it has been reduced to *n*. However, *n* is used on both verbs in Corne, Coleman and Curnow (1996: 130):
(i) i n al rod diven (i) n amene.
3sg COM go look.for wine i COM bring
"(s)he went to get some wine and brought it back (home)"
[35] Some diacritical marks could not be transferred in this sentence.

Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 238) show that only V_1 in an SVC can carry tense marking in Saramaccan.[36] However, three patterns of aspect marking can be found. If only V_1 carries aspect marking (the most common choice), it has scope over the other verbs in series and indicates durative, habitual or iterative aspect. If aspect is marked on V_2 (the least common pattern), it indicates durative aspect on only that verb. If both verbs carry aspect marking, a durative and an iterative interpretation are proposed, although the latter is preferred (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 238, Veenstra 2004: 271):

(12) a. A tá fáa páu túe. (Saramaccan)
3SG ASP chop tree throw
"He is felling a tree/the tree/trees." (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 239)

b. A fáa páu tá túe. (Saramaccan)
3SG chop tree ASP throw
"He is felling the tree (i.e. at this very moment the tree is falling)."
(Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 239)

c. A tá fáa páu tá túe. (Saramaccan)
3SG ASP chop three ASP throw
"He is (constantly) felling trees." (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 239)

In Saramaccan, example (12c) cannot be regarded as a case of aspect copying or agreement, as in (10), because the presence or absence of the aspectual marker in front of V_2 entails semantic differences.[37]

Similarly, Hagemeijer (2001: 417) claims that the aspect marker *ka* may precede the second constituent of SVCs in São-Tomense. The aspect marking on V_2 emphasizes a durative or iterative interpretation, although it is not always easy to discern the semantic differences between the presence and absence of aspect marking on V_2. Hagemeijer relates the absence of aspectual marker on V_2 to the loss of verbal status.

Migge (1998: 244ff.) shows that the serial verbs *gi*/*da* "give" in Surinamese creoles as well as *na*/*nu* in Ewe, unlike their verbal counterparts, cannot be marked for tense and aspect, among other features. This fact points to their non-verbal status:

(13) I be/e seli a buku (*be/ *e) gi en. (Ndyuka)
you PAST/PROG sell the book PAST/ PROG SV[38][give] her
"You sold/are selling the book for her." (Migge 1998: 246)

[36] But see Byrne (1987: 208ff., 1990).

[37] Note that Byrne (1987: 163f.) does not interpret (i a.) as true serial verbs because the actions are not simultaneous. Instead he interprets them as consecutive actions, as opposed to (i b.):

(i) a. a téi goni ta-suti di pingo (Saramaccan)
he take gun ASP-shoot the pig
"He took a gun and is shooting the pig."

b. a ta-téi goni (ta-) suti di pingo
ASP (ASP)
"He is shooting a pig with a gun." (Byrne 1987: 163, some diacritical marks were not transferred)

[38] SV: serial verb.

The fact that serial verbs cannot carry tense/aspect marking and undergo predicate cleft in the Surinamese creoles and in West African languages are among the features that Migge (1998: 244ff.) regards as evidence of their non-verbal status:

> The impossibility of marking *gi*/*da* and *na*/*nu* as V_2 with tense and aspect markers provides important evidence in favor of their nonverbal status since other serial verbs may optionally receive such markings as V_2. (Migge 1998: 247)

According to Migge (1998: 249, 252), the loss of tense/aspect marking as well as the negative result of the predicate test suggest the non-verbal status of *gi*/*da* and *na*/*nu* "give". The morphemes do not form SVCs with the V_1 they accompany in the predicate, they head a prepositional phrase (PP).

Other non-initial verbs in Surinamese creoles can usually be preceded by the progressive marker (Migge 1998: 247):

(14) A e waka e go a osu. (Ndyuka)
he PROG walk PROG SV[go] LOC house
"He is walking home." (Migge 1998: 248)

Despite the fact that it is acceptable for *go* in V_2 position to receive aspect marking, it cannot undergo predicate cleft (Migge 1998: 248).[39] The predicate cleft test has been assigned crucial relevance when it comes to evaluating the verbal status of serial verbs (see Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978, Veenstra and den Besten 1995). However, note that *ma* "give" is attributed partial verbal behaviour as a serial verb (V_2) in Akan-Twi, i.e. it acts as a defective verb even though it cannot undergo predicate cleft. As a consequence, *ma* is claimed to form SVCs with the V_1 it follows in the predicate (Migge 1998: 244-249).

To conclude, the loss of tense/aspect marking on the non-initial verb constituent in SVCs has been regarded in some studies as evidence of the loss of its verbal status, i.e. of its grammaticalization. In a similar way, the loss of subject marking on the non-initial verb in SVCs has also been viewed as proof of its grammaticalization, as will be seen below.

3.1.3.3 Variation in subject marking on serial verbs

Another feature that presents disparity cross-linguistically is the possible overt realization of the subject on the second verb constituent of an SVC. Hence, there is no subject sharing. Some cases of tense/aspect copy in combination with subject agreement have been attested in languages such as Akan (Schachter 1974a: 260f.) and Mauritian Creole (Syea 2013):

[39] The fact that it is unacceptable for V_2 to be predicate clefted appears to be characteristic of all V_2 in SVCs in the Surinamese creoles as well as in Ewe and Akan-Twi. In contrast, V_1 can be predicate clefted (Migge 1998: 248f.).

(15) a. meyɛɛ adwuma memaa Amma (Akan)
I-did work I-gave Amma
"I worked for Amma" (Schachter 1974a: 260)

b. mayɛ adwuma mama Amma[40] (Akan)
I-have-done work I-have-given Amma
"I have worked for Amma" (Schachter 1974a: 260)

c. zot ti pran balye koko zot ti bat Kazer (Mauritian Creole)
3PL TNS take broom coconut 3PL TNS beat Kaiser
"They beat the Kaiser with a coconut broom." (Syea 2013: 16)

In the sentences above, not only does the second verb carry tense marking,[41] it also displays a copy of the subject that accompanies the first verb.[42] Further, Syea (2013) argues that constructions such as (16) differ from coordinate constructions in various ways. One difference has to do with the two different interpretations that result from uttering the serial verb "go" together with the V_1 it accompanies within a single intonation contour (16) and the existence of two different intonation contours (17) (Syea 2013: 22ff.):

(16) li' nn naze li' nn ale (Mauritian Creole)
3SG ASP swim 3SG ASP go
"He went away swimming." (Syea 2013: 28)

(17) li' nn naze |(e) li' nn ale (Mauritian Creole)
3SG ASP swim and 3SG ASP go
"He swam and he went away." (Syea 2013: 28)

According to Syea (2013: 28), there is a single intonation contour in sentence (16), which is reflected in the interpretation as a single event, while the two intonation contours in (17) bring about the shift in meaning as two consecutive events.

Ameka (2005: 23f.) shows variability in the marking of the shared subject in serializing West African languages. The author distinguishes between three types of languages: languages in which the subject only surfaces on the initial verb, languages where the subject is overtly realized across the verbs in the series (concordial marker on the non-initial verbs in (18)) and languages that exhibit a mixture of the two strategies.

[40] Schachter (1974a: 259) also shows that all verbs participating in an SVC must be marked for the same tense and aspect, otherwise the sentence proves ungrammatical:
(i) * meyɛɛ adwuma mama Amma. (Schachter 1974a: 260)
In the sentence above the first verb is marked for past and the second for perfect, rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

[41] Henri and Khim (2015) claim that independent analytical TMA markers have evolved into inflectional affixes in Kriyol and Mauritian Creole.

[42] Syea (2013: 24f.) claims that the second subject can also be null under the condition that the first subject is a lexical subject or a strong pronoun, i.e. no weak pronominal:
(ii) Mari pran balye koko (*li) bat Kazer (Mauritian Creole)
Mary take broom coconut 3SG beat Kaiser
"Mary beats the Kaiser with a coconut broom." (Syea 2013: 24)

(18) a. ú- fi o- fiamɽə́[43] o- klé lí-si (Likpe)
3SG-take CM[44]- headkerchief 3SG-tie CM-head
"She has used a headkerchief to wrap around her head" (Ameka 2005: 24)

b. o- kpâ ə́ -mə́ sí ɔ- fi wə dí-yó (Likpe)
CM- dog DET sit 3SG-be near 3SG CM-room
"The dog is sitting near its house" (Ameka 2005: 24)

Similarly, Bislama[45] exhibits reduced subject-verb agreement on the second verb in the series. The agreement marker *i* obligatorily surfaces with the second verb in the following examples:

(19) a. Afta mi stap wokbaot i go. (Bislama)
after 1SG[46] PROG walk AGR[47] go
"And I started to walk off."
*mi stap wokabaot Ø go (Meyerhoff 2001: 254)

b. Wan big ston i (bin/ stap)[48] ron i kam. (Bislama)
one big stone AGR ANT[49]/PROG run AGR come
"A huge stone rolled down/A huge stone is rolling down."
(Meyerhoff 2001: 255)

Meyerhoff (2001: 264) argues that the reduced person and number agreement on the second verb in series, together with the fact that the aspectual marker cannot occur with the second verb in series suggest that V_2 is no longer finite or at least less finite[50] than V_1.

Finally, Migge (1998: 246-249) further points out that it is unacceptable for serial verbs *gi*/*da* and *nu*/*na* "give" to carry overt subject marking in the Surinamese creoles and Ewe. This factor, together with the fact that it is unacceptable for them to be marked for tense/aspect, indicates the non-verbal status of these morphemes:

(20) I seli a buku (*i) gi en. (Ndyuka)
you sell the book you SV her
"You sold the book for her." (Migge 1998: 247)

Conclusion

The loss of tense/aspect marking and of subject marking on the non-initial verb(s) in SVCs has been regarded as a sign of grammaticalization, i.e. the loss of verbal

[43] One diacritical mark could not be transferred here.
[44] CM: noun class marker.
[45] Bislama is an English lexifier creole language spoken on the island of Vanuatu (Oceania).
[46] Adapted to the glossing abbreviations used in this study.
[47] AGR: agreement.
[48] Bold in the original text removed.
[49] ANT: anterior.
[50] Mufwene and Dijkhoff (1989) argue against a distinction being made between finite and non-finite or infinitive forms in Atlantic creoles.

properties, in some studies on verb serialization (e.g. Migge 1998, Meyerhoff 2001, Hagemeijer 2001). In some cases, the tense/aspect marking on the non-initial verb(s) has been analysed as a mere copy. In others, the presence or absence of aspect marking has been reported to entail semantic differences. Two tests have been proposed in the literature as being diagnostic of the verbal/non-verbal status of serial verbs: aspect marking and predicate cleft.

Based on the information above, grammaticalization can be used to explain the cross-linguistic heterogeneity among SVCs. Thus, the diversity in terms of the presence or absence of tense/aspect marking as well as of subject marking on serial verbs can be accounted for, in some cases, by the grammaticalization that one of the verb constituents in the SVC has undergone.

This is directly linked to the following section, in which the grammaticalization of serial verbs is dealt with in more detail. Two paths of evolution that frequently affect serial verbs cross-linguistically are presented: from verb to adposition and from verb to auxiliary and further, bringing about the emergence of verb compounds. The grammaticalization of serial verbs into other categories has morphosyntactic and semantic consequences that bring about changes in the SVCs. This may again relate to the diversity displayed by SVCs cross-linguistically. Thus, grammaticalization can be regarded as a source of the diversity exhibited by SVCs cross-linguistically.

3.1.4 Paths of grammaticalization affecting serial verbs

The evolution of serial verbs into other linguistic categories was already acknowledged in early studies on West African languages, e.g. Christaller's (1875) work on Twi and Westermann's (1930: 129ff.) study on Ewe:

> [Some verbs] have so far stripped off their verbal character and have become mere particles, as they do not assume any prefixes… except when they are used, not as prepositional or auxiliary verbs or particles, but as principal verbs.
>
> (Christaller 1875: 76)

> [M]any verbs when they stand next to others play the part of English prepositions, adverbs, or conjunctions. Now many of these verbs, in playing the part of prepositions… begin to lose their verbal characteristics in that they are no longer conjugated: they thus begin to become form words. (Westermann 1930: 129)

There is extensive evidence of serial verbs evolving into different functional categories in a variety of unrelated languages cross-linguistically. Aikhenvald (2006: 30-34) claims that there is a tendency for minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs to grammaticalize and proposes several paths of evolution that minor verbs can undergo, e.g. tense, aspectual and mood markers, directionals, adpositions, conjunctions, complementizers, etc. Aikhenvald states that grammaticalized serial verbs can retain their lexical status outside the SVC. Thus, because grammaticalization is gradual, several stages may overlap (see 2.1.5 regarding the gradualness of grammaticalization). In cases of grammaticalization, SVCs evolve into mono-verb structures. Lord (1976) suggests a

> general tendency for languages (at least, certain languages at certain points in their history) to move from multiple-verb main clauses to single-verb main clauses. One of the results of changes of this type is the introduction of new syntactic categories to indicate semantic relationships that were formerly signaled by verbs in serial verb constructions. (Lord 1976: 183)

The evolution and, in some cases, categorial shift undergone by serial verbs can be acknowledged in the loss of their verbal status, e.g. verbs no longer take tense/aspect marking and lose their lexical meaning. This shift has been explained in terms of internally-motivated processes linked to language change, although some cases are presented below in which language-external processes have also been proposed.

The focus in the following two subsections is on the development of serial verbs into prepositions and auxiliaries, leading in this last case to the formation of verbal compounds, because these two paths of grammaticalization are considered in the data analysis regarding Pp serial verbs in chapters 5 and 6. Note the following quotation by Schachter (1974a) in which the development of serial verbs into prepositions and auxiliaries seems to illustrate the most recurrent processes of evolution concerning verb serialization worldwide:

> It is a widely attested phenomenon… that in the course of time certain verbs that occur in serial constructions may lose some of the morphological or syntactic characteristics that identify them as verbs, and may be reinterpreted as representatives of some other grammatical category. The two common types of reinterpretation that I know of are reinterpretation as verbal auxiliaries and reinterpretation as prepositions… (Schachter 1974a: 265)

3.1.4.1 From serial verb to adposition

Various work has provided evidence for the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions[51] cross-linguistically, e.g. Lord (1973, 1993), Kölver (1991), Crowley (2002), Ross (2004): "V[erb]s with certain types of meanings… may lose so much categoriality in a serial construction that they are no longer clearly distinguishable from prepositions or case-markers" (Hopper and Thompson 1984: 735). Durie (1988: 3f.) claims that the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions is the result of the *centrifugal tendency* among serial verbs, whereby the verb belonging to the closed class moves away from the other verb in the SVC and attaches to a peripheral constituent in the clause. The evolution of a verb into a preposition involves changes at the semantic, morphological and syntactic level (see Givón 1975: 82-86). The path of grammaticalization that represents the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions is illustrated below:

(21) full verb → serial verb → coverb → adposition (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 34, 104)

[51] Even though most cases attested in the literature illustrate the evolution of serial verbs into prepositions, some cases can be found of the emergence of postpositions, e.g. Tariana (Aikhenvald 1999: 484) and several Asian languages (Matisoff 1991: 435-440).

The grammaticalization cline from full verb to adposition has two intermediate stages: the serial verb and the coverb stage. In grammaticalization theory, the category *coverb* has been defined as "a serial verb which assumes the function of an adposition" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 104). The term *coverb* has also been used in studies of Southeast Asian languages, such as Vietnamese (Clark 1978, Kuhn 1990a), Thai, Hmong, Khmer (Bisang 1991, 1992, etc.)[52] and Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson 1973, 1974, 1976: 486). Li and Thompson (1974) make a distinction between verbs and coverbs in the Sinitic language and argue that the latter are best analysed as prepositions that are still undergoing categorial shift.

However, different terms can be found in the literature to refer to the coverb stage.[53] Next, I will offer a brief overview of the diverse terms that have been used to denote this intermediate stage in the path of grammaticalization from serial verb to preposition. Ansre (1966) coined the term *verbid* to refer to the uninflected verbs found in several West African languages, which in most cases have verb counterparts from which they may be historically derived. In the Oceanic tradition, Codrington is credited with the coinage of *prepositional verb*[54] in his 1885 study. The term is also used by Pawley (1974: 142-147). Nevertheless, Lichtenberk (1991a) uses the term *verb-like preposition* in his study of To´aba´ita (or Toqabaqita), Crowley (1990: 82f.) opts for *verbal prepositions*, and other Oceanists have proposed diverse terms, too (see Durie 1988: 1f.). Matisoff (1991: 433) proposes the term *verbpositions* in his study of Lahu, a Tibeto-Burman language, while concurrently objecting to the unnecessary terminological diversity in the literature:

> [S]ince linguistic phenomena are continua, it is impossible to find discrete names for every point on each (or any) continuum. One must use heuristic principles – create new terms if necessary, but only if none of the old ones will do. The motive should not be to dazzle or obfuscate by new coinages, but rather to clarify.
>
> (Matisoff 1991: 433)

Bisang (1991, 1992: 19ff., 1996, 2001) makes a distinction between *coverbs* and *directional verbs*, understanding the former as "verbs in adpositional function" (2001: 204), i.e. a means to express locative, dative/benefactive, comitative, instrumental and further cases, while the latter, as the name indicates, is restricted to expressing direction. Coverbs and directional verbs, together with TMA markers, are the result of grammaticalization processes undergone by serial verbs (Bisang 1991: 533ff.). Bisang,

[52] Some linguists have signaled that coverbs are an areal feature in Southeast Asia, probably due to language contact (e.g. Clark 1975, Bisang 1996, 1998, 2001, 2008).

[53] In some cases, the term "coverb" has been used to denote a different category. For an overview of coverbs cross-linguistically, see the volume edited by Haspelmath and König (1995). Note that the scholars prefer to use the term *converb* and apply it to denote a verbal adverb, i.e. "*a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination*" (Haspelmath 1995: 3). See Bisang (1995) in that volume for an account of the differences and similarities between serial verbs and converbs. B. Baker and Harvey (2010) use the term coverb to refer to the non-finite constituent that conveys the lexical meaning in coverb constructions. The other member of the construction is an inflected finite verb that conveys grammatical meaning, e.g. tense, aspect, mood, and usually functions as a light verb. Agheyisi (1986: 280f.) uses this term to refer to the intermediate stage of the grammaticalization path from full verb to affix that brings about the formation of verb compounds.

[54] Christaller (1875: 76) also uses this term.

following Matisoff (1969), calls the slots in which the grammaticalized items appear *attractor positions*:[55]

> I called these slots attractor positions due to their fixed position within a particular construction, that is within the serial unit, and due to their role in grammaticalization… [T]hey represent slots which *attract* linguistic items in order to grammaticalize them. In this sense, they operate as a kind of *melting pot* or as a king of *catalyst* for linguistic items to be grammaticalized into different types of grammatical functions. If, e.g., an element falls into the domain of the attractor position for TAM it will be grammaticalized into a TAM marker. Since each type of grammatical category has its own attractor position which occurs within a certain position relative to the other positions, they occur within constructions.
>
> (Bisang 2001: 204f.)

The intermediate category has been considered to be homophonous with the verb from which it historically originates (e.g. Ansre 1966, Lord 1973, 1976, Li and Thompson 1973, 1974, Agheyisi 1986). However, some authors have claimed that this phenomenon is best analysed as a case of polysemy (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 1993: 1, 69-72) or heterosemy (Lichtenberk 1991b). Lichtenberk (1991b) uses this term in relation with grammaticalization

> to refer to cases (within a single language) where two or more meanings or functions that are historically related, in the sense of deriving from the same ultimate source, are borne by reflexes of the common source element that belong in different morphosyntactic categories. (Lichtenberk 1991b: 476)

In any case, the evolution from one stage to the next has been regarded as a gradual process in the literature. Thus, the boundaries between the stages and the functions exhibited by the linguistic items are difficult to demarcate, and different stages frequently coexist synchronically (see 2.1.5). Evidence for the gradual evolution from full lexical verb to preposition is provided by Lord (1973), who suggests that the rate of categorial change from verb to preposition varies across languages. Some languages may still exhibit "homophonous", rather polysemous, verbs to which the prepositions are related, while others have lost their verbal counterparts and are, therefore, ahead in the historical development. Li and Thompson (1974) also point to the different rate in which language change takes place in Mandarin Chinese in terms of the grammaticalization of some verbs. Li and Thompson claim that coverbs are best viewed in a continuum, as they develop from one category (verb) into another (preposition) at a different pace, i.e. some coverbs keep more verbal properties and are situated closer to the verb category in the continuum, while others have lost most verb features and are located at the other end of the continuum heading towards the prepositional status. The gradual and non-discrete evolution from verbal to prepositional category is also acknowledged in São-Tomense, where "in some cases verbs in the V2 slot display hybrid categorial behavior between V[erb] and P[reposition]" (Hagemeijer 2001: 415).

[55] Bisang (1991) makes a distinction between "serialization in a broad sense", which is not affected by grammaticalization, and "serialization in a narrow sense", which is affected by it.

Durie (1988) also claims that there is a gradual change from verbs to adpositions in Oceanic languages (see also Pawley 1974: 141ff. for an account of prepositional verbs in Oceanic languages and their reconstruction in Proto-Oceanic). Hamel (1993) shows that the evolution of the verb "go" into a preposition in Loniu is at an early stage because the morpheme retains some verb properties. Givón (1975: 82) also advocates a gradual evolution from verb to preposition rather than a "one-shot" development.

Further, the debate on the verbal/non-verbal status of serial verbs in different languages clearly corroborates the gradual nature of grammaticalization (see the debate on the verbal status of some serial verbs between Bamgboṣe 1973, 1974 and Awobuluyi 1973, and between Schachter 1974a, b and Stahlke 1974).[56]

To sum up, the evolution of full verbs into prepositions via verb serialization and the coverb stage is a recurrent process cross-linguistically:

> It is apparent from the observations made by many different analysts regarding far-flung and unrelated languages which show similar types of lexical items and processes involved in the coverb phenomenon that such a phenomenon is not uncommon. Further, it is reasonable to hypothesize that Southeast Asian coverbs, like the coverbs in West Africa and China, represent a stage in the historical derivation of prepositions from verbs. (Clark 1975: 283)

The loss of verb properties on the part of the grammaticalizing verb occurs gradually, and often the grammaticalizing item exhibits verb properties from the earlier stage while at the same time displaying prepositional features of the category into which it is evolving. The overlap of stages has given rise to the terms *hybrid* and *amphibious* categories in the literature. Furthermore, the hybrid nature of the intermediate stages in the process of grammaticalization from verb to preposition often results in semantic ambiguity when interpreting the grammaticalizing unit (see 2.1.5).

The grammaticalization of one the verbs within an SVC indicates the dissolution of this syntactic structure. As presented at the beginning of this chapter, one of the features of SVCs is that their constituents must be verbs. Therefore, if one of the verbs loses its verbhood, the structure can no longer be considered to be an SVC. Thus, the fact that serial verbs gradually become adpositions has consequences at the syntactic level as well. Some scholars have been aware of the terminological shortcomings in the literature and have made a distinction between actual SVCs whose constituents are verbs and other constructions in which one of the verbs has lost its verb properties. Hence, Ansre (1966) talks about the *verbid construction* rather than an SVC:

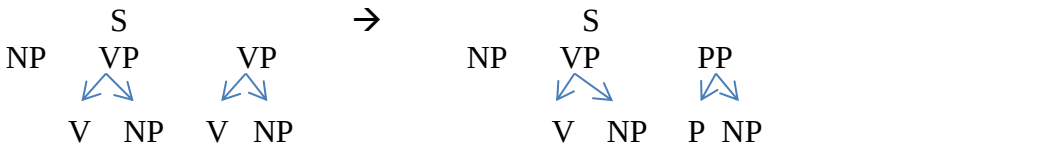
> [T]he term serial verbal construction [should] be reserved for cases in which real verbs are involved in the structures. The verbid construction, although it looks very much like that of the serial verb in certain respects, cannot be included in the system of the verbal group. The obvious approach is to regard it as part of the adverbial group. (Ansre 1966: 32)

[56] Although several cases of grammaticalization of serial verbs presented in the literature involve a gradual process, Givón (1991a: 122f., 1991b: 178f.) claims that the opposite process, i.e. instantaneous grammaticalization, is also possible.

Other linguists have advocated differentiating SVCs from *coverb constructions*, e.g. Li and Thomson (1973, 1974) in Mandarin Chinese. Bisang (1991, 2001: 204ff., etc.) distinguishes verb serialization from *serial units*, a term that he proposes for those constructions made up of a main verb and grammaticalized items that originally derive from verbs, i.e. directional verbs, coverbs and tense-aspect-mood markers.

In the last stage of the grammaticalization cline from full verb to preposition, the grammaticalizing verb develops into a new category, i.e. a preposition, which has repercussions for the syntax. The evolution of the locative verb *le* "be at" into a preposition converts the second VP into a PP[57] in the following example:

(22)



(Ewe)
(Lord 1976: 182)

In the above syntactic analysis, the evolution of the serial verb *le* into a locative preposition brings about the evolution of a complex predicate into a simple predicate due to the second VP developing into a PP. Lord (1976: 182) argues that *le* gradually becomes defective because it loses some of its semantics as well as its morphological properties, e.g. it no longer takes aspect and tense marking and is finally reanalysed as a preposition.[58] The shift from verb to preposition is also seen as a change from nuclear or core into peripheral layer juncture (Foley and van Vallin 1984, Foley and Olson 1985).

To conclude, following Lehmann's (1995 [1982]) grammaticalization cline, I will continue to use the term *coverb* to refer to the intermediate stage between serial verb and adposition, in which grammaticalizing serial verbs gradually evolve into prepositions. The coverb differs from the verbal counterpart both morphosyntactically and semantically. However, semantic and categorial ambiguity can also occur. Moreover, I take the multi-functionality displayed by grammaticalizing verbs (they can function synchronically as verbs and as prepositions) to be an instance of polysemy and not homophony.

[57] Lightfoot (1979: 223) objects to Lord not presenting any historical evidence for the direction of change that she assumes to be from verb to preposition.

[58] Similarly, the verb "say" tends to evolve into a complementizer cross-linguistically (e.g. Lord 1976, 1993 for West African languages, Plag 1993 for Sranan). Lord (1976) claims that "say" starts functioning as a complementizer to introduce subordinate clauses after verbs of saying at an initial stage and later extends its functions and appears in relative, reason, conditional and purposive clauses. In a parallel manner, "say" also functions as a complementizer after verbs of saying (i) and to introduce conditional clauses (ii) in some dialects of colloquial American English (Lord 1976: 188):
(i) So then this guy says to me, he says, "… (quote).
(ii) Say you move to Los Angeles, you'll have to buy a car. (i.e., "If you move…")

Verb-to-preposition development in creole serial verbs: Internal-language change?

Turning now to Creolistics, SVCs have been regarded as marked devices due to the instability they present cross-linguistically, i.e. serial verbs are susceptible to losing their verb properties and evolving into another category (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978 and Bickerton 1981). Bickerton (1981: 119) initially considered that "[s]erial verbs form a more marked means of expressing case relations than do prepositions." Therefore, when a language exhibits verb serialization, serial verbs tend to develop internally into prepositions or this category is borrowed from a prestige language with which the creole language is in contact. Hence, serial verbs represent "extremely conservative varieties of those creoles in which they are found"[59] (Bickerton 1981: 120). However, SVCs have also been considered to be unmarked structures,[60] their unmarkedness being the reason why they surfaced in creoles to express case relations to the detriment of other devices (Bickerton 1984, Byrne 1987).

The categorial status of serial verbs in different creole languages has raised the interest of several scholars and has led to disagreement in some cases. Bickerton (1981: 130) acknowledges a process "from an original state in which presumably all serial verbs were full verbs in tensed sentences to a stage in which these verbs are beginning to be reduced to mere prepositions". Boretzky (1983: 195) claims that most serial verbs in creole as well as in West African languages retain their verb features.

Four tests have been proposed for assessing the verbhood of serial verbs. They exhibit verb properties if they fail to participate in wh-questions, relative clauses and topicalization, and if they can undergo predicate cleft (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978). The latter of these four tests has been attributed the greatest importance: "[T]he possibility of occurring in the predicate cleft construction constitutes a crucial test for the verbal status of a given form" (1978: 142). Predicate cleft constructions have been defined as structures "in which a copy of a verb appears in sentence-initial position optionally accompanied by a highlighter. The main function is to focus on the verbal action" (Veenstra and den Besten 1995: 307). However, these linguists point out that not all verbs qualify to participate in a predicate cleft construction. Only verbs that express "actions" and "temporary properties" can undergo predicate cleft (1995: 308). A further syntactic test that has been applied to analyse the lexical/grammatical status of serial verbs is the possibility of serial verbs being marked for tense/aspect (see 3.1.3.2). Therefore, two tests have been proposed in the literature for determining the verbal/non-verbal status of serial verbs: tense/aspect marking and predicate cleft (Veenstra 2003: 224).

There has been debate in the literature on creole languages regarding the nature of the acquisition of grammatical functions by serial verbs and the eventual categorial shift to the new functional category, e.g. preposition or complementizer. While some

[59] Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978: 128) correlate the variety of SVCs in a language with the degree of decreolization.

[60] Mufwene (1991) conceives unmarked structures in a different way than Bickerton (1981), not universal but contextually dependent. A structure is considered to be unmarked compared to the competing alternatives, i.e. the unmarkedness of a structure depends on the specific context.

linguists have explained the development of a grammatical category via language-internal processes, others have argued in favour of language-external processes, and a third group has considered the convergence of both types of processes. Some examples are provided below to illustrate the three different approaches that have accounted for the emergence of functional categories among serial verbs in creole languages.

As regards the first approach, the syntactic change has been attributed to a gradual, language-internal process that follows the universal strategies of grammaticalization. To illustrate this position, some examples are provided from creole languages in which the evolution of serial verbs into prepositions as well as into other grammatical categories is explained via a language-internal process:[61]

Sranan	*Gi* "give" →[62] preposition[63] (Jansen et al. 1978, Bickerton 1981: 128f.) *Taki* "say" → complementizer, conjunction[64] (Plag 1992, 1993)
Saramaccan	*Táa* (from *táki*) "say" → complementizer *Mbéi* "make" → complementizer *Dá* "give" → preposition and complementizer *Pói* "spoil" → adverb *Kaa* (from *kabá*) "finish" → adverb (Veenstra 1996a: 153ff., 1996b, but see Byrne 1987)
Belizean English Creole	*Da* "go" → preposition[65] (Escure 1991: 182)
Angolar	*Fara* "speak" → complementizer and quotative marker *Pe* "put" → preposition F*o* "come"→ preposition *Ra* "give" → preposition (Lorenzino 1998: 177ff.)
Principense	*Bota* "throw away" → completive adverb *Da* "give" → preposition *Fo* "come from" → preposition *Pwê* "put" → preposition *Tam*/*tan* or *panha* "take" → preposition (less grammaticalized than the other verbs) (Maurer 2009: 108ff.)
São-Tomense	*Da* "give" → preposition *Pasa* "pass" → comparative/degree marker *Pe* "put" → preposition (hybrid behaviour) *Ba* "go" → preposition (strong verbal behaviour) (Hagemeijer 2001: 435-441)

[61] Note the status of *kuma* as *pseudo-complementizer* in Kriyol (Kihm 1990).
[62] The arrow does not represent a completed categorial shift, as in most cases the morphemes retain verbal properties, i.e. they exhibit synchronically lexical (verbal) and functional (prepositional, complementizer, etc.) features.
[63] The status of *gi* "give" presents lectal variation, i.e. *gi* may exhibit verbal properties for conservative speakers, but functions as a preposition for innovative speakers. Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978) claim that Sranan *go* "go", *kon* "come" and *teki* "take" keep their verbal status.
[64] *Taki* "say" presents different stages of grammaticalization ranging from lexical verb to complementizer and conjunction
[65] *Da* "go" functions as a motion verb, directive verb and preposition "to".

Haitian Creole	*Ba*(*y*) "give" → preposition *Rive* "arrive" → preposition (Déchaine 1988: 40ff.) Grammaticalization of *bay* in other Caribbean French Creoles: *Bay*, *ba*, *ban* "give" → preposition, dative marker (Stein 2017 [1984]: 98)
Tok Pisin	*Save* "know" → iterative-habitual preverbal marker (Sankoff 1991: 70)

Table 14. Examples of verb-to-function-word due to a language-internal process in creole languages

Lefebvre (2004: 176-178) sounds a note of caution when it comes to relating the emergence of grammatical functions to grammaticalization processes, especially when the conclusion is based merely on synchronic data.[66] Therefore, the multi-functionality exhibited by certain morphemes does not necessarily have to be linked to a language-internal development:

> Authors should be careful not to take arguments of synchronic multifunctionality as arguments for grammaticalisation because, if grammaticalisation always produces multifunctional lexical items, multifunctionality need not be exclusively the product of grammaticalisation… (Lefevbre 2004: 178)

This objection leads to the second and third approaches presented in the following.

As regards the second approach, several linguists have related the double functionality of morphemes like "go" and "give", which can operate as lexical and grammatical words in some creole languages, to the calque of substrate patterns. Thus, since some lexical verbs can also act as prepositions and/or complementizers in the substrate language(s) when they follow another verb, the model is thought to have been transferred to creole languages. Some examples of the transfer of substratal grammaticalizing patterns into creole languages concerning serial verbs are illustrated below:

Melanesian Pidgin	The use of serial verbs as prepositions and of *go* "go" and *kam* "come" as auxiliaries involves the calquing of a widespread pattern in Oceanic languages (Keesing 1991).
Bislama	The reduced inflection of V_2 is due to the transfer of a similar pattern in the substrate languages of Vanuatu (Meyerhoff 2001: 257ff.).
Sranan	The use of *gi* "give" and *taki* "say" as lexical and grammatical categories is related to the transfer of a grammaticalization pattern that already existed in the substrate language Ewe (Bruyn 1996: 40f.); also substrate

[66] One should also be cautious when it comes to tracing the evolution of linguistic items or constructions in the absence of historical evidence (Lightfoot 1979: 216).

	influence in the evolution of *taki* into a function word (Plag 2002: 238).[67]
Surinamese creoles	The calquing of an Ewe substrate pattern gave rise to the prepositional status of *gi*/*da* "give" as V_2 (Migge 1998: 254-256).[68]

Table 15. Examples of verb-to-function-word due to a language-external process in creole languages

Bruyn's (1996: 40f.) assumption that the grammatical function of *gi* "give" and *taki* "say" did not arise as a consequence of grammaticalization, as was the case with other serial verbs cross-linguistically, but that it was externally motivated is justified by the fact that both *gi* and *taki* were already used as grammatical morphemes at an early stage. Bruyn therefore concludes that it was not a process of grammaticalization but rather a case of what she refers to as *apparent grammaticalization*.[69] Thus, the evolution from lexical to function word was modelled on substrate patterns. Instead of resorting to a process of gradual internal language change, speakers transferred the initial (lexical) and final (grammatical) stages of the grammaticalization process, using a shortcut (see Keesing 1991, Bruyn 1996, Plag 2002).

In any case, the examples in the above table show that the substrata that participated in the creolization processes shared some structural and evolutionary features. Therefore, African speakers brought the tendency for serial verbs to evolve into functional words into the Surinamese creoles (Alleyne 1986: 305) in the same way as Austronesian speakers introduced the substrate pattern of grammaticalization into Melanesian Pidgin (Keesing 1991).

Finally, Lefebvre (2004: 180) argues that the phenomenon observed in the examples above is a case of relexification, whereby a lexical item from a substratum language is transferred into a new language with all the functions it displays in the original language. Thus, in the course of the creolization process the lexeme was borrowed from the substratum with all its functions and was relexified into the superstrate language.

While grammaticalization and contact-induced changes have been regarded as divergent and mutually exclusive processes that bring about language change, a third approach has emerged that unifies both strategies. As far as the third strategy is concerned, some linguists have analysed the evolution of a verb into a functional word as the convergence of both language-internal and language-external factors. For example, Plag (1995: 139f.) claims that the complementizing function displayed by *taki* "say" in Sranan originated from the convergence of universal and substratal factors. Coming back to the example of the development of the verb *gi* "give" into a benefactive/dative preposition in Sranan proposed by Bruyn (1996) above, Heine and Kuteva (2003: 558) agree about the influence that language contact exerted on the

[67] Note that Plag initially explained the grammatical function exhibited by *taki* as a consequence of grammaticalization (1992, 1993) and later as the convergence of universal and substratal factors (1995: 139f.).

[68] The prepositional behaviour of *gi*/*da* "give" following another verb leads Migge (1998: 244f.) to conclude the non-existence of the give-type of SVCs in the Surinamese creoles.

[69] Heine and Kuteva (2003: 558) call it *replica grammaticalization*. However, Bruyn (2009: 66) argues that her *apparent grammaticalization* is not comparable to Heine and Kuteva's *replica grammaticalization* but to their *polysemy copying* (see Heine and Kuteva 2003: 555ff.).

transfer of the grammaticalization pattern from Ewe to Sranan. However, they also acknowledge the by-product of grammaticalization due to the existence of an intermediate stage between the lexical verb and the preposition, which is also present in Ewe. The transitional stage renders the interpretation of "give" to sometimes be ambiguous in both languages. Since the overlap of stages from lexical to prepositional category and the semantic ambiguity are present in both languages, it can be deduced that Sranan speakers did not replicate the initial, i.e. the lexical verb *gi*, and the final stage, i.e. the prepositional *gi*, but the whole pattern of grammaticalization. Thus, they did not use a shortcut from the lexical to the grammatical category but transferred the grammaticalization process. Therefore, this case is not regarded as *polysemy copying* or *grammatical calquing* but as an instance of *replica grammaticalization* (Heine and Kuteva 2003).[70] Bruyn (2009: 328f.) supports this view and adds a subsequent process of further grammaticalization to her previous analysis of *apparent grammaticalization* (Bruyn 1996). Thus, Bruyn claims that the function of *taki* "say" in Sranan as a complementizer at an early stage evidences the borrowing of the lexical and complementizing meanings from the substrate language, i.e. polysemy copying,[71] and acknowledges the further internal evolution of the morpheme via grammaticalization. Crowley (2002: 248-252) also proposes that the grammaticalization of some serial verbs in Melanesian Pidgin may have been influenced by substrate as well as by superstrate functions.

Summary

So far I have presented evidence for the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions cross-linguistically, in West African, Asian, Oceanic as well as in creole languages.[72] The development has been explained in the literature mainly as a product of an internal process, namely grammaticalization. The process represents the verb-to-adposition cline with intermediate stages that indicate the gradual evolution and the coexistence of various stages synchronically. However, some Creolists have argued in favour of language contact and the transfer of substrate grammaticalization patterns to creole

[70] Mufwene (1996) proposes a similar path of evolution for the emergence of *sɛ* "say" as complementizer in some Caribbean and North American English creoles:

> [T]he grammaticization pattern of *say* > sɛ did not start ex-nihilo, contrary to what might be inferred from the bioprogram thesis, but rather from patterns available in some varieties of the languages in contact. The grammaticized morpheme and pattern may have sources which are only partly convergent. The direction of grammaticization in this case was determined by sources other than the lexifier. (Mufwene 1996: 15)

[71] Remember that Bruyn (2009: 325-227) argues that her *apparent grammaticalization* is not comparable to Heine and Kuteva's (2003) *replica grammaticalization*, as the two assume, but to their *polysemy copying*.

[72] Cases of deverbal prepositions are also attested in Indo-European languages. They differ significantly from deverbal prepositions in serializing languages in that the former "serve primarily more specialized communicative, discourse-structuring functions… [whereas the latter] primarily encode a relatively limited set of thematic functions, typically expressed by oblique case marking or central prepositions in European languages, and thus serve a much more basic and 'local' function" (Kortmann and König 1992: 692).

languages. The convergence of both internal and external processes has also been hypothesized.

Various tests have been applied in the literature to assess the categorial status of serial verbs either as verbs or as prepositions. Among them, the predicate cleft test and the possibility of serial verbs being marked for tense/aspect are considered to be of great relevance. Both tests will be applied in the data analysis in chapters 5 and 6.

The evolution of serial verbs into prepositions involves a syntactic shift from a complex predicate consisting of two verbs or VPs into a simple predicate made of a single verb, while the other VP turns into a PP.

3.1.4.2 From serial verb to auxiliary and further: The emergence of verb compounds

It was shown in the above that serial verbs tend to evolve into adpositions cross-linguistically as a result of a process of grammaticalization. A second common path of evolution that serial verbs undergo is their development into auxiliary verbs and further into clitics and affixes:

(23) full verb > (vector verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

(Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108)

I slightly modify the *verb-to-affix-cline* proposed by Hopper and Traugott (1993) by substituting vector verbs for serial verbs. Auxiliary verbs are an intermediate stage in the process of grammaticalization from serial verb to affix. Some linguists have looked at the emergence of auxiliaries from serial verbs (e.g. Schachter 1974a: 265ff., Lord 1993: 215ff., Anderson 2006,[73] Aikhenvald 2011). Bendor-Samuel (1968) distinguishes actual SVCs from *restricted serial constructions*, in which one of the constituents behaves like an auxiliary or a particle rather than a verb. The author's discussion parallels Bamgboṣe's (1974) *linking* and *modifying types* of SVCs. As is common in grammaticalization, the boundaries between the stages are not clear-cut:

> [T]here is a continuum of monoclausal verb-verb combinations that straddles the constructions generally known as A[uxiliary]V[erb]C[onstruction]s and SVCs in the relevant literature without there being any coherent rubrics for categorizing a given sequence as representative of one or the other type of formation.
>
> (Anderson 2006: 304)

According to Aikhenvald (2011: 17), the grammaticalization of *minor*[74] or modifying verbs in asymmetrical SVCs leads to the development of auxiliary constructions. The author underlines the existence of a continuum in the historical development of these

[73] Anderson (2006: 332ff.) offers an overview of the functions expressed by auxiliaries in diverse languages in the world, e.g. tense, aspect, Aktionsart and direction.

[74] Aikhenvald (2006: 22) takes the term "minor" verb from Durie (1997) to refer to those verbs in an SVC that originate from a restricted class, as opposed to "major" verbs that derive from an open, unrestricted class.

structures (2006: 56, 2011). The continuum she proposes is illustrated in the following table:

1. Bi- or multi-clausal construction with one clause subordinated to the other
2. Mono-clausal construction with a dependent verb form
3. Serial verb construction
4. Development of the minor verb in an asymmetrical SVC into an auxiliary
5. Auxiliary verb construction
6. Verb with a bound morpheme

Table 16. A possible pathway of development for multi-verb structures according to Aikhenvald (2011) (adapted from Aikhenvald 2011: 22)

Previously, it was shown that the evolution of verbs from a closed class into adpositions was regarded by Durie (1988: 3f.) as the *centrifugal tendency*, by which serial verbs move out to a peripheral position. The cline of grammaticalization illustrated in (23) represents the opposite tendency, whereby one of the verbs of an SVC moves towards the other verb constituent, i.e. the main verb, and becomes bound to it. Durie (1988: 3) refers to this development as the *centripetal tendency* of serial verbs. The linguist claims that verbs that evolve into affixes usually convey directionality and result, among other meanings:

> The centripetal tendency is for one verb to pull in and become bound to the other, typically turning into an affix encoding type of cause, type of result, manner of action, type of instrument, direction… often with heavy lexicalization. (Durie 1988: 3)

In any case, the evolution of a serial verb in an SVC into an auxiliary and further in the verb-to-affix cline results in the emergence of V-V compounds.

The evolution of SVCs into verb compounds

Verb compounding, or root serialization, is a structure in which two verbs or a combination of verb and affix, particle or formative historically derived from a verb surface adjacently with no linguistic material intervening between them, i.e. V_1-V_2 or Verb-Particle. The V_2 or particle may attach to the V_1 to form one grammatical word. In some cases, the constituents of the verb compound can appear as independent verbs outside the verb compound, while in other cases they cannot surface as only verbs in a predicate due to them having completely lost their verb properties.[75]

There are languages that are strictly serializing, e.g. Yoruba and Haitian Creole (Déchaine 1993). However, other languages exhibit both verb serialization and verb compounding, e.g. Tariana (Aikhenvald 1999), Edo (Agheyisi 1986),[76] Igbo[77] and

[75] Note that Hopper and Thompson (1984: 736) consider neither of the constituents participating in verb compounds to be prototypical verbs because neither of them displays a prototypical verb function within that structure.

[76] Agheyisi (1986) argues in favour of an "incipient stage" of the compound verbs in Edo, a language related to Igbo. However, Stewart (2001) states that Edo does not exhibit verb compounding.

Mandarin Chinese (e.g. Li and Thompson 1978, 1981). In some languages in which both structures are available, verb serialization and verb compounding are used synchronically to express different functions. For example, Thompson (1973) argues that Mandarin Chinese resorts to verb compounding to express action-result but uses SVCs to express other semantic relations, such as consecutive, simultaneous, purpose and alternating actions (Li and Thompson 1973).[78]

The action-result semantic relation is often expressed via verb compounding in languages that allow this syntactic structure. Hence, while a serializing language like Yoruba (24) resorts to an SVC to express the result of an action, the neighbouring Igbo (25a) and the far-off Mandarin Chinese (25b) use a V-V compound. Déchaine (1993) claims that Igbo's V-V compounds have the same deep structure as SVCs in Yoruba, but they differ in terms of their surface structure: verb-incorporation takes place in Igbo but not in Yoruba.

(24) Ó pa Ílèkùn yìí dé. (Yoruba)
3sg strike door this close
"S/he shut this door" (Déchaine 1993: 807)[79]

(25) a. ó ti- gbù- rù[80] nwóké áhù (Igbo)
he beat- kill- TNS man that
"He beat that man to death." (Lord 1975: 28, slightly modified)[81]

b. Tā lā-kāi le mén (Mandarin Chinese)
he pull-open ASP door
"He pulled the door open." (Thompson 1973: 361, slightly modified)

In the sentences above, the verb constituents form an SVC in (24) and a verbal compound in (25). Both constructions denote an action-result semantic relation, i.e. the first constituent denotes an action and the second constituent indicates the result of that action. However, verb compounds can also convey other semantic relations. Sentence

[77] Déchaine (1993) and Stewart (2001) argue that Igbo has instrumental SVCs as well as multi-event SVCs (see Déchaine 1993), apart from verb compounding. However, Lord (1975: 37f., 1977) claims that Igbo only exhibits V-V compounds.

[78] Note that Stewart (2001: 163ff.) suggests that the putative SVCs in Chinese are actual multi-event constructions.

[79] Note that resultative SVCs in Yoruba can also surface as verb compounds:
(i) Ìlèkùn yìí pa dé.
door Def.Agr strike close
"This door shut" (Déchaine 1993: 807)

[80] Lord (1975: 28) uses *tigbùrù* in her example. I use a hyphen so that the verb compound can be more easily understood. Further, Lord glosses the sentence as "beat-fatally-TNS". In order for the reader to have a clear idea of the V-V compound *beat-kill* in the example, I substitute *fatally* for *kill*. See the following sentences for clarification (see also Lord 1975: 45, *gbú* "kill" and *tígbú* "beat to death"):
(ii) ó tí-rí nwóké áhú ókpó (in the example as *tírí*, hyphened here for convenience)
He hit-TNS man that blow
"He hit that man." (Lord 1975: 28)
(iii) ó gbú-rù nwóké áhù (in the example as *gburu*, hyphened here for convenience)
He kill-TNS man that
"He killed that man." (Lord 1975: 28)

[81] Some diacritica in the Igbo and Yoruba examples were not transferred.

(26) indicates a directional semantic relation, i.e. the second verb expresses the direction of the motion verb "run":

(26) Xiao-mao pao- lai le. (Mandarin Chinese)
small cat run come ASP
"The small cat ran in a direction toward the speaker" (Lu 1977: 291)

Several authors have claimed that verb serialization may develop into verb compounding. The following paths of evolution have been proposed as regards the evolution of SVCs into V-V compounds.[82]

Some linguists have proposed a correlation between the development of verb compounds from SVCs and the shift in word order. For example, Li and Thompson (1976) propose a link between the evolution of Chinese from an SVO to an SOV language and the shift from causative SVCs to causative verb compounds, as causative SVCs are no longer compatible with an OV typology.[83] Lord (1977) suggests an opposite development in the case of Igbo from an SOV serializing to an SVO compounding language.

Verb compounds have also been regarded as the result of a process whereby two or more root words (in this case verbs or the combination of a verb and a grammaticalized verb, hence V-V, or root serialization) coalesce and may end up fusing into one word (Heine and Reh 1984: 32, Heine and Claudi 1986: 77, Agheyisi 1986, Crowley 2002: 115f., 176f., Bowern 2008: 177). The resultative V-V compounds in Mandarin Chinese and Igbo can be taken as examples, as the first component in both languages has verbal status while the second constituent can be a verb or a suffix historically related to a verb (Lord 1975). Chang (1990) shows the incorporation of V_2 into V_1 in Chinese in the following example:[84]

(27) a. Ta tui wo, wo dao le. (Mandarin Chinese)
he push I I fall ASP
"He pushed me, and I fell."

b. *Ta tui wo dao le.
he push I fall ASP

c. Ta tui dao le wo.
he push fall ASP I

[82] However, Aikhenvald (1999) claims that verb serialization and verb compounding are independent processes that convey different meanings and have their own grammaticalization paths in Tariana.

[83] Li and Thompson (1976) indicate that the development of compound causatives in Mandarin Chinese can be seen as a step towards an agglutinative morphology.

[84] However, Chang (1990) shows evidence of restriction, as incorporation does not apply in other contexts:

(i) Ta zhong cai mai4 cai.
he plant vegetable sell vegetable
"He plants vegetables and sells vegetables."
"He plants vegetables to sell." (Chang 1990: 291)

(ii) *Ta zhong mai4 cai.
he plant sell vegetable (Chang 1990: 300)

"He pushed me down." (Chang 1990: 300)

Resultative verbs (V_2) are among the six products of grammaticalization proposed by Bisang (1996: 534, 564-566). However, the author claims that resultative verbs do not exhibit the same high degree of grammaticalization as directional verbs and coverbs do.

It is worth noting that verb compounding has been regarded as a type of verb serialization by some linguists. For example, Foley and Olson (1985) equate verb compounding with nuclear layer serialization.[85] Durie (1997: 303ff.) regards verb compounding as contiguous verb serialization, as opposed to non-contiguous verb serialization. Similarly, Aikhenvald (2006: 37ff.) rejects the division between SVCs and V-V compounding and prefers to call both structures SVCs. SVCs are, hence, viewed in a continuum from multi-word SVCs, on the one hand, to one-word SVCs, on the other hand.

It has been shown in the above that the evolution of SVCs into V-V compound can be due to a process of grammaticalization. However, cases of lexicalization taking place in relation to SVCs have also been attested. Aikhenvald (2006: 34) argues that symmetrical[86] SVCs (mainly sequential and cause-effect SVCs) are prone to lexicalize and become idiomatic expressions. The author notes that "the idiomaticity of the overall meaning often obscures the relationships between the components of such constructions". In some cases, the verbal combinations that become lexicalized represent two or more actions that are culturally associated, as is explained in Bruce (1988). Thus, symmetrical SVCs often convey a conventionalized activity (Aikhenvald 2011: 9). However, Bisang (2009) proposes that symmetrical SVCs can not only lexicalize, as Aikhenvald (2006) suggests, they can also grammaticalize. In Bisang's view, symmetrical SVCs appear in the first stage and can undergo both processes: they can be reanalysed as a conventional lexeme, or one of the components can be reanalysed as a grammatical marker. Therefore, asymmetrical SVCs would be the result of grammaticalization and not the source (cf. Aikhenvald 2006). Ameka (2006: 136) claims that the dissolution of asymmetrical SVCs in Ewe is not only due to the grammaticalization but also to the lexicalization of the serial verbs.

To conclude, it is important to point out that the distinction between grammaticalization and lexicalization is not always straightforward because the two linguistic processes share some mechanisms (see Brinton and Traugott 2005).

3.1.5 Conclusion

This section has shown that SVCs represent a very diverse syntactic phenomenon cross-linguistically. It can be argued that some of the differences exhibited by these constructions are related to processes of grammaticalization and/or lexicalization that

[85] However, differences between nuclear verb serialization and verb compounding are proposed in Crowley (1987: 60) and Durie (1997: 294).

[86] Symmetrical SVCs combine verbs from the unrestricted, open class. In some cases, the order in which the components appear is iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence in which the subparts of the overall event occur in reality. Examples of symmetrical SVCs are those that express the sequence of actions, cause-effect and manner, whose sequence of verbs is not iconic (Aikhenvald 2006: 28-30).

serial verbs are prone to undergo cross-linguistically. Two paths of evolution were presented that are quite relevant for the analysis of the variation in Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs in chapters 5 and 6. The first path indicates the tendency of serial verbs to evolve into adpositions and, therefore, become the head of a PP. The second path suggests that serial verbs develop into auxiliaries and further into affixes, bringing about the emergence of another syntactic structure, namely the V-V compound. Both grammaticalization paths lead to the disintegration of the SVCs, with the consequence that they give rise to mono-verbal predicates.

The gradualness of the grammaticalization processes affecting serial verbs, where several stages coexist synchronically, definitely contributes to the fact that verb serialization is viewed as a non-unified phenomenon in the literature, as serial verbs may present different stages of development in different serializing languages. This fact reflects the difficulty in defining and demarcating serial verbs from other categories and, therefore, is suggestive of their elusive nature.

Furthermore, SVCs need to be distinguished from another structure that looks similar on the surface, namely light verb constructions. The similarities that SVCs share with light verb constructions may also contribute to the heterogeneity exhibited by verb serialization. Section 3.2 provides an overview of light verbs and light verb constructions.

3.2 Light verbs and light verb constructions

Since some syntactic structures that resemble intransitive directional and resultative SVCs in Pp will be argued to actually be light verb constructions, this section is devoted to providing an overview of light verbs and light verb constructions.

The term *light verb*, which is generally ascribed to Jespersen (see Brugman 2001: 552, Butt and Geuder 2001: 323), has traditionally been used to refer to a separate syntactic category[87] that differs diachronically and synchronically from other classes that may look similar on the surface: main, auxiliary, serial and compound verbs. Moreover, light verbs are claimed to form complex predicates with the full verbs they accompany. The resulting predicates – the light verb constructions (LVCs) – are semantically complex but syntactically mono-clausal.

3.2.1 Light verbs and other syntactic categories

Light verbs and full verbs share the same phonological form and may be marked for tense and aspect (I will come back to these properties below). However, they differ in that full verbs contribute an event to the predicate, whereas light verbs do not introduce an event of their own. Instead, as will be explained in more detail below, light verbs modify the event expressed by the full verb they accompany (e.g. Butt and Geuder 2001).

[87] However, Bruening (2015) suggests analysing light verbs as regular verbs, only a subcategory of obligatory control verbs.

According to Butt and Lahiri (2013: 12f.), serial verbs differ from light verbs in a similar way as full and light verbs were shown to be distinct in the above. While serial verbs point to several events[88] within a single clause, light verbs do not introduce an event of their own. Thus, SVCs denote a complex event, whereas LVCs describe only one event. Furthermore, serial verbs are used to describe events that are conventional within a particular cultural context. However, Bowern (2008) claims that, despite their distinct origins, SVCs and LVCs may display similar functions and also undergo similar changes.

Light verbs have also been distinguished from verb compounds in that they do not exhibit a tight morphological relation with the main verb with which they form the complex predicate. The fact that light verbs can be separated from the main verb in different contexts, e.g. via topicalization or with a clitic, is evidence of this (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 14).

The distinction between light verbs and auxiliaries has proved to be quite relevant in the literature because light verbs have often been mis-analysed as auxiliary verbs. The difference between these two categories is also of importance here due to their misinterpretation in Pp as well. Several properties have been proposed for differentiating light verbs from auxiliaries both diachronically and synchronically. The differences between light verbs and auxiliaries will be addressed below.

3.2.2 The diachronic stability of light verbs

In terms of diachronic differences, there are some discrepancies regarding the origin of auxiliaries and light verbs. While some linguists have argued that there is a historical link between auxiliary and light verbs, others have claimed that these categories have distinct origins. As regards the view that auxiliary and light verbs are historically related, light verbs have been considered to be an optional stage, i.e. vector verbs,[89] in the grammaticalization cline from full verb to affix (23), which is repeated here for convenience:

(23) full verb > (vector verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

(Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108)

Anderson (2006: 331f.) also establishes a historical relation between auxiliaries and light verbs, as he claims that light verbs may evolve into auxiliary verb constructions. The author represents light verbs and auxiliary verbs on the same cline and further argues that SVCs can directly develop into auxiliary verb constructions or indirectly via light verbs.

However, light verbs have also been thought to have a distinct origin as auxiliaries and to "resist language change, while auxiliaries are amenable to them" (Butt and Lahiri

[88] Or rather subevents (see Lord 1974: 196).

[89] Hopper and Traugott (1993: 109) explain that the term "vector verb" is owed to Hook (1974, 1991). The term refers to an intermediate stage that is present in the cline of grammaticalization from full verb to affix in some Indo-Aryan languages.

2013: 37). According to this view, light verbs, unlike auxiliaries, are not subject to historical change. In section 2.1.4, auxiliaries were presented as the result of a process of grammaticalization, whereby a full verb enters the grammaticalization cline represented in (23). Thus, auxiliary verbs evolve from full verbs and may continue grammaticalizing into affixes. However, according to Butt and Lahiri (2002, 2013) and Butt (2010), light verbs do not take part in the grammaticalization cline, which reflects their historical stability:

(28) full verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix(es)
|
light verb (Butt and Lahiri 2002: 6)

Following (28), light verbs are considered to be *historical dead ends* (Butt and Lahiri 2002) because they do not succumb to further changes. However, this hypothesis has been refuted. Evidence has been presented that light verbs can actually undergo change over time. For example, LVCs can undergo univerbation (Bowern 2008: 175f.), lexicalize and even develop idiomatic meaning (Butt 2010: 72).

Further evidence for the diachronic stability exhibited by light verbs is the fact that they are always exactly *form identical* to their corresponding full verbs (Butt and Geuder 2001, Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013, Butt 2010). In this respect, light verbs behave differently than auxiliaries because while the former always preserve the same form as the main verbs counterparts, the latter (the auxiliaries) change form from the original full verb via grammaticalization:

> [A]uxiliaries deviate very quickly in form and function from the main verb they originate from. This is unlike light verbs, which always remain form-identical to the main verb throughout the ages. That is, any morphophonological change undergone by the main verb is also undergone by the light verb (or vice versa). The auxiliary, on the other hand, pursues a separate path of development. (Butt and Lahiri 2002: 32)

To conclude, light verbs differ from auxiliaries in that only the latter are prone to undergo changes, whereas the former are historically stable. Thus, light verbs and auxiliaries do not evolve into one another, nor are light verbs a stage of the grammaticalization cline from full verb to auxiliary and further to verb morphology. However, some cases have been proposed in which light verbs can also undergo change via lexicalization and idiomaticization.

3.2.3 Light verbs and their heavy counterparts: A single underlying lexical entry

The close relationship between light verbs and their full verb counterparts is further evidenced by the fact that both categories are drawn from the same underlying lexical entry. Thus, a single underlying entry binds the uses displayed by the full and light verb variants (Butt 2010, Butt and Lahiri 2013):

(29) Underlying entry → Main verb (Auxiliary via reanalysis)
→ Light verb

(Butt and Lahiri 2013: 32)

While full and auxiliary verbs are related via a process of grammaticalization, light verbs and their "heavy" counterparts are bound by lexical polysemy (Brugman 2001, Butt and Geuder 2001). The underlying lexical entry is polysemous and the distribution of the lexical and functional information is contextually dependent, i.e. the right interpretation of the lexeme depends on the syntactic environment in which it surfaces (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33). In some cases, the same structure (two verbs surfacing contiguously) can receive two different syntactic analyses depending on the interpretation given to one of the verbs of the predicate either as a main or a light verb (Butt and Geuder 2001: 328).

To conclude, light verbs are intimately connected to their main verb counterpart due to the fact that they have a single underlying lexicon entry, i.e. a single lexical entry gives rise to both light and main verb usages. Sometimes what the light verb contributes to the constructions is not straightforward but often contextually dependent.

3.2.4 Synchronic properties of light verbs: Morphosyntactic and semantic features

Light verbs constitute a separate syntactic class due to diachronic differences compared with other categories, as well as the syntactic and semantic properties they share. Light verbs are considered to be a semi-lexical or lexically defective category rather than a functional element. They are structurally verbs but semantically defective because they do not contribute an event of their own; instead they modify the meaning of the main verb they accompany (Butt and Geuder 2001). The synchronic properties of light verbs and the difference compared with other categories, especially auxiliary verbs, will be discussed in the following.

Light verbs can display variable morphosyntactic features cross-linguistically. According to Butt and Geuder (2001: 329) and Butt and Lahiri (2013: 9), light verbs inflect in the same way as their main verb counterparts and do not present defective paradigms, as auxiliaries do:

> [D]efective paradigms of idiosyncratic patterns of verbal marking are never found with light verbs. Light verbs inflect just like their main verb counterparts. Light verbs and auxiliaries thus have a very different distribution. (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 9)

Thus, light verbs receive tense and aspect marking, which makes them closely resemble main verbs structurally. However, light verbs can also lack tense/aspect marking, as "the ability to carry tense/aspect information or be inflected is not a typical characteristic of light verbs" (Butt 2010: 52). Therefore, the marking of a verb for tense and aspect does not seem to be a condition for a lexeme to qualify for inclusion in this category.

Various approaches have been proposed as regards the semantics and functional properties displayed by light verbs, ranging from no or little contribution that light verbs make to the predicate, to supplying various kinds of information. Brugman (2001) argues against the original analysis by Jespersen (1940), who claims that light verbs hardly contribute to the semantics of the construction. Brugman (2001: 552) proposes that light verbs convey an abstract meaning, but that they are in no case meaningless.[90] Thus, light verbs are lexically defective but not semantically empty.

According to the literature, light verbs may contribute various kinds of information to the complex predicate. They can act as adverbial modifiers indicating the manner in which the action of the main verb is carried out. They can also signal attitudinal information, such as whether the action was performed deliberately, forcefully or volitionally, and they can also denote aspect, suggesting the inception and completion of an event (Butt and Geuder 2001). However, "it is not aspect in the temporal sense, in the sense of locating an event relative to the reference time of the clause… Rather, what is involved is some type of lexcially [sic.] specified content which interacts with the semantics of the main verb" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 336). Therefore, light verbs do not situate the action of the main verb or event with respect to tense and aspect, which is characteristic for auxiliary verbs (Butt 2010: 72). Following the same line of argument, light verbs do not express perfectivity, which is typical for auxiliaries, but may convey Aktionsart properties in that they can point to accomplishment or achievement (Butt and Geuder 2001: 335f., Butt and Lahiri 2002: 14).[91] Thus, light verbs need to be distinguished from perfective aspect markers.

Finally, light verbs can provide information on the subparts of an event, e.g. causation and result, and can also indicate whether the action of the main verb was sudden or accidental (Butt 2010: 72). However, in most cases, the contribution of light verbs to the complex predicate "is not necessarily transparent" (Butt 2010: 72) or "is extremely difficult to identify" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 324). Butt and Lahiri (2013) differentiate between light verbs and auxiliary verbs, taking into account their semantics in the following way:

> [L]ight verbs crucially contribute a subtle but substantial range of lexical semantic entailments that are closely linked to the main verb useage [sic.]. In contrast, auxiliaries usually fulfill a semantically very specialized role. Just one or two aspects of the original main verb´s meaning are used and the reanalysis tends to be based on a specific use that then becomes reinterpreted, so that the auxiliary can easily develop away from the original main verb in both form and semantic content.
>
> (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 37)

[90] Brugman (2001) and Butt and Geuder (2001) claim that light verbs evolve as a consequence of the abstraction or extension of the meaning of the heavy/full verb. Note that this process resembles the abstraction proposed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b) in the development of a grammaticalized item.

[91] The periphrastic construction in *Ashley took a shower* differs from the mono-morphemic construction *Ashley showered* in terms of telicity. While the LVC denotes a telic event, its mono-morphemic paraphrase is interpreted as an atelic event (see Brugman 2001: 556).

Furthermore, it has been proposed that light verbs exhibit flexibility in the meaning they display, and the specific semantic interpretation depends on contextual factors (Butt and Geuder 2001: 356).

One crucial feature of light verbs is that they are very widely used. As pointed out in the above, they are polysemous words. However, not only are the lexemes polysemous as regards the heavy and light uses, light verbs can also display polysemy in their light senses. Thus, light verbs may exhibit different semantic and formal properties among the light uses (see Brugman 2001).

Due to the fact that light verbs can be used in different contexts with different functions and meanings they have been defined as *verbal passepartouts* (Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013). Motion verbs, "give", "take", "put", "make", "do", "hit" and "fall" are analysed cross-linguistically as light verbs because of the general or underspecified meaning they display and the fact that they can be used in a variety of contexts (Butt 2010: 72).

To conclude, light verbs do not exhibit the same morphosyntactic and semantic properties cross-linguistically, but considerable differences can be acknowledged across languages. The differences displayed by light verbs can be explained by the fact that they constitute a cohesive class with different subclasses (Butt 2010: 52f.).

3.2.5 Conclusion

Light verbs have been shown to exhibit differences cross-linguistically in terms of their morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Moreover, it is sometimes not easy to detect what light verbs contribute to the complex predicate. Rather, that depends on the context in which they surface. Light verbs form a complex predicate (an LVC) with the main/full verb they modify. Thus, the LVC is made up of two verbs: a full verb and a lexically defective verb. Furthermore, although light verbs have been regarded as stable categories, they have also been reported to be able to undergo change, e.g. lexicalization and idiomaticization. The diversity displayed by light verbs cross-linguistically makes it difficult to identify this category and differentiate it from other categories that have similar features. These points indicate the elusiveness of light verbs.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter had a two-fold aim. First, it presented a summary of the relevant information regarding SVCs and the language-internal processes affecting this type of construction cross-linguistically. Second, it provided an overview of light verbs.

In the first part of this chapter, SVCs were shown to be available in diverse languages across the world that are both genetically and typologically unrelated. However, the fact that SVCs exhibit differences cross-linguistically has led to debate concerning the nature of the structure and whether this type of construction actually exists in certain languages, as they may have been mis-analysed as a different linguistic structure. I argued that one of the reasons why SVCs present so much diversity cross-linguistically may be related to the language-internal processes that affect serial verbs.

Thus, the different properties displayed by SVCs cross-linguistically may be connected to the fact that serial verbs present different grammaticalization rates in different serializing languages and also within one and the same language, i.e. some serial verbs may have grammaticalized more than others. The evolution of serial verbs into prepositions, auxiliaries and further giving rise to verb compounds, as well as the development of SVCs into lexicalized items with idiomatic meanings is well attested in the extensive literature on SVCs.

The evolution of serial verbs into functional categories has been explained mostly via language-internal processes connected to grammaticalization. However, in the literature on creole languages, some linguists have argued that the role of language-external processes is associated with the transmission of grammaticalization patterns available in the substratum into the creole. Thus, in some cases there has been no such gradual evolution from lexical to functional category, which has been assigned to grammaticalization; rather, some verbs were transferred into the creole languages together with their grammatical use or the grammaticalization process that they presented in the substratum. In this view, the lexical and grammatical functions displayed by some verbs coexisted in creole languages from the very beginning. In other cases, the combination of language-internal and language-external processes has been proposed.

In the second part of this chapter, light verbs were presented as a semi-lexical category that can display diverse properties cross-linguistically. Light verbs are said to modify the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate (the LVC) in various ways, but they do not contribute an event of their own. Moreover, they are regarded as stable categories over the years, although cases of lexicalization and idiomaticization have been attested in the frame of LVCs.

The diversity that serial verbs and light verbs exhibit cross-linguistically gives rise to difficulties when it comes to identifying these categories and demarcating them from others that present similarities. That is why serial verbs and light verbs can be regarded as elusive categories.

4. Serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

Pp is added to the list of languages that exhibit verb serialization. Lenz (1927) acknowledges the use of "combinaciones de verbos"[1] (1927: 171) or "verbos combinados"[2] (1927: 179) in Pp, including under these labels structures that are actual SVCs and others that, despite the contiguity of two verbs, are best analysed as non-serial structures (see examples in 1927: 171f., 179f.).[3]

Although Pp exhibits verb serialization, it lacks the variety encountered in other languages, as is indicated by Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 214) in their often-cited quotation "the total range is more limited than in some other Caribbean creoles". This view is confirmed by Parkvall (2000: 71), who includes Pp among the creoles that "have few serials or lack them altogether". Endruschat (2007: 164) claims not to have found instances of SVCs in the local press. However, Eckkrammer (2001: 182) proposes that "Serialverbkonstruktionen sind im Papiamentu sehr häufig".[4]

It is worth mentioning that hardly any SVCs are attested in the corpus of Guene investigated by Martinus (1996: 255-257).[5] Guene is a collection of Afro-Portuguese dialects that used to be spoken by slaves and in the countryside, while Pp was used in the city and gained prestige when it started to be used by the Jews and the Dutch (Martinus 1996: 9, 194ff.). Brenneker (1986 cited in Martinus 1996: 17) defines Guene as the language that the slaves had brought from Africa and was used as a secret language when Pp extended across society. The apparent absence of SVCs in Guene raises the question of whether SVCs were available in Pp from the beginning or whether they developed later. Martinus (1996: 255f.) explains that "many texts have short lines making the occurrence of serial verbs less likely". Jacobs (2015: 72) argues that SVCs constitute a "post-formative contact-induced feature" in Pp. These constructions were introduced by the slaves who spoke languages belonging to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family, which are rich in verb serialization.

Several descriptions of Pp have touched upon verb serialization in this creole language, most of them very briefly, though: Maurer (1988: 255-270, 1998: 170f., 2013: 175), Munteanu (1996: 372-375), Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 47f.) and

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[1] "Combinations of verbs" (translated by LF).

[2] "Combined verbs" (translated by LF).

[3] The following series of verbs are best analysed as aspectual verbal periphrases:

(i) Nan a kuminsa resa. (Lenz 1927: 180)
3PL PFV start pray
"They started praying."

(ii) El a sigi papia. (Lenz 1927: 180)
3SG PFV continue speak
"He continued speaking."

Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978: 125) exclude the constructions with auxiliaries, modal verbs and infinitive complements from their definition of SVCs. However, Boretzky (1983: 164) does include these verbs as part of SVCs because, according to him, it is difficult to distinguish these categories in West African and creole languages.

[4] "Serial verb constructions are very common in Papiamentu" (translated by LF). It is worth noting that the author considers multi-verb constructions to be SVCs. Later, it will be shown that some linguists have established a difference between these two types of constructions.

[5] Martinus (1996: 257) considers *go misi* "go touch" to be an SVC.

Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 214f.). Furthermore, Sebba (1987) and Quint (2000: 178-180) also provide an overview of Pp SVCs in their studies on other creole languages – Sranan and Cape Verdean, respectively. Further studies have worked on the classification of SVCs in Pp, as will be shown below.

This chapter provides a summary of the relevant information found in the literature regarding Pp SVCs, especially intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, as well as the language-internal processes affecting them. The chapter is divided into the following subsections. 4.1 gives a chronological overview of the studies that have dealt with Pp SVCs and their classification, paying special attention to intransitive directional and resultative SVCs. The following studies will be considered: Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974), Muysken and Veenstra (1995, 2006), Holm et al. (1999) and Holm (2000, 2006), Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007), Kouwenberg (2013) and Jacobs (2015). At the end of this subsection, a summary of all approaches is offered as well as a discussion in which the information will be complemented with relevant data from some of the work mentioned above. Later, the focus will be on the two types of SVCs that are the object of study here: intransitive directional and resultative SVCs. 4.2 deals with the marking of tense and aspect in Pp SVCs. 4.3 addresses the evolution of serial verbs in Pp. There, I will present the state of the art regarding the evolution of directional serial verbs into prepositions and other grammatical words, the development of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs into verb compounds, as well as the evolution of some verbs that frequently occupy V_1 position in verb clusters into modifying verbs. 4.4 summarizes the state of the art concerning the syntax of motion and directional verbs in Pp because it is relevant for the data analysis in chapter 5. The chapter is rounded off with some conclusions.

4.1 Classification of serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

Bendix's (1972) classification

Bendix (1972) indicates the need to include semantics in the analysis of *serial-verb strings*. Hence, he classifies these structures in Pp in two classes based on their meaning. The author notes a temporal contrast between the two classes.[6]

Bendix presents the first class as a sequence of two or more verbs or VPs that express subparts of a single action simultaneously and/or sequentially. The table below offers an overview of the four subclasses in the first class:

[6] Bendix (1972) shows similarities between Pp SVCs and verb serialization in Ijo and in St. Andrew English Creole, which he relates to both substratist and universalist hypotheses.

CLASS 1	
Subclass 1: The verb phrases express different simultaneous parts of the action	
V_1: marked for manner of motion, unmarked for completive	Intr. e.g. *kore* "run", *kana* "walk", *bula* "fly"
	Tr. *lastra* "drag", *karga* "carry", *hala* "pull"
V_2: expresses direction without specifying endpoint	Intr. e.g. *subi* "ascend", *baha* "descend", *sali* "exit"
	Tr. *baha* "lower", *hisa* "lift", *saka* "remove"
V_3: expresses deictic direction of motion. These verbs may also be followed by locative complements	Intr. *bin, bini* "come", *bai* "go"
	Tr. *trese* "bring", *hiba* "take (to)", *benta* "throw (away)"
Examples: different possible combinations of two or three verb groups. Intransitive and transitive verbs can be mixed.	
Subclass 2: Simultaneous actions	
V_1: lexically unmarked for inceptive or completive, usually preceded by an imperfective TMA *ta*, *taba*/*tabata*	
V_2: lexically unmarked for inceptive or completive	
Examples: *sinta piska* "sit fish", *kanta kana* "walk sing"	
Subclass 3: Simultaneous actions expressing manner or purpose	
V_1: lexically unmarked for inceptive or completive	
V_2: lexically unmarked for inceptive (or completive)	
Examples: *resa pidi* "pray request", *grita hari* "scream laugh"	
Subclass 4: Actions may overlap, connected actions or single action	
V_1: manner	
V_2: lexically marked for completive (endpoint)/ result	
Examples: *bula kai lora para* "jump fall roll stop", *lanta para* "rise stand", *kai kibra* "fall break", *tira mata* "shoot kill". If both verbs are transitive, the object is shared and appears between V_1 and V_2.	

Table 17. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Bendix (1972): Class 1 (Bendix 1972: 14-22)

As is clear from the above, Bendix (1972) does not use the terms "directional" or "resultative" SVCs in his first class of serial strings, where the actions expressed by the verbs form a single event. However, these two types of serial constructions are embraced in his classification. On the one hand, directional SVCs are included in the first subgroup and can consist of two or three intransitive verbs (1a), only transitive verbs (1b) or a mixture of transitive and intransitive verbs (1c):

(1) a. sali bay Punda.
exit go P.
"go out to Punda" (Bendix 1972: 16)

b. his' e benta.
drag it throw (glossed by LF)
"fling it away" (Bendix 1972: 16)

c. hala su kasá ku su yu- muhé bay paden.
pull his spouse with his child female go inside

"pull his wife and daughter (away) inside" (Bendix 1972: 17)

On the other hand, resultative SVCs are included in the fourth subclass in which V_1 conveys manner and V_2 expresses result, e.g. *kai kibra* (lit. fall break) "fall and break". If both verbs are transitive, object sharing is attested, e.g. *dal e kibra* (lit. strike it break) "strike and break it" and different combinations of *mata* in V_2 position: *kima*/*tira*/*hinka*/*choka*/*morde*/*dal mata* "burn/shoot/stab/choke/bite/strike dead/to death" (see Bendix 1972: 20f.).

The second class implies a sequence of two or more VPs that entails a temporal discontinuity between the participating verbs. According to Bendix (1972: 11f.), "[w]hat distinguishes Classes 1 and 2 from other constructions is their expression of a unified activity or action, with temporary interruptions in the actual situation referred to by a Class 2 sequence." To illustrate the temporal difference between Class 1 and Class 2 of serial verb strings, Bendix offers the following examples:

(2) his' e benta den awa — Class 1: temporal continuity
lift it throw in water
"fling it into the water" (Bendix 1972: 24)

(3) m'a his'é bent'é — Class 2: possible temporal discontinuity
"I lifted it and threw it right away" (Bendix 1972: 31)

The action in sentence (2) is thought to be continuous, whereas a pause may be interpreted between the subevents in (3). Bendix introduces a third class that does not involve an SVC but two conjoined clauses (4):

(4) m'a his'é i bent'e — Class 3: conjunction
"I lifted it and then threw it" (Bendix 1972: 31) — possible temporal discontinuity

According to Bendix, the sentence above can be interpreted as possibly containing a break between the two actions, similar to Class 2. However, the biggest difference between Class 2 and Class 3 is that only the former is considered to be an SVC, whereas Class 3 is not. Hence, it is obvious that there is a clear temporal difference between Classes 1 and 2, but the contrast between Classes 2 and 3 seems to be slight because both can involve a temporal interruption. However, comparing Class 2 with Class 3, it is the latter that more clearly involves a pause between the actions of the two verbs.

Apart from the temporal difference between Classes 1 and 2 shown above, Bendix provides evidence of some pragmatic differences between the two. In the two pairs below, the second sentence conveys more emphasis on the action expressed by the verbs:

(5) a. lastr'e baha
"drag it down" (Bendix 1972: 25)

b. lastr'é bah'é
"drag it take it down" (Bendix 1972: 25)

(6) a. solo ta kima bo mata
"the sun burns you to death" (Bendix 1972: 26)

b. solo ta kima bo mata bo
"the sun burns (you) and kills you" (Bendix 1972: 26)

Furthermore, the author contemplates a stylistic variation between a "modern" style of Pp that involves the conjunction *i/y* "and" and an "older" style in which this coordinating conjunction is scarcely used. The stylistic contrast is also linked to the temporal distinction shown between Class 1 (continuity of an action), Class 2 (temporal interruption) and Class 3 (pause between the actions represented by the verbs).

Bendix (1972: 58f.) states that speakers relate different possible interpretations of the form and meaning of SVCs in Pp. The differences are based on regional, social and stylistic varieties.

To conclude, although Bendix does not use the categories "directional SVCs" and "resultative SVCs", he includes both directional SVCs (with intransitive, transitive, and a combination of transitive and intransitive verbs) and resultative SVCs (with intransitive and transitive verbs) in his list of Pp SVCs.

Valeriano Salazar's (1974) classification

Valeriano Salazar (1974) studies *serial constructions* in Pp,[7] which she includes as one type of verb cluster that expresses "a complex unity of action" (1974: 85), where each of the participating verbs conveys a subpart of a single action.[8]

Like Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974: 93-95) classifies Pp SVCs taking into account the semantic value of the verb constituents. She distinguishes the following three subclasses:

Subclasses	**Semantic features**	**Examples**
Subclass 1	One of the verbs lacks lexical meaning	*kai sinta* (lit. fall sit) "sit down", *kai drumi* (lit. fall sleep) "lay down", *kai muri* (lit. fall die) "die", *lastra hiba* (lit. drag carry) "drag", *hanja sa* (lit. find know) "find out"
Subclass 2	One of the verbs may lack lexical meaning depending on the	*sinta lesa* (lit. sit read) "read", *lanta para* (lit. get up stop) "stand up"

[7] Valeriano Salazar (1974) analyses the verbal system of Pp and primarily compares it with Jamaican Creole English and secondarily with the verbal systems of other Caribbean creoles and some West African languages. The similarities found in the comparison support her hypothesis that the verbal systems of Caribbean creoles are related to those in West African languages.

[8] Following her terminology, Valeriano Salazar (1974) divides *verb clusters* in Pp into those constructions where the object of V_1 is the logical subject of V_2 and those constructions where the subject of V_1 is the implicit subject of the other verbs. In the first category, she distinguishes between transitive constructions with perception verbs and desiderative constructions. In the second category, she differentiates between those constructions that express one action and those that express more than one action. The former involves aspective constructions – inceptive, durative, completive, inchoative, iterative – constructions expressing manner and serial constructions. The latter covers purposive constructions and common multi-verbal constructions.

	situation	
Subclass 3	Each verb maintains its lexical meaning	*drenta sinta* (lit. enter sit) "get into", *kai kibra* "fall break", *tira mata* "shoot kill"

Table 18. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Valeriano Salazar (1974) (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93-95)

Like Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974) does not explicitly refer to either directional or resultative SVCs in her classification. As regards directional SVCs, it is difficult to know how they are classified because the author does not mention whether direction can be expressed via verb serialization in Pp. However, she does provide the following examples, which can be classified as directional SVCs with two transitive verbs:

(7)a. el a hisa e bala benta den awa
3SG PFV lift DEF ball throw LOC water[9]
"he threw the ball into the water" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 85)

b. el a karga e makutu hiba kas.
3SG PFV carry DEF basket bring house
"he brought the basket to the house" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 88)

Valeriano Salazar includes resultative SVCs in the third subclass, where both verbs retain their lexical meaning. Example (8) consists of two intransitive verbs, whereas (9) is made up of two transitive verbs that share the same object:

(8) e glas a kai kibra.
3SG glass PFV fall break
"the glass fell down and broke" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 95)

(9) el a tir' e mata
3SG PFV shoot 3SG kill
"he shot him dead" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 95)

A further aspect that is relevant for the present study is the fact that the object of V_1 can be repeated as a resumptive pronoun after V_2. Valeriano Salazar (1974) claims that the presence of a pronoun after V_2 may involve an emphatic repetition or may be related to the fact that two different actions are involved – and not a single complex event. In any case, she states that "native speakers disagree about the interpretation" (1974: 90).

Furthermore, the author distinguishes subclass 3 of serial constructions from what she calls "common multi-verbal constructions", in that the former is an actual SVC whereas the latter is not (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 87, 94f.): "In contrast to serial constructions, the actions described by common multi-verbal constructions are interpreted as 'different'" (1974: 87):

[9] All examples taken from Valeriano Salazar (1974) were glossed by LF.

(10) El a hap, frega su wowo-nan, rek su kurpa.
3SG PFV yawn rub 3SG.POSS eye- PL stretch 3SG.POSS body
"He yawned, rubbed his eyes and stretched his body"
(Valeriano Salazar 1974: 87)

To sum up, Valeriano Salazar (1974) does not specify that some verb combinations can express direction in Pp. However, she proposes two examples of transitive directional SVCs. As regards resultative SVCs, she includes verb combinations such as *kai kibra* "fall break" and *tira mata* "shoot kill" in her subclass 3, where the verbs retain their lexical meaning. However, she does not indicate that the verbs convey an action-result semantic relation.

Muysken and Veenstra's (1995, 2006) classification

Pp is classified as one of those creole languages that exhibits verb serialization, but lacks SVCs with "take" (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978: 128; Muysken and Veenstra 1995: 291). Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 300, 2006: 242f.) draw a distinction between languages that only allow for phrasal (VP) serialization and those languages that, apart from VP-serialization, also exhibit clausal (IP) serialization (see 3.1.1). The linguists claim that Pp only exhibits the first type of serialization, i.e. VP or phrasal serialization, which corresponds to their type 1 SVCs. These serial constructions are lexically constrained and exhibit less independence among the subevents. There are four groups in type 1: SVCs that specify for direction, aspect and degree, as well as SVCs that introduce arguments – benefactive, instrumental/comitative and finite complements. As is common in type 1 SVCs, the participating verbs belong to a limited lexical set and occupy the final position in the series.

SVCs in Papiamentu/o
VP-serialization Type 1: directional, argument-introducing, aspectual, degree.

Table 19. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Muysken and Veenstra (2006) (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 242f.)

Muysken and Veenstra propose the existence of directional SVCs with "go" and "come" in Pp. However, they do not specify whether the directional verbs can be accompanied by transitive verbs or whether directional SVCs in Pp can also involve two transitive verbs. No mention is made of resultative SVCs in Pp. Nevertheless, as was shown in Bendix (1972) and Valeriano Salazar (1974), and will also be seen in Kouwenberg (2013), resultative SVCs are indeed available in Pp. This means that Pp also exhibits Muysken and Veenstra's (2006: 249f.) type 3 SVCs. Furthermore, Pp also allows for combinations of three or more verbs within the same predicate (see the classification by Holm et al. 1999 and Holm 2000, 2006 below). This implies that Pp also exhibits Muysken and Veenstra's (2006: 250f.) type 4 SVCs. However, as is argued in Valeriano Salazar (1974) above and in Kouwenberg and Ramos (2007) below,

some authors prefer to analyse these types of verb combinations as multi-verb constructions rather than as SVCs.

Holm et al.'s (1999) and Holm's (2000, 2006) classification

Holm et al. (1999: 298) and Holm (2000: 211, 2006: 56) claim that Pp exhibits SVCs that specify for direction and degree and also introduce benefactive role. Furthermore, they propose the existence of SVCs with three and more verbs, as can be seen in the table below:

Types of SVCs	**Presence in Papiamentu/o**
Directional SVC "go"	+
Directional SVC "come"	+
Argument-introducing "give"	+
Argument-introducing "say"	0
Degree SVC "pass"	R / partially similar / +[10]
SVCs with 3 verbs	+
SVCs with 4+ verbs	+

Table 20. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Holm and others (adapted from Holm et al. 1999: 298, Holm 2000: 211, 2006: 56)

Holm et al. (1999) provide the following examples of benefactive (11) and degree[11] (12) SVCs, as well as SVCs with three (13) and more verbs (14):

(11) Kumpra pan duna e yu.
buy bread give the baby
"Buy bread for the baby." (Michel in Holm et al. 1999: 306)

(12) Awor si mi a pasa bai laga bu den propyedad.
Now yes I PAST pass go leave you in property
"Now I have more property than you." (Michel in Holm et al. 1999: 311)

(13) E tabata drumi ronka sosega.
3s PAST-PROG sleep snore rest
"S/he was sleeping there, snoring and resting." (Michel in Holm et al. 1999: 314)

(14) El a bula kai lora para.
3s PAST jump fall roll stop
"S/he jumped and fell, rolling to a stop." (Michel in Holm et al. 1999: 315)

Contrary to Muysken and Veenstra's (2006) classification, Holm (2000: 186f.) excludes aspectual SVCs from the list, as he considers the form for "finish" in creole languages to be a completive aspectual marker:

[10] Holm (2006: 56) claims that serial "pass" exists to express comparison in Pp.
[11] As the table shows, degree SVCs are considered to be R "rare" by Holm (2000: 211f.) and "present but only partially similar" by Holm et al. (1999: 297f.).

(15) Mi a kome bonchi kaba.
1SG PFV eat bean COMPL (glossed by LF)
"I've already eaten beans." (Michel in Holm 2000: 186)

In sum, Holm et al. (1999) and Holm (2000, 2006) claim that directional SVCs with "go" and "come" are available in Pp, without specifying whether they can combine with transitive verbs or whether two transitive verbs can express direction. They do not comment on resultative SVCs.

Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel's (2007) classification

Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007) make some changes to the classification in Holm et al. (1999) and Holm (2000, 2006). One important modification they make is the lack of dative/benefactive and degree/comparative SVCs in Pp. They explain that example (12) above "illustrates the non-literal use of a directional serial" (Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 322), i.e. *pasa bai* "pass go", whereas example (11) – completed below in (16) – is an instance of a construction with several separate events and, therefore, not an example of a benefactive SVC:

(16) Si e yu tin hamber, kumpra pan duna e yu
if DEF baby have hunger buy bread give DEF baby
"If the baby is hungry, buy bread and give it to the baby"
(Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 322)

Moreover, the authors object to Pp having SVCs with three or more verbs, since "[m]ore often, strings of three and more verbs express separate events, which are unlikely to constitute serial verb constructions" (Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 323). The only possible context in which these kinds of SVCs can be found is when different types of SVCs coincide and are combined in a clause.

Types of SVCs	**Presence in Papiamentu/o**
Directional SVC "go"	+
Directional SVC "come"	+
Argument-introducing "give"	0
Argument-introducing "say"	0
Degree SVC "pass"	0
SVCs with 3 verbs	R
SVCs with 4+ verbs	R

Table 21. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007) (adapted from Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 323)

Although they are not included in the above table, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007) also mention SVCs that express purpose[12] – example (17) – and result – example (18):

[12] Valeriano Salazar (1974) does not class purposive constructions as SVCs because these constructions, like common multi-verbal constructions, express more than one action.

(17) Mi a hibé drecha
1SG[13] PFV take-3SG repair
"I took it to have it repaired" (Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 322)

(18) Outo a dal e mata
car PFV hit 3SG kill
"A car hit her/him/it and killed her/him/it"
(Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 322)

To conclude, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007) include directional SVCs in their list of SVCs in Pp, but only make reference to intransitive directional SVCs. Moreover, they are, to my knowledge, the first to explicitly mention that Pp counts on SVCs expressing result. However, they do not include this type of SVC in their list.

Kouwenberg's (2013) classification

Kouwenberg (2013) identifies four types of SVCs that are available in Pp in the online version of APiCS: directional, resultative, purposive and paratactic. Kouwenberg (2013) is, as far as I know, the first linguist to explicitly include resultative SVCs to the list of Pp SVCs and use the term "resultative SVCs" to apply to this creole language.

Jacobs' (2015) classification

Jacobs (2015) recently classified SVCs in Pp approximately according to the division suggested by Aikhenvald (2006), namely into symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs.[14] Jacobs (2015) distinguishes two types of serial constructions in Pp: *sequencing SVCs* (symmetrical) and *modifying SVCs* (asymmetrical):

Type A: Sequencing SVCs Two or more verbs expressing subevents of an overall event
Intransitive verbs
Transitive verbs with object sharing Transitive verbs with different objects or a resumptive pronoun after V_2
Type B: Modifying SVCs One verb modifies or specifies the other verb
Intransitive verbs: Directional SVCs (directional V_2 modifies V_1) Combinations of verbs where V_1 modifies V_2, e.g. *kore bai* (lit. run go) "go running", *kore bini* (lit. run come) "come running", *bula bai* (lit. fly go) "go/leave suddenly" and *bula bisa* (lit. fly say) "suddenly say"

[13] SG in this and other sentences below has been adapted to the glossing abbreviations used throughout.
[14] Jacobs (2009, 2012b) presents evidence that Pp is genetically related to the Upper Guinea Creoles – Cape Verdean, Kriyol and Casamance. Jacobs (2015) compares Pp and Cape Verdean Creole SVCs and draws the conclusion that SVCs are more common in Pp, the differences being not only quantitative but also qualitative. The author accounts for the dissimilarity as a contact-induced phenomenon that took place in Curaçao when Upper Guinea Creole speakers with a substratum poor in SVCs came into contact with speakers of Kwa languages, which are rich in verb serialization.

Combinations of verbs where both verbs can be the head or the modifier, e.g. *kai sinta* (lit. fall sit), *dal sera* (lit. hit close)
Transitive verbs: SVCs that express cause-effect, e.g. *korta habri* (lit. cut open) "cut open", *dal mata* (lit. hit kill) "hit to death", *dal sera* (lit. hit close) "slam shut" and *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) "shoot to death"

Table 22. Classification of SVCs in Papiamentu/o according to Jacobs (2015) (Jacobs 2015: 61-67)

Sequencing SVCs consist of two or more verbs that express different subevents or sequences of an event. The verb constituents can be transitive or intransitive (19):

(19) El a kore pasa drenta bira sali den un fregâ di wowo.
3SG PFV[15] run pass enter turn leave in a blink of eye
"S/he passed running, entered, turned around [and] left in the blink of an eye."
(Munteanu 1996 in Jacobs 2015: 62)

Note that, according to Valeriano Salazar (1974) and Kouwenberg and Ramos (2007), the sentence above would correspond to a multi-verb construction and not an actual SVC.

According to Jacobs (2015), when two transitive verbs are used, they can have the same object or different ones, as in (20). If the verbs share the same object, it can appear once or be repeated after the second verb with a resumptive pronoun, as attested in (21):

(20) El a kohe e hacha kap e palu.
3SG PFV take the axe cut the tree
"He took the axe [and] cut the tree." (Sebba 1987 in Jacobs 2015: 62)

(21) El a kue e karni kort' e.
3SG PFV take the meat cut it
"He took the meat [and] cut it." (Maurer 1988 in Jacobs 2015: 62)

Sentences (20) and (21) go against the object-sharing hypothesis in relation to SVCs proposed by M. Baker (1989). Moreover, sentences like (20) have been interpreted as covert coordination in some studies on serializing languages (see, e.g. Stewart 2001). Furthermore, Bendix (1972) suggested there are semantic and pragmatic differences between sentences with object sharing – in his Class 1 – and sentences where the object of V_1 is repeated after V_2 as a resumptive pronoun – his Class 2. Valeriano Salazar (1974) also noted that repetition of the object of V_1 as a pronominal object after V_2 entails an emphatic repetition or two different actions.

Next, Jacobs (2015) claims that the coordinating conjunction *i*/*y* may be inserted between the verb constituents of sequencing SVCs without any semantic change; it is more of a stylistic variant. That is why the above serial structures are translated into non-serializing languages using a coordinating conjunction. However, as indicated above, Bendix (1972) not only acknowledged stylistic differences but also a semantic –

[15] PFV in all the examples taken from Jacobs (2015) has been adapted to the glossing abbreviations used in this study.

temporal – contrast when the coordinating conjunction is introduced. The use of the coordinating conjunction between the verb constituents of an SVC gives rise to Bendix's Class 3, which is not considered to be an actual SVC. Furthermore, Jacobs (2015) includes the following example in the sequencing type of SVCs, where no coordinating conjunction is used in the translation:

(22) Cha Tiger a hala stul pone na mesa
Cha Tiger PFV drag chair put on table
"Cha Tiger dragged the chair onto the table."[16]
(Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995 in Jacobs 2015: 62)

Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 214) claim that "the second verb indicates a direction for the action of the first verb". I argue that this example entails a directional SVC whose two constituents are transitive verbs, as was acknowledged in examples (1b) and (7a, b) above.

With regard to the modifying type of SVCs, there is modification and/or specification of one of the verbs over the event expressed by the other verb. Thus, one of the verbs (V_1 or V_2) functions as a major verb or head while the other acts as a minor or modifying verb. They can be intransitive or transitive, and are translated into non-serializing languages with the aid of prepositions, adverbs, *-ing* complements and particle verbs (Jacobs 2015: 62).

Among the intransitive modifying SVCs, Jacobs (2015: 63f.) distinguishes directional SVCs where the minor or modifying verbs *bai* and *bin* (V_2) indicate the direction of the major or head verb (V_1) in a similar way as prepositions do in Indo-European languages. V_1 is an intransitive verb in (23) and a transitive verb in (24):

(23) El a bai verhuis bai Zwolle
3SG PFV go move go Zwolle
"He (went and) moved to Zwolle." (Jacobs and Muysken fc. in Jacobs 2015: 64)

(24) Mi ta lastra –bo bai fiernu
1SG IPFV[17] drag 2SG go hell
"I drag you to hell." (Kouwenberg and Musyken 1995 in Jacobs 2015: 64)

Jacobs (2015: 64f.) includes combinations of verbs that express a cause-effect relation in the class of transitive modifying SVCs, e.g. *korta habri* (lit. cut open) "cut open", *dal mata* (lit. hit kill) "hit to death", *dal sera* (lit. hit close) "slam shut" and *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) "shoot to death".[18]

[16] Note that Kouwenberg and Murray (1995: 214) gloss *na* as LOC and translate the sentence as "Cha Tiger dragged a chair to the table."
[17] Adpated to the glossing abbreviations used in this study.
[18] Jacobs (2015), following Lenz (1926), claims that these SVCs share similarities with Dutch particle verbs, such as *opensnijden* "cut open", *dichtslaan* "slam shut" and *doodslaan* "hit to death". However, Jacobs (2015) objects to Lenz's (1926) claim that these combinations are calques of Dutch, noting that these types of cause-effect SVCs are also present in other Atlantic creoles that were not exposed to Dutch.

To sum up, Jacobs classes directional SVCs as intransitive modifying SVCs and also sequential SVCs. The author gives an example of a directional SVC with two transitive verbs in the sequencing type of SVCs. Resultative SVCs are only included in the group of transitive modifying SVCs, although intransitive verbs can also participate in the expression of a cause-effect semantic relation, as was seen above.

Summary of the classifications and discussion

There are some discrepancies regarding two aspects of the classifications of Pp SVCs considered above: the presence or absence of certain types of SVCs and the inclusion or exclusion of object sharing as a syntactic phenomenon occurring in Pp SVCs. These aspects will be considered in more detail below.

In terms of the disagreement about the presence or absence of certain types of SVCs in Pp, there seems to be unanimity on the availability of directional SVCs in Pp.[19] Some scholars have even pointed out that directional SVCs are frequently used in Pp (see Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 214, Maurer 2013: 175), but see also Endruschat (2007).[20] There is dissonance regarding the inclusion of benefactive[21] and degree SVCs. Muysken and Veenstra (2006), Holm et al. (1999) and Holm (2000, 2006) include them in their classification, whereas Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007) do not.[22] Moreover, completive or aspectual SVCs with *kaba*/*caba* are also considered to be absent in current Pp due to the evolution of the verb *kaba*/*caba* into an adverb (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 215, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 312, 322).

Therefore, it seems that of the four types of SVCs proposed by Muysken and Veenstra (1995, 2006) for the languages exhibiting phrasal or VP-serialization – directional, argument-introducing, aspectual and degree SVCs – Pp only displays directional SVCs. Note that Sebba (1987: 171) embraces instrumental SVCs in Pp, but Maurer (1988: 256) and Jacobs (2015: 65) interpret the syntactic structure as two consecutive events. Jacobs (2015: 65) claims that instrumentality is expressed in Pp via PPs headed by the preposition *ku* "with".[23]

There is also disagreement regarding the existence (see Holm et al. 1999, Holm 2000) or absence (see Valeriano Salazar 1974, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007) of SVCs with three or more verbs. The latter argue that these structures do not

[19] Foley and Olson (1985: 41) consider directional verbs "go" and "come" to be "the serializing verb type *par excellence*" (1985: 46). Maurer et al. (2013a: 336) claim that there are "come" and "go" directionals in Pp.

[20] Endruschat (2007: 163) claims that she has not recently found any cases in the press where *bai* and *bin* are used prepositionally after another verb.

[21] Maurer et al. (2013e: 344) claim that there are no "give" serials in Pp.

[22] Sebba (1987: 179) suggests that the absence of verb serialization to mark the indirect object, comparison and to introduce arguments after verbs of saying and perception may be related to decreolisation.

[23] Pp has been said to lack instrumental SVCs with "take". In fact, Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978: 128) and Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 291) classify Pp as one of those languages lacking "take" serialization. Maurer et al. (2013d: 340) claim that Pp has no "take" serials but expresses instrumentality with adpositions (see Maurer et al. 2013c: 274). However, Sebba (1987: 171) proposes that this type of SVC does exist in Pp.

constitute a single complex event but a series of separate events and, therefore, are not SVCs.

Lastly, resultative SVCs[24] in Pp have been briefly considered in some studies (see Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974, Sebba 1987: 201, Muller 1989: 365, 367-369, Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 48, Kouwenberg and Ramos 2007, Jacobs 2015), but not in others (see Muysken and Veenstra 1995, 2006, Holm et al. 1999, Holm 2000, 2006). Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 48) claim that the V_2 of some SVCs, such as *mata* "kill", modifies the V_1 expressing the result of the event. Although some linguists have considered this type of SVC, Kouwenberg (2013) was, to my knowledge, the first to explicitly include resultative SVCs in the list of serial verb structures in Pp and also the first one to use this label for Pp.

Most studies refer directly or indirectly to the phenomenon of object sharing in Pp SVCs.[25] As was attested above, this phenomenon occurs in connection with purposive and resultative SVCs (see Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 47f.; Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 322). Some acknowledge that an SVC exhibiting object sharing can also surface as a syntactic structure in which the internal argument of V_1 is repeated after V_2 as a resumptive pronoun (Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974, Jacobs 2015). Interestingly, the three authors consider the structures with resumptive pronouns to be actual SVCs, like those serial constructions that display object sharing. However, Bendix (1972) and Valeriano Salazar (1974) agree that the use of one structure or the other entails semantic as well as pragmatic differences, which vary considerably between speakers.

Apart from the pragmatic and temporal differences between SVCs displaying object sharing and SVCs exhibiting a resumptive pronoun after V_2, Bendix (1972) points out a third difference. Stylistic differences that represent a modern style linked to a temporal contrast may be brought about by the insertion of the coordinating conjunction *i*/*y* "and" between the verbs in an SVC. Inserting the conjunction results in a conjoined structure (his Class 3) and not an SVC, which may indicate a possible temporal interruption between the actions expressed by the two verbs.[26]

Conversely, Maurer (1988: 256) observes that the coordinating connector *i*/*y* can be optionally inserted between the VPs of what he refers to as "constructions sérielles narratives"[27] (1988: 257). The use or lack of the coordinating conjunction is related to stylistic preferences:

[24] Note that linguists have defined this type of SVC differently. For example, Aikhenvald (2006: 19f.) differs between cause-effect and resultative SVCs. Resultative SVCs are a serial structure where both verbs are intransitive and no argument is shared. She proposes that this type can be reminiscent of cause-effect serialization. Cause-effect SVCs are included in the type of switch-function SVCs, where the verbs usually come from an open, unrestricted class and mostly involve a combination of a transitive and an intransitive verb. Two transitive verbs in cause-effect SVCs are also attested in some languages. Stewart (2001) distinguishes between resultative and consequential SVCs. While the former have an unaccusative V_2, the latter consist of two transitive verbs.

[25] Note that this syntactic phenomenon is not considered in Muysken and Veenstra (1995, 2006), Holm et al. (1999) and Holm (2000, 2006). In the first case, it should be noted that the authors categorize Pp as a VP-serializing language that only exhibits directional, aspectual, benefactive/dative and degree SVCs.

[26] Valeriano Salazar (1974: 87) does not mention the insertion of conjunction *i* between VPs, but she distinguishes SVCs from common multi-verbal constructions, which denote different actions.

[27] "Narrative serial constructions" (translated by LF).

(25) El a kue un kuchú (i) kòrta un pida karni (i) kom'
3SG PFV take INDF knife and cut INDF piece meat$_{(i)}$ and eat
é. (Maurer 1988: 256)
3SG$_{(i)}$
"He took a knife (and) cut a piece of meat (and) ate it"[28]

Jacobs (2015: 62), following Maurer (1988), considers that both structures – SVCs in his Type A – are semantically equivalent and only differ from one another stylistically. However, the insertion of the conjunction *i*/*y* in his Type B SVCs would entail a change in meaning.

Jacobs (2015) also contemplates the possibility of his Type A SVCs, i.e. sequential SVCs, including the conjunction *i*/*y* as a stylistic alternative with the same meaning. According to Valeriano Salazar (1974), this would not be an example of a serial construction but rather a common multi-verbal construction in which the different actions are separated by a pause. Likewise, Sebba (1987: 159) considers this case to involve VP coordination.

To sum up, I would like to highlight the discrepancies that exist in the literature concerning the classification of SVCs in Pp, as well as the semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences that have been acknowledged in regard to SVCs with object sharing, resumptive pronoun after V_2 and the optional insertion of the coordinating conjunction *i*/*y*.

Proposing a new classification for SVCs in Pp would be outside of the scope of this disssertation and will be left to further research. In the present study, I will focus on the synchronic syntactic variation taking place in two types of SVCs in Pp: intransitive directional SVCs and resultative SVCs. It has been shown that Pp directional SVCs can consist of intransitive as well as of transitive verb constituents, and a mixture of transitive and intransitive verbs. I will here only deal with directional SVCs whose components are intransitive verbs, i.e. intransitive directional SVCs. These constructions will be presented in chapter 5. I will also analyse the structure of resultative SVCs in Pp, which have received so little attention so far, by presenting the possible verb combinations in this construction. Resultative SVCs will be dealt with in chapter 6. Lastly, I will consider the use of a resumptive pronoun after V_2 in resultative SVCs to be an instance of covert coordination.

4.2 Tense and aspect marking in Papiamentu/o serial verb constructions

There is almost unanimity in the literature that only the first verb constituent of an SVC in Pp can be preceded by a tense/aspect marker. Valeriano Salazar (1974: 84f., 88) refers to a single marking on the first verb of the series. Similarly, Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 47) suggest that only the first verb in the sequence can carry a preverbal marker, which has scope over the other verbs in the construction. Bendix (1972: 9) also

[28] Glossed by LF and translated into English following the original translation in Maurer (1988: 256): "Il prit un couteau, coupa un morceau de viande, le mangea."

claims that tense and aspect are only marked on the first verb constituent of Pp SVCs. However, he notes the exception of the imperfective preverbal marker *ta*, which can surface before the second verb.[29]

Maurer (1988: 259ff.) observes that *ta* can occur in front of the non-initial verb in a series in different contexts. For example, the preverbal marker *ta* can mark V_2 when V_1 carries the perfective preverbal marker *a*. The following example is taken from a narration involving further actions afterwards:

(26) Yan a kohe nan ta bai kas. (Kleinmoedig in Maurer 1988: 259)
Y. PFV take 3PL TA go house[30]
"Yan took them and is about to go home."[31]

Maurer interprets this structure as two consecutive processes within a narrative context.[32] The first action is marked for perfective aspect and the second for imperfective, indicating that all the processes mentioned afterwards in the narration took place in the interval between the events *kohe nan* and *bai kas*. The absence of *ta* would imply that *bai* is also marked for perfective aspect, like the first verb, which would indicate that all the processes mentioned afterwards would have taken place after Yan had reached home (see Maurer 1988: 259f.). Maurer et al. (2013b: 208) refer to this phenomenon as *aspect change in verb chains* and distinguish verb chains from SVCs in that only the former involve two – or more – consecutive actions with no modification.[33] Furthermore, "the two events described by the verb chain do not overlap, i.e. the situation referred to by the second verb begins after the situation of the first verb has been completed" (2013b: 208).

In other cases, *ta* can optionally mark V_2 as a stylistic variant and can be eliminated without any change in meaning. However, Maurer (1988: 262f.) also remarks that the presence of *ta* can emphasize the duration of the action expressed in V_2:

(27) a. Prinsèsè a kuminsá ta hari... (Juliana in Maurer 1988: 262)
princess PFV start TA laugh
"The princess started laughing…"

b. Shon Keta a keda ta pensa ariba... (Kleinmoedig in Maurer 1988: 262)
mister K. PFV stay TA think about
"Mister Keta kept thinking about…"

[29] Bendix (1972: 9) and Valeriano Salazar (1974: 84f.) suggest that there is only one subject realization on the first verb in the series. However, Bendix (1972: 9) claims that a second subject pronoun may appear on the second verb when the verb constituents of an SVC are in imperative mode.
[30] All examples taken from Maurer (1988) were glossed and translated into English by LF, following the original translation in Maurer.
[31] "Yan les prit et s'apprêta à rentrer" (original translation in Maurer 1988: 259).
[32] Maurer (1988: 259) makes a comparison with Valeriano Salazar's *common multi-verbal construction*.
[33] Byrne (1987: 163ff.) also claims a consecutive-action interpretation when the verbs in a serial string in Saramaccan do not agree in aspect or tense and states that "true serials cannot be oriented within different temporal matrices, but, rather, must be considered as simultaneous" (Byrne 1987: 164).

c. El a sigui ta bini seka nos tur dia. (Maurer 1988: 262)
3SG PFV continue TA come PREP 1PL all day
"He continued coming to our place every day."

d. Boy tabata kana ta solicitá pa trabou. (Jongh in Maurer 1988: 263)
B. PST.IPFV walk TA apply for job
"Boy was going for a walk applying for a job."

e. Ramona ta sinta den bentana ta wak kon nan ta bai ku su hòmber. (Mamber in Maurer 1988: 263)
R. TA sit LOC window TA watch how 3PL TA go with 3SG.POSS man
"Ramona was sitting by the window watching how they were taking her husband."[34]

Valeriano Salazar (1974: 75-77) considers the presence of *ta* in front of V_2 to be emphatic after two subtypes of what she refers to as *aspective constructions*: inceptive (28) and durative (29).

(28) nèt e solo a kuminsa ta sali ku kalo a kuminsa
just DEF sun PFV start TA exit that heat PFV start[35]
"just when the sun rose, the heat started" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 76)

(29) el a bira mankaron, asina mes el a sigi ta traha
3SG PFV turn invalid therefore 3SG PFV continue TA work
"although he became an invalid he continued working"
(Valeriano Salazar 1974: 77)

Finally, the aspectual, imperfective marker *ta*[36] can be attested in direct perception complements, in adverbial gerundial clauses and in gerundial relatives (see Muller 1989: 375f., Maurer 1988: 263-268, Kouwenberg and Muysken 2011: 19f., Kouwenberg and Lefebvre 2015: 310f.). As regards direct perception complements,[37] the often-cited examples below show an aspectual contrast when *ta* appears in front of the second verb. A perfective aspect is involved in the direct perception complement in (30), whereas an imperfective aspect is interpreted in (31):[38]

(30) M' a mir'é kap e palu. (Maurer 1988: 267)
1SG PFV see.3SG cut DEF tree

[34] I keep the past tense in the translation of this sentence following the translation offered by Maurer (1988: 263): "Ramona était assise à la fenêtre en train de regarder comment ils emmenaient son homme."
[35] Both examples from Valeriano Salazar (1974) were glossed by LF.
[36] Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (2015: 311) refer to it as *gerundial ta*.
[37] See Kouwenberg and Muysken (2011) for the difference between direct and indirect perception complements in Pp.
[38] The insertion of *ta* on V_2 is optional when V_1 is already marked for imperfect aspect (Muller 1989: 376):
(i) Nos ta mira e makaku-nan (ta) hasi kenshi. (Muller 1989: 376)
1PL TA see DEF monkey-PL (TA) make trick
"We see the monkeys make tricks." (Glossed and translated by LF)

"I saw him cut the tree" (I actually saw the tree felled)

(31) M' a mir'é ta kap e palu. (Maurer 1988: 267)
1SG PFV see.3SG ASP cut DEF tree
"I saw him cutting the tree" (It does not imply that I saw the tree felled)[39]

Bendix (1972: 42f.) suggests that the imperfective aspect can not only be marked with the imperfective marker *ta* followed by the bare form of the verb, i.e. *ta*+V, but also with the gerundive form, i.e. V-*ando*/*iendo*.[40] Hence, according to the literature, the imperfective aspect with perception verbs and gerundials can be conveyed in Pp with the imperfective marker *ta* followed by the verb in the bare form as well as with the gerundive form.[41] Jacobs (2012b: 244) discusses the use of *ta* preceding the non-initial verb to mark an incomplete action versus the absence of a marker to indicate completeness in another context.

Maurer (1988: 269f.) provides some examples in which V_2 is marginally marked by the preverbal markers *tabata* and *a*. The author remarks that there is an idiolectal temporal concordance in the first case and a dialectal variation in the second case.[42]

To sum up, there are discrepancies in the literature regarding tense and aspect marking in Pp SVCs. Valeriano Salazar (1974) states that there is a single preverbal marker in front of the first verb, Kouwenberg and Murray (1994) agree on the single marking on the first verb but with scope over the other verb(s) in the series, and Bendix (1972) claims that the imperfective *ta* can appear before the second verb.

Furthermore, the non-initial verb(s) in the series can also carry an overt marker (the same or a distinct one) in aspectual constructions, direct perception complements, adverbial gerundial clauses and in gerundial relatives. However, although these constructions involve verbs in a series, they are not SVCs.

I will deal with the marking of tense and aspect in Pp intransitive directional SVCs in 5.2.2. A few examples will be provided in which V_2 is overtly marked for aspect, either via the preverbal marker *ta* or the gerund suffix. I argue that the presence of aspect marking on V_2 in SVCs points to the verbal status of this constituent, while its absence hints at the loss of verb properties. Both structures are available synchronically, although there is a preference for the realization of tense/aspect only on V_1.

[39] Both examples are found in Maurer (1988: 267) based on work by Muller. The examples were glossed and translated by LF.

[40] Bendix (1972: 43f.) suggests that the use of the gerundive to mark imperfective aspect is characteristic of a Hispanicizing style. Furthermore, he claims that the past participle can also mark the imperfective aspect.

[41] Note that Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (2015: 311f.) claim that the use of the gerundive in gerundial contexts is unacceptable.

[42] However, the inclusion of *a* marking V_2 in the examples Maurer (1988) provides can be explained by the fact that V_2 is part of a subordinate clause where the complementizer *ku*/*cu* has been omitted after the perception verbs *haña* "find" and *weta* "see".

(i) el a haña e bòtër di awa a seka... (Juliana in Maurer 1988: 269)
"she found (that) the bottle of water dried"

(ii) El a weta e hòmber a flèktu bai. (Andersen in Maurer 1988: 269)
"He saw the man disappear"
"He saw that the man disappeared"

4.3 The evolution of serial verbs in Papiamentu/o

Several studies have acknowledged the existence of verbs in Pp that, apart from behaving like full lexical categories, also display grammatical functions. Some authors have not provided any explanation for the development of functional words out of serial verbs or have briefly pointed to the loss of lexical meaning. However, a few have explicitly related these changes to grammaticalization. Next, I will summarize the information provided in the literature on the grammatical functions that the directional serial verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come" can display, the development of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs into verb compounds, and the evolution of verbs that usually occupy V_1 position in verb clusters into modifying verbs.

4.3.1 Evolution of the directional serial verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come" into prepositions

Bai/*bay* indicates the direction of the verb it accompanies (e.g. Muller 1989: 354, Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 214, Endruschat 2007: 163). Bendix (1972: 48f.) argues that the serial verbs *bai* and *bin*(*i*) are necessarily located after certain verbs to express the direction of the action. According to Bendix, the directional verbs can be analysed as part of an adverbial phrase indicating direction and not as part of a VP. However, the author admits that his approach to interpreting *bai* and *bin*(*i*) as adverbs (and also as prepositions, although he does not explicitly use this term) rather than verbs could be "biased to the structures of the more familiar European languages" (Bendix 1972: 49):

> One could argue, especially in view of their parallels in the European languages, that they are not properly constituent verbs of serial-verb strings, but rather more adverbial in function. (Bendix 1972: 49)

Wood (1971a: 63f.) claims that the directional verbs are used in a "quasi-prepositional manner" (1971a: 63) when they follow a main verb. Endruschat (2005: 185f., 2007: 162f.) notes the prepositional use of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) due to a process of desemanticization. She analyses *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) after motion verbs as coverbs, following Lehmann's grammaticalization path (full verb → serial verb → coverb → adposition) and suggests the dissolution of serial verbs in Pp:

> Ursprünglich gab es demnach offenbar auch im *papiamentu* serielle Verben, sie sind durch den häufigen Gebrauch und die prägnante Form zu präpositionsähnlichen Elementen ausgebaut worden.[43] (Endruschat 2005: 186)

Jacobs (2015: 64, 70) interprets directional serial verbs as minor verbs that modify the direction of the main verb constituent. Minor directional verbs acquire a role that is performed by prepositions in Indo-European languages. The author relates the

[43] "Originally there were serial verbs in Pp, but they have evolved into prepositional-like elements due to their frequent use and their short form." (translated by LF)

reinterpretation of directional serial verbs as prepositions to the absence of an actual preposition in Pp between the directional verbs and their directional NP: "[T]he lack of a directional preposition between ['come/go'] and the directional complement allows ['come/go'] to be reinterpreted as a preposition" (Jacobs 2015: 70).

To sum up, Bendix (1972), Endruschat (2005, 2007) and Jacobs (2015) briefly propose the reinterpretation of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions that indicate the direction of the main verb they accompany.

To conclude, Endruschat (2007: 163) suggests that the use of serial verbs displaying prepositional function is decreasing: "En la prensa escrita y en la electrónica no he encontrado recientemente ningún caso de *bai* en función preposicional, ni tampoco de *bin*."[44]

4.3.2 Evolution of intransitive directional and resultative serial verb constructions into verb compounds

Some authors have referred to the compounding of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs in Pp. With respect to the former, Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 215) propose the lexicalization of *bula bai* because both constituents can undergo predicate cleft simultaneously.[45] Arends, Muysken and Smith (1995: 326) interpret *bula bai* as a compound derived from an SVC. Muysken (2001: 407) claims that *bula bai* has lexicalized into a compound verb due to the frequency with which it is used in the language. Lastly, Jacobs (2015: 63) presents other combinations of verbs with *bula* and also with *kore*, e.g. *kore bai*, *kore bini*, which, according to the author, "often develop into fixed, lexicalized expressions". Jacobs relates this evolution to the deprivation of lexical meaning of *kore* and *bula* when used as modifying or minor verbs in serial constructions, and the development of more grammatical semantics.

In relation to resultative SVCs, Sebba (1987: 201) regards SVCs with *kibra* "break", *habri* "open" and *mata* "kill" in V_2 position, e.g. *korta habri* "cut open", *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) "shoot dead", as lexical idioms or compounds.

4.3.3 Further paths of evolution of *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come"

Bendix (1972: 50-54), Valeriano Salazar (1974: 43ff.) and Muller (1989: 344-360) propose diverse grammatical functions for the verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). Below, I present a summary of the grammatical functions that have been assigned to the directional verbs in Pp, besides their acting as full lexical verbs and prepositions.

Firstly, *bai*/*bay* can act as an auxiliary verb marking definite future. The definite future expressed by *bai*/*bay* contrasts with the hypothetical future expressed by the TMA marker *lo*. *Bai*/*bay* indicates that the action is about to be carried out or that it is in

[44] "Neither in the written nor in the electronic press have I recently found any example of *bai* or *bin* in prepositional function." (translated by LF)

[45] (i) Ta bula bai nos ta bula bai Hulanda. (Bold in original removed)
FOC fly go 1PL TA fly go Holland
"We really fly to Holland" (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 215)

any case certain that it is going to take place (Bendix 1972: 52f., Valeriano Salazar 1974: 45).

(32) e ta-bay hasy- é
'she is going to do it" (Bendix 1972: 52)

Secondly, *bai*/*bay* and *bin* can further behave like auxiliaries to express purpose and/or assertion when they precede another verb (Bendix 1972: 51f., Valeriano Salazar: 46f., Jacobs 2012: 241ff.). Bendix (1972) considers this use to be an inceptive aspectual marker:

(33) un amigo di-mi a- bin mi kas, bin puntra- mi pa nos bay
INDF friend of 1SG PFV come 1SG house come ask 1SG for 1PL go
kunuku, bay wak kabaya-nan.
countryside go see horse-PL
"a friend of mine came to my house to/and[46] asked me whether we could go to the farm to/and watch the horses" (Bendix 1972: 51)

Wood (1971a: 61f.) also claims that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be used as an auxiliary to mark an incipient action, i.e. to indicate the start of the action expressed by the verb that follows. Martinus (1996: 189) also suggests that *bin* functions as an aspectual marker when it precedes a main verb, e.g. *el a bin logra* "he managed (at last)", and Valeriano Salazar (1974: 44, 47) claims that the morphemes have preserved the deictic value of their lexical counterparts, i.e. the use of *bai* and *bin* to express purpose and/or assertion is determined by the location of the speaker:

(34) a. el a sali bai kontra nan
"he went out to meet them" (he went to the airport) (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 47)

b. el a sali bin kontra nan
"he came out to meet them" (he came to my place) (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 47)

Bendix (1972: 52) notes that the purposive use of *bin* may also convey "an element of chance" in some cases. Thus, the action expressed by the verb following *bin* may possibly take place. Valeriano Salazar (1974: 47) shows that the auxiliaries *bai*/*bay* and *bin* can be replaced by the preposition *pa* "to" or combine with it to express purpose:

(35) el a sali pa kontra nan
el a sali pa bin kontra nan
el a sali bin pa kontra nan
"he came out to meet them" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 47)

[46] Bendix includes "to/and" in the translation to point out that "both purpose and assertion can be interpreted" (1972: 51). Valeriano Salazar (1974: 46) considers *bai*/*bay* and *bin* to have a connective function implying purpose or consequence. Martinus (1996: 189) considers *bin* to be a time sequencer.

Endruschat (2005: 185f.) analyses *bai*/*bay* and *bin* with an assertive/purposive function as prepositional or adverbial elements due to a process of grammaticalization and claims the dissolution of SVCs in Pp.

Thirdly, Bendix (1972: 53f.) further points to the aspectual function of *bai*/*bay* indicating the continuation of the action expressed by the preceding verb:

(36) a. balya bay
dance go
"dance on" (Bendix 1972: 53)

b. landa bay
swim go
"swim on and on (all day)" (Bendix 1972: 54)

Fourthly, *bai*/*bay* can also function as an adverb conveying the direction away or involving disappearance when it follows another verb (Bouscholte 1978: 222ff., Bendix 1972: 50):

(37) a. e blenchi a bula bai
DEF colibri PFV fly go[47]
"the colibri flew away" (Bouscholte 1978: 224)

b. el a sali bai
DEF PFV exit go
"he went out" (Bouscholte 1978: 226)

Bendix (1972: 54) shows that sentence (36b) can be ambiguous, as *bai*/*bay* can also be interpreted to display an adverbial function:

(38) landa bay
swim go
"swim away" (Bendix 1972: 54)

It is worth noting that Bendix (1972: 50-54) uses the term *serial-like strings* to refer to the verb combinations in which *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in V_1 or V_2 position display an auxiliary function, i.e. future, aspectual, adverbial or purposive/assertive marker. Serial-like strings oppose *serial-verb strings* (actual SVCs), where the constituents are verbs (see 1972: 9). Therefore, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) display full lexical meaning in serial-verb strings, while they exhibit auxiliary functions in serial-like strings.

Apart from the semantic and functional changes that the directional verbs have undergone, there is also evidence of their phonetic erosion, i.e. *bai*/*bay* into *be* and *bini* into *bin* (Bendix 1972: 51, 53). However, Muller (1989: 344f.), Martinus (1996: 189)

[47] Examples (37 a, b) were glossed by LF.

and Jacobs (2012: 246) note that while both *bini* and *bin* can be used as lexical verbs, only the reduced form *bin* can display non-lexical functions.[48]

4.3.4 Evolution of V_1 in serial verb constructions into a modifying verb

Some authors have acknowledged the difference between verb lexemes that exhibit full lexical meaning in some contexts and adverbial or aspectual functions in others (Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974, Maurer 1988, Muller 1989, Jacobs 2015).

In the previous subsection, Bendix (1972: 50-54) was shown to have acknowledged the existence of verb combinations with *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in V_1 and V_2 position that, despite their resemblance to SVCs, are best analysed as *serial-like strings*. The morphemes *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) perform auxiliary functions in these constructions. In a similar way, the author notes further cases where verbs like *bula* "jump", *kore*/*core* "run" and *dal* "strike" act as auxiliaries expressing, e.g., adverbial meaning, aspect and Aktionsart, in combination with other verb lexemes in serial-like strings (1972: 54f.). According to Bendix, *bula* "jump" as an auxiliary verb expresses the fact that the action indicated by the other verb in the series is done suddenly, *sinta* "sit" emphasizes the duration of the action expressed by the other verb in the cluster (it does not necessarily involve a sitting position), *kore*/*core* "run" conveys the meaning that an activity is performed in a rush and *dal* "strike" involves an action having taken place quickly. Note that Bendix (1972: 54f.) establishes a difference between sentences (39) and (40). While (39) is considered to be a *serial-like string*, i.e. *dal* behaves like an auxiliary, (40) is an actual SVC:

(39) dal sera e porta
strike close the door
"close the door in a flash" (Bendix 1972: 54)

(40) dal e porta sera
strike the door close
"strike/throw/slam the door shut" (Bendix 1973: 55)

Bendix argues that *bula* "jump", *sinta* "sit", *kore*/*core* "run" and *dal* "strike" as auxiliary verbs are "homonymous" counterparts of the full lexical verbs from which they derive and with which they share some features. Furthermore, the contiguity of these auxiliaries with the other verbs in the series may resemble SVCs:

> Although some of these auxiliaries may be seen and still sensed as metaphorical extensions of the independent verbs, they must be described in their own right. All are followed immediately by their verb complements, and the structures thus formed can give the false impression of being serial-verb strings. (Bendix 1972: 54)

[48] See also Jacobs (2012b: 241-246) and references therein for further auxiliary functions of *bin*. The author suggests that the use of *bin* as an auxiliary is a universal tendency and refers to periphrases with "come" that are available in Portuguese and Spanish.

Valeriano Salazar (1974) also distinguishes SVCs from two other syntactic constructions that are best classified separately, despite the fact that they also convey a single action and are formed using two lexematic verbs: aspectual and manner constructions.[49] In aspectual constructions, the aspect is conveyed by the meaning of one of the verbs in the series.[50] For example, the author includes the expression of duration with the lexeme *sinta* "sit", which does not involve a sitting position as aspectual marker (1974: 76). Note that Valeriano Salazar not only includes *sinta* with a durative specification as part of a durative aspectual construction but also as subclass 2 of her list of SVCs, where one of the verbs may have lost its lexical meaning (see example (43) below). In manner constructions, the first verb expresses the manner of the action represented by the second verb, e.g. *bula lanta* (lit. fly get up) "get up quickly", *bula bisa* "say suddenly" (1974: 81-84). Maurer (1988: 257) also observes the loss of lexical meaning in verbs such as *bula* "fly" and the acquisition of adverbial meaning in combination with another verb.

Further, Valeriano Salazar (1974: 93) acknowledges the (possible) lack of lexical meaning of one of the verbs that form part of her subclasses 1 and 2 of the classification of Pp SVCs (see her classification in 4.1). In her subclass 1, one of the verbs does not display lexical meaning in combination with another verb:

(41) a. tur a kai sinta rondo di Dolfi
all PFV fall sit around of D.[51]
"everybody sat down around Dolfi" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93)

b. el a kai muri ora ku e tabata traha
3SG PFV fall die when 3SG PST.IPFV work
"he died while he was working" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93)

c. el a kai drumi
3SG PFV fall sleep
"he lay down" (in order to sleep or rest) (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93)

Bouscholte (1978: 240) notes that *kai* has an adverbial function in *kai drumi* (lit. fall sleep) "lay down". Lenz (1927: 171f.) interprets *kai sinta* (lit. fall sit) as "sentarse de golpe" "to sit down in a brusque manner" and *kai pèrde* (lit. fall lose) as "perderse" "to get lost, disappear" (1927: 179). Wood (1971a: 62) objects to the interpretation provided by Lenz, claiming that *kai*/*cay* "has no content implying violent or precipitate action". The linguist considers it to be an auxiliary that indicates the beginning of the action expressed by V_2. Likewise, Luidens et al. (2015: 110) attribute *kai*/*cay* an inchoative aspectual meaning:

[49] Thus, the scholar includes neither aspectual constructions (cf. Lenz 1927) nor SVCs that express manner as verb serialization. Note that Aikhenvald (2006: 29f.) does consider the latter constructions to be cases of verb serialization and includes them in her *symmetrical* SVCs.
[50] Valeriano Salazar (1974: 74-81) includes the following subtypes of aspectual constructions: inceptive constructions using the verb *kuminsá*/*cuminsa* "start"; durative constructions using *sigui*/*sigi* "continue", *keda* "stay", *sinta* "sit/sit down" and on some occasions also *para* "stop"; completive constructions using *kaba*/*caba* "finish"; inchoative using *para* "stop" and iterative using *bolbe* "return".
[51] All examples taken from Valeriano Salazar (1974) were glossed by LF.

(42) Swinda a cay drumi mesora. (Luidens et al. 2015: 110)
S. PFV fall sleep immediately
"Swinda fell asleep immediately."

In Valeriano Salazar's (1974) subclass 2, one of the verbs may lack its lexical meaning, i.e. "one verb may or may not have semantic value depending on the context or the situation":

(43) e tabata sinta hunga
3SG PST.IPFV sit play
"he used to sit to play"
"he used to play" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 94)

Muller (1989: 364) claims that *bula* and *kai* in V_1 position convey the meaning that the action of V_2 took place rapidly. In some cases, *bula* does not imply that the event in V_2 was done fast, but that the period of time between the decision that V_2 was to be undertaken and the execution of the action was short:

(44) Hagler a bula firma e kontrato (Muller 1989: 364)
H. PFV jump sign DEF contract
"Hagler signed the contract immediately"

Similarly, Muller points out that *grita* as V_1 in combination with the lexemes *hari* "laugh" and *yora* "cry" involves the action conveyed in V_2 being performed in a loud manner (Muller 1989: 364f.):

(45) a. Sira a grita hari (Muller 1989: 365)
S. PFV shout laugh
"Sira laughed loud"

b. E mucha a grita yora (Muller 1989: 365)
DEF child PFV shout cry
"The child cried loud"

Moreover, Muller (1989: 379-388) proposes some verbs that convey an aspectual function in combination with another verb. Among others, he proposes *sinta* "sit" in V_1 position, which indicates the duration of the action performed in V_2 (1989: 383).

Finally, Jacobs (2015: 63) proposes the semantic erosion and even complete semantic loss of the first constituent of intransitive directional SVCs, e.g. *bula* "fly" and *kore* "run", and the development of adverbial functions. According to Jacobs, V_1 behaves like a minor verb and V_2 like a major verb in the following verb combinations: *kore bai* (lit. run go) "go running", *kore bini* (lit. run come) "come running", *bula bai* (lit. fly go) "go/leave suddenly" and *bula bisa* (lit. fly say) "suddenly say". However, Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 47) claim that *bai*/*bay* is the modifying verb specifying the direction of V_1 in SVCs like *kore bai*/*core bay*, which is exactly the opposite to what Jacobs asserts. In any case, the author claims that it is difficult to interpret the

main/major and modifying/minor verbs in some SVCs: “It is not always clear which verb modifies which” (Jacobs 2015: 63).

4.4 Some notes on motion and directional verbs in Papiamentu/o

As various non-serial ways of expressing direction in Pp will be presented in 5.7, and the syntax of motion and directional verbs in Pp as well as their synchronic variation will also be addressed, I will summarize the state of the art on this issue below.

There is unanimity that the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* “go” and *bini* “come” are followed by a preposition-less phrase (Lenz 1927: 193, Wood 1971a: 63, Goilo 1972: 42, Sebba 1987: 191, Maurer 1988: 42,[52] 2013: 176, Munteanu 1991: 183, 1996: 389, Bartens 1995: 255, Jacobs 2009: 335f., 2012b: 103, 241, Michaelis et al. 2013a: 316, van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191). The goal is conveyed by means of an NP because the verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bini* inherently express direction.

(46) a. Mi ta bai cas.
“I go home” (Goilo 1972: 42)

b. Mi ta bai ciudad cu auto.
“I go to town by car” (Goilo 1972: 42)

However, Goilo (1972: 42) and Muller (1989: 201) indicate some contexts in which prepositions are used after directional verbs. First, Goilo (1972: 42) notes that some prepositions can be used after directional verbs under certain circumstances. *Na* is used to express direction towards a thing (47), *den* to a room in a house (48) and *serka*/*seka*/*cerca* to a person (49):[53]

(47) Mi ta bai *na* porta.
“I go to the door” (Goilo 1972: 42)

(48) Mi ta bai *den* kamber.
“I go to the bedroom” (Goilo 1972: 42)

(49) Mi ta bai *cerca* dokter.
“I go to the doctor” (Goilo 1972: 42)

Note that van Putte and van Putte-de Windt (2014: 191) omit the preposition *serka*/*seka*/*cerca* in “[e]l a bai dòkter” “he goes to the doctor”.

Second, Muller (1989: 201) acknowledges a semantic difference between the use and the absence of the preposition *na* after directional verbs. According to the author,

[52] Maurer (1988: 42) notes that some motion verbs may be followed by a preposition. This group of verbs will be addressed later.

[53] The same thing applies when *bai* is part of a directional SVC:

(i) Ofelia a kana bai na e kama… (Lauffer 2013: 14)
O. PFV walk go PREP DEF bed
“Ofelia walked to the bed…”

sentence (51) conveys more clearly that the agent of the action actually entered the supermarket. Thus, while the insertion of the preposition *na* in (50) conveys an allative reading, the omission of the preposition in (51) entails an illative interpretation:

(50) El a bai na e supermerkado ei (Muller 1989: 201)
3SG PFV go PREP DEF supermarket there
"S/he went to that supermarket." (but s/he did not enter)

(51) El a bai e supermerkado ei (Muller 1989: 201)
3SG PFV go DEF supermarket there
"S/he went to that supermarket." (and entered it)

Conversely, motion verbs often require prepositions introducing the locative goals because their semantics usually lacks directional determination. Thus, prepositions are inserted to fill the directional void, as set out below:

> Wanneer een startpunt of het einddoel niet besloten ligt in de betekenis van het werkwoord… en we zekerheid willen dat onze besprekspartner ons goed begrijpt, dan zullen we en voorzetsel moeten gebruiken.[54]
>
> (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191)

Further, in those cases where the directional or motion verb already conveys the direction in its semantics, a preposition must be used to indicate the opposite direction. For example, *sali* "leave" is followed by an NP when the location is conceived to be the starting point of the motion (52), i.e. the place we leave. However, a preposition must be inserted if the intended location is the target (53) (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191f.):

(52) Ora m' a sali kas [...] (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191)
when 1SG PFV leave house
"When I left home"

(53) El a sali pa Hulanda. (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191)
3SG PFV leave to Netherlands
"He left for the Netherlands/he went to the Netherlands."

Similarly, no preposition is found after *bai*/*bay* if the location expressed afterwards is the target (see sentences in (46)), but a preposition needs to be inserted if the location is regarded as the starting point (54):

(54) El a bai for di kas… (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 192)
3SG PFV go out of house
"He went out of the house…"

[54] When a starting point or the target is not included in the meaning of the verb… and we want to make sure that our interlocutor understands us well, then we must use a preposition (translated by LF).

To conclude, a directional PP can be dispensed with when the semantics of the verb clearly indicates the direction. Nevertheless, a preposition is required when the semantics of the verb is vague or expresses the opposite direction of the one that is intended to be conveyed.

4.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to present a summary of the state of art concerning SVCs in Pp and the paths of evolution followed by the verbs that participate in intransitive directional and resultative SVCs.

The first subsection showed that there are discrepancies regarding the types of SVCs available in Pp. Nevertheless, there is agreement that Pp exhibits intransitive directional SVCs as well as resultative SVCs – the two types of SVCs that will be investigated in chapters 5 and 6. Another aspect concerning which there is disagreement in the literature is whether those resultative constructions that have a resumptive pronoun after V_2 that co-refers with the object of V_1 are SVCs or cases of covert coordination.

The second subsection explained that while tense is only marked on the first verb in Pp SVCs, aspect can also be marked on the second verb constituent. No further information has been provided in the literature regarding the aspect marking on V_2.

The third subsection provided an overview of the different functions that have been assigned to directional, motion and other types of verbs in Pp. Thus, some verbs can function as lexical items in some contexts but convey grammatical functions in combination with a main verb in others. In the latter case, they can display different functions, e.g. aspectual markers, adverbial modifiers and prepositions. In a few cases, grammaticalization has been presented as the motor of evolution from lexical to functional words. Furthermore, instances of lexicalization have also been proposed for some Pp SVCs. Some authors have claimed that intransitive directional SVCs, such as *bula bai* and *kore bai*, and resultative SVCs like *tira mata* and *dal mata* have lexicalized.

Apart from behaving like full-fledged verbs, the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* “go” and *bin*(*i*) “come” can also display several grammatical functions, e.g. future, aspectual, purposive/assertive, adverbial markers and prepositions. Bendix (1972), Endruschat (2005, 2007) and Jacobs (2015) propose that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have evolved into prepositions, but do not show any morphosyntactic evidence of the development.

The verbs *kore*/*core* “run”, *bula* “fly, jump”, *dal* “hit” and *kai*/*cay* “fall” can act as lexical and function words. The motion verbs *bula* and *kore*/*core*, which usually occupy V_1 position in intransitive directional SVCs, as well as *dal* and *kai*/*cay*, which commonly surface in V_1 position in resultative SVCs, can display adverbial meaning and, in the case of *kai*/*cay*, also inceptive aspect in combination with other verbs in some contexts. However, some authors have suggested that it is difficult to interpret the meaning of these verbal combinations and to identify which verb in the series modifies the other. The grammatical functions displayed by these verbs derive from their full lexical verb counterparts.

Finally, the fourth subsection presented a summary of the syntax of Pp motion and directional verbs, which will be relevant for 5.7.

5. Empirical study: Analysis of syntactic variation in intransitive directional serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

5.1. Overview of intransitive directional serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

The following examples[1] provide a general overview of intransitive directional SVCs in Pp. Directional SVCs with transitive verbs and combinations of transitive and intransitive verbs will not be considered here.

(1)a. Aki hende-nan ta[2] bula bai Sürnam. (10_C_M_18-30)[3]
here person-PL TA fly go Suriname
"Here some people are flying to Suriname."

b. E mucha homber ta kore bai skol. (15_C_M_31-50)
DEF child boy TA run go school
"The boy is running to school."

c. Nos a hasi akinan mas fasil pa mi esposo por kana bai su kamber. (11_B_F_+70)
1PL PFV do here more easy COMP 1SG husband can walk go 3SG.POSS room
"We made things easier [in the house] so that my husband can walk to his room."

d. e ta kana bin pafó (21_C_F_31-50)
3SG TA walk come to.outside
"he is walking out"

[1] The examples from the spoken data were transcribed using two different spelling systems: the Aruban and the system used in Curaçao and Bonaire. Examples taken from the Aruban participants are written using Aruban orthography while the examples taken from Curaçaoan and Bonairean speakers use the spelling system used in these islands.

[2] I follow Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (2015) as regards glossing the preverbal marker *ta* as TA. The authors argue that non-gerundial *ta* does not mark a specific tense or aspect because it can occur in present, past, future, progressive and habitual contexts. It is considered to be a *dummy tense filler* and its presence is obligatory in the absence of the other preverbal markers (*lo*, *tabata* and *a*), except for with some stative verbs. Similarly, they claim that *a* is marked for perfective aspect only, while the temporal reference is loose, as it can be interpreted as past, present and future. For this reason, *a* is glossed as PFV. I prefer to gloss *tabata* as PST.IPFV (past imperfective) rather than only PAST in order to convey both the tense and the imperfective aspect. Gerundial *ta* is glossed as ASP to indicate its progressive/durative interpretation and to distinguish it from the preverbal marker *ta* (TA) (see also Muysken and Kouwenberg 2011: 19f.).

[3] Four pieces of information are included in brackets:
1- The first number stands for the number assigned to each participant on every island.
2- The letters A, B, C (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) indicate the dialect spoken.
3- The letters M and F (Male, Female) indicate the gender of the participants.
4- The last piece of information reveals the age group the informants belong to: <18, 18-30, 31-50, 51-70, 70+.

(2) Dos hende tabata bul-ando den avion bai Sürnam. (6_B_F_18-30)
two people PST.IPFV fly-GER LOC plane go Suriname
"Two people were flying in a plane to Suriname."

(3) a. E mucha ta kor-iendo ta bai skol. (19_C_F_18-30)
DEF child TA run-GER ASP go school
"The child is running to school."

b. E otro ta un... un pareha den un avion bul-ando bayendo Sürnam. (11_C_F_18-30)
DEF other COP INDF INDF couple LOC INDF plane fly-GER go.GER S.
"The other [picture] is a… a couple inside a plane flying to Suriname."

The intransitive directional SVCs in the examples above consist of two verb constituents: the first constituent (V_1) conflates motion and manner,[4] e.g. *kore*/*core* "run", *kana*/*cana*, "walk", *bula* "fly", *landa* "swim", etc., and the second constituent (V_2) indicates the direction deictically. The direction "away" is expressed using *bai*/*bay* "go" and the direction "towards the speaker" using *bin*(*i*) "come".[5] Thus, intransitive directional SVCs express a motion-direction semantic relation between the constituents, i.e. the agent moves in a specific manner to the destination marked by the deictic verb. While the meaning of V_1 is neutral with reference to direction, the meaning of V_2 is neutral in relation to motion or manner.

Further lexemes can occupy the V_1 position, e.g. *muda* "move (residence)", *biaha* "travel", *supla* "blow" and directed motion verbs like *baha* "go down" and *subi* "go up":[6]

(4) a. Prome e tabata biba na Muziekwijk, pero Ø a muda bay Almere. (21_A_F_+70)
first 3SG PST.IMP live LOC M. but PFV move go A.
"First s/he lived in Muziekwijk, but (s/he) moved to Almere."

b. Mi a biaha bay varios pais. (21_A_F_+70)[7]
1SG PFV travel go several country
"I have travelled to several countries."

[4] Bendix (1972: 54), Maurer (1988: 257) and Jacobs (2015: 63) comment on the loss of lexical meaning of motion verbs like *kore* "run" and *bula* "fly". This aspect will be dealt with in section 5.5.

[5] Direction can also be expressed by a transitive verb, as indicated in, e.g., Bendix (1972) and Jacobs (2015). However, as indicated at the beginning of this chapter, transitive directional SVCs or the combination of transitive and intransitive verbs in directional SVCs will not be considered here.

[6] *Baha* and *subi* can also be used transitively, as in the sentences below:

(i) Pokopoko nan a baha e trapi di kabuya bai abou. (Debrot 2008: 9)
little.REDUP 3PL PFV go.down DEF stair of rope go down
"Slowly they descended the rope stairs."

(ii) i subi-é pokopoko bai ariba. (Debrot 2008: 6)
and go.up-3SG little.REDUP go up
"and ascended it slowly."

[7] Some sentences used in (1) – (4) will be repeated for convenience when the data are explained further on in this chapter.

c. pasat nortost ku for di tempu di antaño ta supla bai
pasat north.east REL out of time of formerly TA blow go
esun banda ei… (Debrot 2008: 18)
DEM side there
"the northeast trade wind that from ancient times blows to that side…"

d. Anto nos a baha bay Aquarius Restaurant bay[8] come algo.
then 1PL PFV go.down go A. R. go eat something
a. "Then we went down to Aquarius Restaurant and ate something."
b. "Then we went down to Aquarius Restaurant to eat something."
(7_A_M_31-50)

All the sentences that have been presented so far exhibit same-subject serialization. That is, V_1 and V_2 share the same subject, which only surfaces in front of V_1. However, Pp intransitive directional SVCs can also present variability. As regards the position occupied by the verb constituents, there are cases of nuclear-layer serialization, e.g. (1), (3) and (4), where the verb forms are adjacent as well as core-layer serialization, e.g. (2), where linguistic material can intervene between V_1 and V_2. As regards the marking of tense and aspect, only V_1 is marked for tense/aspect in most cases, e.g. (1), (2) and (4), but V_2 can also be marked for aspect in some other cases, e.g. (3). In this chapter, I argue that the variation manifested among intransitive directional SVCs is due to a language-internal process, namely grammaticalization.

This chapter is structured as follows. In section 5.2, it is argued that the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have undergone a process of grammaticalization from full lexical verb to preposition. All stages from lexical to grammatical category coexist synchronically. In 5.3, it is shown that there is a process of coalescence, i.e. an increase in bondedness between motion and directional verbs, which leads to the semantic bleach and merger of the directional V_2 into the motion V_1. In section 5.4, it is shown that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be used in different contexts, carrying out diverse grammatical functions. In 5.5, it is proposed that the motion verbs *bula* "fly, jump" and *kore*/*core* "run" in the V_1 position in a complex predicate can also function as light verbs forming light verb constructions (LVCs). Section 5.6 presents an interim conclusion. In 5.7, further structures that can be used for the expression of direction in Pp are introduced. Section 5.8 presents quantitative data regarding the preferences among participants for expressing directionality in Pp. Section 5.9 presents the informants' interpretation of the acceptability and unacceptability of the possible ways of expressing direction in Pp. Finally, section 5.10 provides a conclusion.

5.2 Directional verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come": From full lexical verb to preposition

As was shown in 3.1.4., serial verbs tend to undergo processes of grammaticalization cross-linguistically. The evolution of full lexical verbs into adpositions via verb serialization constitutes a common path of grammaticalization:

[8] The use of *bai*/*bay* as an assertative/purposive marker is discussed in 5.4.4.

(5) full verb → serial verb → coverb → adposition (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 34, 104)

The path of grammaticalization whereby adpositions develop from full verbs has four stages. In the first stage, the lexeme behaves like a full-fledged verb. In the second, the verb is used in serialization and gradually starts losing its verbal properties. The third stage constitutes an intermediate phase, during which the verb continues losing its morphosyntactic features and semantic/lexical content. In the last stage, the verb (completely) lacks verbhood and takes on a grammatical function. As a result of this process, a lexical category develops into a grammatical word.

Based on the data presented in 3.1.4.1, I will elaborate on the evolution of the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions by presenting new empirical data that will evidence their prepositional status and the synchronic coexistence of all four stages of the grammaticalization cline in Pp. Below, I illustrate the four stages of the grammaticalization cline using examples taken from the spoken data gathered during my fieldwork on the ABC islands, as well as with instances taken from texts written in Pp.

5.2.1 Stage I: Full lexical verb

Bai/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can function as full-fledged verbs in Pp:

(6) a. Nan ta bai Sürnam. (12_C_F_51-70)
3PL TA go S.
"They are going to Suriname."

b. E crudo di Venezuela tawata[9] bini Lago. (19_A_M_+70)
DEF crude of V. PST.IPFV come L.
"The crude oil from Venezuela used to come to Lago."

The phonetically reduced form *bin* can also be used as a lexical category (see Muller 1989: 344, Jacobs 2012b: 246). Thus, *bini* and *bin* are allomorphs in free variation that can surface as only verbs in a predicate:

(7) a. E ta bin ku su garroti pa dal e hòmber.
3SG TA come with 3SG.POSS stick COMP hit DEF man
"He is coming with his stick to hit the man." (18_B_M_51_70)

b. Nan ta bin di Ulanda. (18_A_M_+70)
3PL TA come from Netherlands
"They come from the Netherlands."

[9] *Tawata* is a diatopic allomorph of *tabata* used in the Aruban variety (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 213).

5.2.2 Stage II: Serial verb

The directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can surface in Pp as serial verbs (V_2) following a motion verb (V_1). Motion and directional verbs together form intransitive directional SVCs whose structure can vary considerably, as was seen in the examples (1) – (3) above. According to the literature on Pp, only V_1 in an SVC carries a preverbal marker (Bendix 1972: 9, Valeriano Salazar 1974: 84f., 88) and has scope over the other verb(s) in the series (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 47). Bendix (1972: 9) acknowledges the possible insertion of the imperfective preverbal marker *ta* on V_2. However, the author does not provide further information in that regard.

Some examples were attested in my corpus of elicited spoken data in which V_2 is also marked for aspect either via the preverbal marker *ta* or the gerund suffix. The directional serial verb *bai*/*bay* can surface in three different guises: in the bare form, marked by the aspectual preverbal marker *ta* or inflected for gerund. My data show that *bin*(*i*) can only surface in the bare form in V_2 position in an intransitive directional SVC.

Serial verb in the bare form

In (8) and (9), there is only one preverbal marker in an SVC. The tense/aspectual marker is always located in front of V_1. If there is a gerundive, as in (9), only the first verb in the series takes the aspectual suffix *–ando* or *–iendo*.

(8) a. Nan ta **bula bay** Surinam. (2_A_F_31-50)
3PL TA fly go Suriname
"They fly/are flying to Suriname."

b. Mi a **biaha bay** varios pais. (21_A_F_+70)
1SG PFV travel go several country
"I have travelled to several countries."

(9) a. Nos ta[10] **bul-ando bay** Surinam. (12_A_M_31-50)
1PL TA fly-GER go Suriname
"We are flying to Suriname."

b. Anto dos persona ta **biah-ando bay** Surinam. (6_A_M_18-30)
then two people TA travel-GER go Suriname
"Then two people are travelling to Suriname."

c. E mucha ta **kor-iendo bai** skol òf e ta **kamin-ando** **bai** skol. (14_B_F_51-70)
DET child TA run-GER go school or 3SG TA walk-GER go school
"The child is running to school or he is walking to school."

[10] Van Putte and van Putte-de Windt (2014: 86, 99) distinguish between *ta* and *tabata* as preverbal markers and *ta* and *tabata* as auxiliaries when followed by a gerund form.

Serial verb preceded by the aspect marker *ta*

A few cases were attested in my corpus in which aspect is marked on both V_1 and V_2. In (10), the preverbal marker *ta* is located in front of both the first and the second verb constituents of the SVCs. However, only the initial verbs, i.e. *bula* "fly" and *kore* "run", are inflected for gerund, while the second verb, i.e. *bai* "go", is left in the bare form:

(10) a. Anto nan **ta** **bul-ando** **ta** **bai** Sürnam. (4_B_F_18-30)
then 3PL TA fly-GER ASP go S.
"Then they are flying to Suriname."

b. E mucha **ta** **kor-iendo** **ta** **bai** skol. (19_C_F_18-30)
DEF child TA run-GER ASP go school
"The child is running to school."

The narrative consecutive reading or aspect change in verb chains suggested by Maurer (1988) and Maurer et al. (2013b) (see 4.2.) does not apply here for two reasons. First, the initial verb is not marked for perfective. Second, the actions represented by the verbs above are not interpreted as consecutive, but as overlapping.[11] According to the informants who were consulted regarding the sentences in (10), the use of *ta* in front of the directional V_2 *bai*/*bay* emphasizes the progressivity and the simultaneity of the actions. Thus, the two actions take place at the same time and, furthermore, the speaker utters the sentence at that very same time that the actions are developing, i.e. the actions are still underway, the duration is emphasized. In any case, it must be pointed out that most informants objected to the presence of *ta* on the directional V_2 and insisted on the fact that there can only be one overt TMA marker per SVC in Pp. The TMA marker must be in front of the initial verb of the SVC.

Serial verb inflected for gerund

In other cases, aspect can be marked on both V_1 and V_2 via the inflection of both verb constituents for gerund (11), as well as via the insertion of the aspect marker *ta* in front of the SVC and the gerundive form on both V_1 and V_2 (12). In these cases, the intransitive directional SVC surfaces within a gerundial clause and a direct perception clause, respectively:[12]

[11] Furthermore, a sequential reading would alter the meaning. Going one step further, the insertion of the conjunction *i*/*y* between the verbs in this type of SVC would bring about a semantic change (see Jacobs 2015: 62). This is observed in the following sentence, in which there is no intransitive directional SVC:
(i) Avion priva cu dos pasahero ta bula y bay Surinam. (8_A_F_31-50)
plane private with two passenger TA fly CONJ go S.
"A private plane with two passengers is flying and going to Suriname."

[12] The literature only contains information regarding the marking of imperfective aspect with direct perception verb constructions and gerundials in those cases where only one verb appears in that position, but no information is mentioned when an SVC surfaces at that location. The imperfective aspect can be exhibited in Pp with the imperfective marker *ta* followed by the verb in bare form (see Kouwenberg and Lefebvre 2015, Muysken and Kouwenberg 2011) as well as by the gerundive (Bendix 1972: 42f.). Note that Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (2015: 311f.) claim that the use of the gerundive in gerundial contexts is unacceptable.

(11) E otro ta un... un pareha den un avion **bul-ando** **bayendo**
DEF other COP INDF INDF couple LOC INDF plane fly-GER go.GER
Sürnam. (11_C_F_18-30)
S.
"The other [picture] is a… a couple inside a plane flying to Suriname."

(12) Prome potret mi ta wak un mucha homber **ta**
first picture 1SG TA observe INDF child man ASP
cor-iendo **bayendo** hopi lihe bay scol. (10_A_M_18-30)
run-GER go.GER very fast go school
"In the first picture I observe/see a boy running to school very fast."

Sentences (11) and (12) are the only examples attested in my corpus in which both verb constituents of an SVC within a gerundial clause are inflected for gerund. No example was found where only the first verb in a series or the second is inflected for gerund. In any case, it is clear that there is no internal pause in (12) between *coriendo* and *bayendo*, i.e. they form a single intonation contour. However, a slight break can be perceived in (11). In any case, the informants who were asked about these sentences objected to the inflection of V_2 for gerund, and stated that only V_1 can be inflected for gerund, or none of the verbs, as in (13):

(13) a.Den e prome imagen mi ta wak un mucha homber **ta** **core**
LOC DEF first picture 1SG TA see INDF child man ASP run
bay scol. (9_A_F_18-30)
go school
"On the first picture I see a boy running to school."

b. pasó tin un hòmber bieu **ta** **kana** **bin** serka dje.
because EXT INDF man old ASP walk come PREP 3SG.RES
"because there is an elderly man walking towards him." (4_B_F_18-30)

(i) Un homber ta para na bentana ta grita un otro meneer.
INDF man COP stand.PTCP LOC window ASP shout INDF other sir
"A man is standing at the window shouting at another man." (13_A_M_51-70)

(ii) E tata ku su yiu ta wak e pato land-ando den riu
DEF father with 3SG.POSS son TA observe DEF duck swim-GER LOC river
"The father and his son see the duck swimming in the river" (19_A_M_+70)

However, a third possibility was attested in the data from my fieldwork. The imperfective aspect can also be expressed by the realization of both the aspectual marker *ta* and the gerundive, as in (12):

(iii) a. mi ta wak un homber den bentanta ta zundr-ando un trahado.
1SG TA see INDF man LOC window ASP yell-GER INDF worker
"I see a man in the window yelling at a worker." (10_A_M_18-30)

b. Aki bo ta mira un hende ku un un boor ta bor-ando
here 2SG TA see INDF person with INDF INDF drill ASP dig-GER
un burako. (17_C_M_+70)
INDF hole
"Here you see a person with a a drill boring a hole."

When an intransitive directional SVC appears in a gerundial clause, the three possibilities mentioned above are available.

In the above sentences, the SVCs *core bay* "run go" and *kana bin* "walk come" are preceded by the aspectual marker *ta*, and both verbs are left in the bare form.[13]

Hence, SVCs in direct perception clauses and gerundials can exhibit a variable pattern. First, the aspectual marker *ta* can precede only the first verb or both constituents of the SVC, and the verbs surface in the bare form. Second, both constituents of the intransitive directional SVC can be inflected for gerund with no preverbal marker. Third, both constituents can be inflected for gerund, and the preverbal marker *ta* appears in front of the initial verb component.

The inflection of both verb constituents of an intransitive directional SVC for gerund can also be attested outside gerundial and perception clauses. The following example was found in the press:

(14) Tin hopi hende cu **ta** **biah-ando** **bayendo** Colombia, tin hende
EXT many person REL TA travel-GER go.GER C. EXT people
ta bay Ecuador, Peru, diferente caminda, pa trabao of personal...
TA go E. P. different way for work or personal
"There are many people who are travelling to Colombia, there are people going to Ecuador, Peru, different places for work or personal reasons"
(24ora.com, 31.01.2016)[14]

In the example above two different strategies were used to indicate the progressive/imperfective aspect. First, both verbs of the directional SVC have been inflected for gerund, i.e. *biahando bayendo*, within a subordinate relative clause. Second, the aspectual marker *ta* has been used together with the bare form of the verb *bay*, i.e. *ta bay*, in a gerundial relative clause.

To sum up, the data show variation regarding the possibility of *bai*/*bay* as V_2 in intransitive directional SVCs being marked for aspect. While *bai*/*bay* as V_2 is left in the bare form in most cases, it can be preceded by the aspectual marker *ta* or inflected for gerund in other cases, which appear to be rather marginal. Note that no case of *bin*(*i*) being marked for aspect can be attested in the corpus.

Overt subject on V_2?

Three examples resemble the tense/aspect and subject agreement among serial verbs found in languages such as Akan (Schachter 1974a) and Mauritian Creole (Syea 2013):

(15) E mucha ta kore |e ta bayendo skol. (8_C_M_31-50)
DEF child TA run 3SG TA go.GER school
"The child is running, he is going to school."

[13] See further examples with the SVCs *kore pasa* "run pass" and *drift bai* "drift go" in the annex.
[14] http://www.24ora.com/local-mainmenu-5/104725-un-apelacion-na-tur-hende-por-fabor-meld-na-tempo-na-dbz-si-tin-sospecho-di-zika, [last accessed 14.09.2016]
All examples taken from online newspapers were last accessed on 14.09.2016, unless indicated otherwise.

(16) E ta core | e[15] ta bay scol. (20_A_M_+70)
3SG TA run 3SG TA go school
"He is running, he is going to school."

(17) E mucha ta core e ta bay scol. (14_A_F_51-70)
DEF child TA run 3SG TA go school
"The child is running (and) he is going to school."

Example (15) deviates from Syea's examples for two reasons. First of all, there is no aspect agreement between the verbs. *Bayendo* is inflected for progressive aspect, whereas *kore* is not. Moreover, there are two intonation contours. Sentence (16) slightly digresses as there seems to be a brief phonological break after the first verb. However, (17) closely resembles the phenomenon present in Mauritian Creole, as the preverbal marker on the initial verb is copied in the second one, and the second verb in the cluster, i.e. *bay*, displays a copy of the subject of the initial verb. In addition, there is no prosodic break between *e mucha ta core* and *e ta bay scol*. A few informants who were consulted about sentence (17) claimed that such a sentence is unacceptable in Pp unless there is a pause between the two clauses. This would result in two sentences:

(18) E mucha ta core | e ta bay scol.
DEF boy TA run 3SG TA go school
"The boy is running, he is going to school."

Since example (17) is the only instance found in the corpus of spoken data and, apart from that, informants unanimously rejected such a structure in Pp, subject pronouns cannot be overtly realized on V_2 in Pp SVCs.

To conclude, I argue that the variation exhibited by the directional serial verb *bai*/*bay* (V_2) regarding its being marked or left unmarked for aspect in an SVC is related to its synchronic variable status, i.e. as a serial verb (stage II) and as a serial verb turning into a coverb (stage III). The variation concerning the form in which the second constituent of intransitive directional SVCs can surface in Pp represents a *continuum*. On the one hand, V_2 *bai*/*bay* partially retains its verb properties in stage II because it can carry the preverbal aspect marker *ta* and can be inflected for gerund. On the other hand, the serial verb is mostly left in the bare form, which suggests the loss of its mophosyntactic verb properties. Moreover, the directional serial verb may exhibit semantic ambiguity in some cases because it can be interpreted as conveying full lexical and grammatical meaning. Furthermore, it expresses the direction of V_1 deictically. The variation suggests gradual evolution from stage II to stage III.

5.2.3 Stage III: Coverb

As was shown in 2.1.5, the evolution from one stage to the next in a grammaticalization cline has been regarded as a gradual one. That is, the boundaries between the categories

[15] This pronoun is phonetically reduced. It is difficult to perceive.

and the functions exhibited by the linguistic items are difficult to demarcate, as the stages usually overlap and frequently different stages coexist synchronically.[16] The gradualness of grammaticalization is acknowledged by the fact that it is difficult to establish clear boundaries between stage II and stage III. In this section, I will present evidence of the loss of verbal status of the directional-deictic serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), which indicates their being included in the category of coverb.[17] Remember that the literature has provided different terms for this stage, e.g., verbids, prepositional verbs, verbpositions, verbal prepositions and directional verbs (see 3.1.4.1).

V_2 in the bare form

The first piece of evidence for the loss of verbal status was provided in the previous section, where *bai*/*bay* as V_2 of an intransitive directional SVC is seldom marked for aspect. Note that no instances of V_2 *bin*(*i*) preceded by *ta* or inflected for gerund were attested. The tendency to leave the directional serial verbs in their bare form suggests the loss of their verb properties or, at least, their weakened verbal status when they surface as serial verbs.

As was seen in 2.1.4, phonetic erosion is considered to be a sign of grammaticalization. The second constituent of the directional SVC in (19) may appear to exhibit phonetic erosion because it surfaces as *bin* rather than as the full form *bini*:

(19) nos a hui bin Kòrsou... (Melfor 2013: 47)
1PL PFV flee come C.
"we fled to Curaçao…" (deictic direction towards the speaker)

The phonetic reduction of *bin* could be taken as evidence of the grammaticalization of the directional serial verb. However, as was claimed in regard to (7), the phonetically reduced form *bin* can also be used as a full-fledged verb in Pp, i.e. it can appear as the only verb in a predicate. Thus, it does not constitute proof of the grammaticalization of the second component of intransitive directional SVCs.

Tests for the verbal status of serial verbs

Four syntactic tests are suggested in Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978) for assessing the verbal status of serial verbs. One of the tests has been ascribed crucial relevance: the predicate cleft (see also Veenstra and den Besten 1995)[18]. Predicate cleft constructions focus on the action expressed by the verb that is being clefted. For this

[16] Note Heine's (1993: 66) observation: "[W]e are dealing with chains and since chains are by definition continuous structures, setting up stages along these structures must remain an arbitrary and/or artificial endeavor".

[17] Endruschat (2007: 163), following Lehmann, also uses the term "coverb" to refer to grammaticalized serial verbs in Pp, which in some cases can evolve into adpositions.

[18] Migge (1998) and Hagemeijer (2001) also use the predicate cleft test to prove the non-verbal status of V_2 in the languages under investigation. The authors also ascribe the fact that it is unacceptable for V_2 to be marked for tense/aspect to the loss of verbal properties.

purpose, a copy of the verb appears in initial position optionally preceded by a focus marker, depending on the language.

Predicate cleft constructions in Pp have been described in several studies (see Kouwenberg and Murray 1994, Kouwenberg and Musyken 1995, Muysken and Law 2001: 52f., Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007). However, the object of study was the clefting of verbs in mono-verbal predicates. To my knowledge, Pp serial verbs have not yet been dealt with in connection with predicate cleft constructions in the literature.

In Pp predicate cleft constructions, the verb is copied at the beginning of the sentence, and it is preceded by the focus marker or highlighter *ta*. After consultation with some Pp native speakers, there was unanimity concerning the unacceptability to cleft V_2 *bai*/*bay* and *bini* of an intransitive directional SVC:

(20) a. * Ta bai nan ta bula bai Hulanda.
b. * Ta bai e mucha ta kore bai skol.
c. * Ta bini e mucha ta kana bini skol.

According to the speakers, only V_1 can be predicate clefted:

(21) a. Ta bula nan ta bula bai Hulanda.
FOC fly 3PL TA fly go H.
"They really fly to the Netherlands."
b. Ta kore e mucha ta kore bai skol.
FOC run DEF child TA run go school
"The child really runs to school."
c. Ta kana e mucha ta kana bini skol.
FOC walk DEF child TA walk come school
"The child really walks to school." (direction towards the speaker)

However, if the other three extraction tests proposed by Jansen, Koopman and Muysken (1978) are applied, the verbal status of *bai*/*bay* is clear, as neither sentence (22), (23) or (24) were accepted by the participants:

(22) *Esaki ta e lugá bai unda nos a bula wikènt pasá. (Relativization)
hier COP DEF place go where 1SG PFV fly weekend last
"This is the place where we flew to last weekend."

(23) *Bai unda el a biaha?[19] (Wh-question)
go where 3SG PFV travel
"Where did (s)he travel to?"

(24) *Ta bai Merka el a biaha. (Topicalization)
FOC go A. 3SG PFV travel
"It is the USA that he travelled to."

[19] A speaker proposed the following sentence, which suggests the compounding of *biaha bai*:
(i) Biaha bai el a biaha?
travel go 3SG PFV travel
"Where did (s)he travel to?"

The fact that it is unacceptable for *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to be pied-piped in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization suggests their verbal status.[20] Furthermore, the verbal status of *bai*/*bay* as V_2 was already acknowledged in the previous section, where this verb constituent was marked for aspect via the preverbal marker *ta* and the inflection for gerund, i.e. *bayendo*. However, the non-verbal status of the second constituent of Pp intransitive directional SVCs is clear when the predicate cleft test is applied.

To sum up, evidence from the predicate cleft test suggests that the morphemes *bai/bay* and *bini* lose their verb properties when they surface as serial verbs within intransitive directional SVCs. However, the other tests as well as the fact that *bai*/*bay* can receive aspect marking indicate their verbal status. These facts lead to the conclusion that the directional serial verbs *bai/bay* and *bini* in intransitive directional SVCs do not have clear-cut verbal or non-verbal status. They can synchronically exhibit morphosyntactic verb features, but they can also lack them. The variation attested in this type of serial verbs indicates the gradual and overlapping nature of grammaticalization.

Bondedness reduction among the constituents of intransitive directional SVCs

In all instances of intransitive directional SVCs that have been presented so far the verb constituents are contiguous, i.e. nuclear-juncture serialization (see Foley and Olson 1985). However, directional serial verbs may also surface non-adjacently, i.e. core-juncture serialization (see Foley and Olson 1985), as in (25):

(25) a. Dos hende tabata bul-ando den avion bai Sürnam. (6_B_F_18-30)
two people PST.IPFV fly-GER LOC plane go Suriname
"Two people were flying in a plane to Suriname."

b. Aki e mucha ta kore lihé lihé bai skol. (21_C_F_31-50)
here DEF boy TA run fast REDUP go school
"Here the boy is running to school very fast."

The components of the intransitive directional SVCs are separated by the PP *den avion* "in a plane" in (25a) and the reduplicated[21] form of the adverb *lihé* "fast" in (25b). These examples are the only instances found in my corpus of elicited spoken data in which the constituents of intransitive directional SVCs are not juxtaposed. Informants expressed their preference for the constituents surfacing contiguously.[22]

[20] The ability of *gi* "give" to be pied-piped in Ndyuka suggests its prepositional status, as only prepositions – and not verbs – can be pied-piped (Migge 1998: 249):
(i) Gi sama i seli a buku?
SV[give] who you sell the book
"For whom did you sell the book?" (Migge 1998: 250)

[21] See Bandeira and Freitas (2012), Kouwenberg (2003) and Maurer (1989) for an overview of reduplication in Pp.

[22] Some informants stated that they would possibly insert the PP *den avion* between the constituents of the intransitive directional SVC if they were to emphasize that the people flew to Suriname by plane.

The non-adjacent position of the directional V_2 in relation to the motion V_1 could hint at the fact that the former, i.e. V_2, seems to leave the scope of the SVC and set out to form an independent constituent, namely a PP (see Durie's 1988 centripetal tendency of serial verbs to evolve into prepositions).[23] The stage presented in (25) can be regarded as an intermediate one from directional serial verb (stage II) to actual adposition (stage IV). Examples will be presented below in which *bai*/*bay* and *bini* function as actual prepositions detached from the intransitive directional SVC. In any case, variation is attested in the bondedness of the members of the intransitive directional SVCs in Pp. However, in the absence of historical data, no direction of evolution can be claimed. Further diachronic research is needed to verify that.

To sum up, directional serial verbs lose further morphosyntactic properties in stage III. On the one hand, they are no longer marked for aspect, nor can they be predicate-clefted. On the other hand, they become detached from the motion V_1 and function semantically as a particle, indicating the direction deictically. *Bai*/*bay* functions as an allative marker indicating the direction away from the *deictic centre*[24], whereas *bin*(*i*) acts as a venitive marker indicating the direction towards the deictic centre. However, the negative results obtained in the extraction tests in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization indicate that they retain some verbal properties and, therefore, do not display full-fledged prepositional status. Due to the gradualness of grammaticalization, stages II and III are variable and overlapping. Stage III is to be regarded as preparatory to the directional serial verbs displaying prepositional properties and ultimately leaving the scope of the SVC. In the next section, the coverb is shown to evolve semantically and morphosyntactically from a deictic-directional particle into a preposition.

5.2.4 Stage IV: Adposition

New evidence will be presented in this section for the prepositional function displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in current Pp. First, examples will be provided in which *bai*/*bay* can be claimed to constitute a PP that introduces the directional complement after directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs. Second, examples will be provided in which *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are part of the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di…bai/bay…* and (*for*) *di…bin*(*i*)… "from…to…".

Prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* in a PP following directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs

In my corpus of elicited spoken data, a few instances were attested in which *bai*/*bay* can be claimed to act as a preposition. In these cases, *bai*/*bay* introduces the locative goal of a directional verb (see (26) and (27)) and an intransitive directional SVC (28):

[23] *Bai* in (25) could possibly be interpreted as a full lexical verb where the purposive marker *pa* has been omitted.
[24] I take this term from Lichtenberk (1991b).

(26) Nos grandi-nan antepasado a **bai** afó **bai** Venezuela bai[25]
1PL big-PL ancestor PFV go abroad go V. go
korta traha den mina-nan di oro na Venezuela. (12_B_M_+70)
cut work LOC mine-PL of gold LOC V.
"Our great ancestors went abroad to Venezuela and/to cut, work in the gold mines in Venezuela."

(27) Aki e mucha ta **bay** den pura **bay** scol. (28_A_F_51-70)[26]
here DEF child TA go LOC hurry go school
"Here the child is going to school in a hurry."

(28) Prome potret mi ta wak un mucha homber ta **cor-iendo**
first picture 1SG TA observe INDF child man ASP run-GER
bayendo hopi lihe **bay** scol. (10_A_M_18-30)
go.GER very fast go school
"In the first picture I see a boy running to school very fast."

In the three sentences above, an adverbial phrase, i.e. *afó* "abroad", *den pura* "in a hurry" and *hopi lihe* "very fast", is located between the directional verb or directional SVC and what I claim to be a PP introduced by *bai*/*bay*. I argue that the insertion of an adverbial phrase may have triggered the use of *bai*/*bay* functioning as a directional preposition to aid comprehension. In section 5.7.4, a parallel strategy will be shown, where speakers use the preposition *na* after directional verbs when an adverbial phrase is situated between the directional verb and the locative goal. I argue that the existence of a parallel non-serial structure (see motion verbs followed by a PP in 5.7.1) as well as the use of prepositions after directional verbs (see 5.7.4) may have exerted an influence on the grammaticalization of the serial verbs *bai/bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions.

However, examples can also be attested where no prepositional *bai*/*bay* has been used to introduce the goal complement, even though the intransitive directional SVC and the locative goal are not adjacent but separated by a clause and a pause:

(29) Dos pasahero den avion.. ta bula bay, laga mi weita,... Surinam.
two passenger LOC plane TA fly go let 1SG see S.
"Two passengers in a plane are flying to, let me see,… Suriname." (23_A_M_+70)

Despite the inclusion of the clause *laga mi weita* and a pause between the intransitive directional SVC *bula bay* and the directional complement *Surinam*, no directional preposition has been used to introduce the directional complement in (29). Evidence will be provided in section 5.7.4 of a parallel construction, namely the presence and absence of prepositions after directional verbs in similar contexts.

Moreover, the fact that *bay* in *bay scol* (28) is not inflected for gerund, i.e. *bayendo scol*, as the components of the SVC *coriendo bayendo* in fact are, can be regarded as a crucial piece of evidence of its non-verbal status. If *bay* were part of the SVC together with *coriendo bayendo*, it should have been inflected for gerund as well. It is worth

[25] The purposive/assertive function of *bai*/*bay* and *bin* is discussed in 5.4.4.
[26] This sentence was uttered by one of the speakers who learnt Pp as an adult.

recalling that most informants objected to V_2 carrying the aspectual marker *ta* or being inflected for gerund.

It could be argued that *bai*/*bay* continued to be further grammaticalized from coverb – or directional particle – indicating the direction of V_1 in a directional SVC to an actual directional preposition. *Bai*/*bay* exhibits prepositional status in sentences (26) – (28) introducing the locative goal after a directional verb and an intransitive directional SVC.[27]

To sum up, evidence was shown that *bai*/*bay* has further grammaticalized from coverb to a preposition indicating the direction after directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs. Furthermore, I argued that the presence of an adverbial phrase between the directional verb or directional SVC and the complement may have triggered the use of prepositional *bai*/*bay* to facilitate comprehension.

A similar phenomenon will be shown in section 5.7.4 where, despite the ungrammaticality/unacceptability according to the literature, the prepositions *na* and *pa* can be used to introduce locative goals after directional verbs. I claim that the insertion of these prepositions is due to a language-internal factor motivated by the desire to aid comprehension when an adverbial phrase is situated between the directional verbs and the locative goals. This strategy parallels the one found in sentences (26)–(28).

Prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in a correlative PP

The following examples clearly prove the prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). First, I will present the data concerning the morpheme *bai*/*bay*. *Bai*/*bay* appears as a part of the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di*[28]*….bai*/*bay* "from…to" (30) and *den….bai*/*bay* "in…to" (31). The fact that *bai*/*bay* neither follows a motion verb, i.e. it is not a serial verb, nor is marked for tense or aspect, i.e. it lacks a preverbal marker,[29] can be taken as major proof against its verbal and in favour of its prepositional status:

(30) a.	Nos	tabata	nuebe	ora	den	avion	**for**	**di**	Kòrsou	**bai**
	1SG	COP.PST	nine	hour	LOC	plan	from	of	C.	go

[27] Coming back to the examples in (25), the interpretation of *bai* as a preposition is not as straightforward as in examples (26)–(28). In (25) *bai* can be interpreted either as part of an intransitive directional SVC whose constituents are not contiguous or as the head of a PP. *Bai* can be interpreted as a preposition due to the inclusion of the adverbial phrases *den avion* "in a plane" and *lihé lihé* "very fast" between the motion verbs and the directional complements. This analysis parallels the examples in (26)–(28). In any case, the semantic/functional ambiguity of grammaticalizing items is often attested in the literature.

[28] The deadverbal complex preposition *for di* with its variants *foi* and *fei* originates from the Portuguese *fora de* "out of (a close place)", which follows a motion verb. However, due to having direct contact with the African substrate or the Afro-Portuguese contact via the creole languages spoken in the Gulf of Guinea (São-Tomense, Principense, Anobonense and Angolar), the preposition extended its function to indicate the spatial and temporal source of an activity instead of borrowing the Ibero-Romance preposition *desde* "since" (see Maurer 2005). According to the Maurer, the substrate languages present in the formation of Pp and the creoles of the Gulf of Guinea use a motion verb or a preposition historically derived from a motion verb to express the functions indicated by *for di* in Pp: the source of motion, as well as the spatial and the temporal beginning of an action.

[29] Verbs in simple sentences are preceded by a preverbal marker in Pp. Only some stative verbs can lack the preverbal marker *ta*, but an action verb like *bai*/*bay* always requires the presence of a preverbal marker.

Hulanda. (-18_B_M_14)
Netherlands
"We spent nine hours on the plane from Curaçao to the Netherlands."

b. pero nos a transfer **di** Sint Maarten **bai** Statia. (5_B_M_-18)
but 1PL PFV transfer from S. M. go S. E.
"but we transferred from Saint Martin to Saint Eustace."

c. E biahe a dura dos dia pasombra mi mester a
DEF travel PFV last two day because 1SG need PFV
sali **di** akinan **di** Kòrsou **bai** Venezuela, **di** Venezuela **bai**
exit from here from C. go V. from V. go
Frankfurt... Frankfurt **bai** Mumbai… (14_C_M_31-50)
F. F. go M.
"The trip lasted two days because I had to leave from here, from Curaçao to Venezuela/(and) go to Venezuela, from Venezuela to Frankfurt… [from] Frankfurt to Mumbai."

d. Un biaha ku mi a traha komo studiante riba un
INDF travel REL 1SG PFV work as student LOC INDF
bapor ehm.. pa bai **di** Kòrsou **bai** Fransia… (16_C_M_-18)
ship COMP go from C. go France
"Once I worked as student in a ship, ehm… in order to go from Curaçao to France"

(31) **Den** aña-nan setenta **bai** ariba a kuminsá influensha di spañó
LOC year-PL seventy go up PFV start influence of Spanish
voral. (16_C_M_+70)
mainly
"The influence of mainly Spanish started in the seventies onwards."

In the sentences above, *bai* is used as a directional preposition within the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di … bai* "from…to" and *den…bai* "in…to". There, *bai* expresses the direction deictically, away from the source. Examples (30a) and (30b) were uttered by speakers under 18 years of age, sentence (30c) by an informant in the 31–50 age group and sentences (30d) and (31) by an informant in the 70+ age group. Thus, the use of prepositional *bai* seems to be spread across the different generations. It is interesting to note that only participants from Curaçao and Bonaire resorted to the preposition *bai* in this context, which could raise doubts that this use has not extended to the Aruban diatopic variety. However, as was shown in examples (27) and (28) in the previous section, one female and one male Aruban speaker also used prepositional *bai*/*bay* after a directional verb and an intransitive directional SVC. Furthermore, according to the data, only male informants made use of *bai* with prepositional status in a correlative PP.

The reading of the first *bai* in (30c), i.e. *mi mester a sali di akinan di Kòrsou bai Venezuela*, could be ambiguous because it could also be interpreted as a full verb to be translated as "I needed to leave from here from Curaçao (and) go to Venezuela". However, it clearly functions as a preposition in *di Venezuela bai Frankfurt*, where *bai*

is part of the correlative preposition *di…bai* "from…to". The semantic/functional ambiguity of *bai* is linked to its grammaticalizing nature.

The spoken data provided no instance of *bin*(*i*) used prepositionally in a correlative PP such as *di…bin*(*i*) "from…to". However, some instances were attested in the press, as can be observed in the following examples taken from a Curaçaoan and an Aruban newspaper, respectively:

(32)a. Discusion riba e tema 'cambio climatologico' a inicia **for** **di**
discussion about DEF topic change climatic PFV begin out of
aña-nan 1950 **bin** ariba ora cu ø a cuminsa recoge dato-nan...[30]
year-PL come up when that PFV start collect data-PL
"The discussion about climate change began from the 50s onwards when data started to be collected…"

b. Atraves di 50 aña BBC Wildcats a logra diferente eksitoso grandi
through of year B. W. PFV achieve different success big
inisi-ando **for** **di** aña-nan 1974 **bini** ariba (kikotapasando.com, 9th April 2016)[31]
begin-GER out of year-PL come up
"For 50 years BBC Wildcats have achieved different big successes from 1974 up to now…"

The phonetically eroded allomorph *bin* is used in (32a), while the full morpheme *bini* is used in (32b). Therefore, the examples show that the phonetically reduced form *bin* and the full form *bini* coexist and display prepositional status. This evidence could suggest that different stages of grammaticalization coexist synchronically, i.e. (32a) is more grammaticalized than (32b). However, as was presented in (6) and (7), both allomorphs can be used as a full lexical category. In any case, *bin*(*i*) functions as a directional preposition indicating the direction towards the deictic point or source.

Instances of the PP *di…bai*/*bay* can also be found in the press:

(33) a. Diaranzon pa 2:03 marduga varios bario **for** **di** Noord
Wednesday for 2:03 morning several neighbourhood from of N.
bay zuid di nos isla a scucha un desordo...
go south of 1PL island PFV hear INDF noise
"On Wednesday at 2:03 in the morning several neighbourhoods from Noord to the south of our island heard a noise…"
(laprensaultimonoticia.com, 8th April 2015)[32]

b. Ayera djadumingu kabayista-nan a subi nan kabai
yesterday Sunday horseman/woman-PL PFV mount 3PL horse
i a pònk den kaya-nan **di** Otrobanda **bai** Veeris.
and PFV parade LOC street-PL from O. go V.
"Yesterday, Sunday, horsemen mounted their horses and paraded through the streets from Otrobanda to Veeris." (èxtra.cw, 3rd Aug. 2015)[33]

[30] http://arubawe.com/web/aruba-ta-haciendo-hopi-pa-proteha-mundo/
[31] https://kikotapasando.com/2016/04/09/bbc-wildcats-guardian-group-kj-74-ta-kumpli-50-ana/
[32] http://masnoticia.com/temblor-sinti-na-aruba-diaranzon-marduga/
[33] http://extra.cw/news/2015-08-03/Lokal/KABALGATA_2015.html

Bai with a prepositional function has a spatial meaning in examples (30) and (33), and temporal semantics in (31) and (32). I will come back to this point in the discussion.

Further evidence that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) function as prepositions in the examples above is provided in the following instances in which the correlative preposition surfaces with the prepositions *pa* "to" and *te* "until" occupying the second position, i.e. (*for*) *di…pa* "from…to" and (*for*) *di…te* "from…until", instead of the grammaticalized verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*):

(34) a. Djei m' a ripará kon su wowo-nan a bula bai bin,
then 1SG-PFV notice how 3SG.POSS eye-PL PFV fly go come
di robes **pa** drechi. (Lauffer 2013:37)
from left PREP right
"Then I noticed how his/her eyes moved back and forth, from left to right."

b. Anteriormente turtuga-nan ku a ser siguí a
before turtle-PL REL PFV AUX.PASS follow.PTCP PFV
migra **for di** kosta west di Boneiru **te** na awa-nan na kosta di
migrate out of coast west of B. until LOC water-PL LOC coast of
Nicaragua. (boneiru-awe.com, 20th Dec. 2011)[34]
N.
"Previously, turtles that had been followed migrated from the west coast of Bonaire to the waters on the coast of Nicaragua."

c. Nan a pone tuberia **di** Maracaibo **te** na e refineria.
3PL PFV put pipe from M. until LOC DEF refinery
"They laid pipes from Maracaibo to the refinery." (19_A_M_+70)

Furthermore, the correlative preposition (*for*) *di…bai* can be followed by the verb *kue* "take", as can be seen in (35):

(35) Durante di e reunion di akshon di trahadó-nan di garashi
during of DEF meeting of action of worker-PL of garage
ku tabatin for di djamars bai kue djarason mardugá…
REL EXT.PST.IPFV out of Tuesday go take Wednesday early
(extra.cw, 28th Jan. 2016)[35]
"During the trade union meeting of the garage workers that took place from Tuesday to Wednesday early in the morning…"

Some informants commented that the structure (*for*) *di…bai kue* is used in Curaçao and Bonaire, but not in Aruba.[36] Furthermore, a Curaçaoan speaker stated that this construction is rather dated and hardly used anymore. The presence of the verb *kue* after *bai* expresses the fact that an action takes place from one point to another without

[34] http://www.boneiru-awe.com/2011/12/20/%E2%80%9Cjklynn%E2%80%9D-e-turtuga-di-laman-a-bai-for-di-boneiru/
[35] http://extra.cw/news/2016-0128/Front_Page/6_TRUK_DI_SUSHI_PA_KORE_16_RUTA_RONT_KORSOU.html
[36] The spelling of this verb in Aruba is *coy* or *cohe* (field notes working with 20_A_M_+70).

interruption. The informant pointed out that people nowadays tend to use the preposition *te* "until" instead, i.e. (36b) rather than (36a):

(36) a. Awa a kai di djasabra bai kue djadumingu.
water PFV fall from Saturday go take Sunday
"It rained from Saturday until Sunday."

b. Awa a kai di djasabra te djadumingu.[37]

In (35) and (36a) the prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* may appear to be less obvious than in the examples (26) to (28) and (33) because it may be interpreted as a verb accompanying another verb, i.e. *kue*. However, *bai* in (35) and (36a) cannot be analysed as a serial verb because it does not form part of a(n intransitive) directional SVC with another verb in the sentence. Moreover, it is not marked for tense or aspect, as it is not preceded by a preverbal marker.

In sum, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be claimed to function as actual directional prepositions outside the scope of intransitive directional SVCs and directional verbs in the three diatopic varieties. First, I showed that these morphemes can function as heads of PPs after directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs. Second, I presented evidence that they can be part of correlative PPs beginning with (*for*) *di*. The major piece of evidence for the prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in the correlative PPs is the fact that they are not serial verbs, as they do not constitute a directional SVC with any other verb in the sentences. Furthermore, they lack a preverbal marker. However, the morphemes retain some verbal features, as they cannot be pied-piped in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization. This suggests their verbal status and the fact that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have not attained full prepositional status. Apart from that, they retain the deictic specification "away from" and "towards" the source from their original verb stage.

5.2.5 Synchronic coexistence of the four stages

As was briefly mentioned in the previous subsection, in some cases it is not clear whether *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have prepositional or verbal status, i.e. whether they are used as grammatical categories or as full lexical verbs in a sequential multi-verb construction. Examples (37) and (38) provide evidence of the categorial ambiguity because two readings are possible. In the reading a. *bai* is interpreted as a preposition, whereas in b. as a full verb.

(37) Nos a sali **for di** Boneiru **bai** Korsou keda Kòrsou di diabiernes
1PL PFV leave from of Bonaire go C. stay C. from Friday
te djadumingu. (5_B_M_-18)
until Sunday

[37] (36a, b) were taken from field notes working with 6_C_F_51-70.

a. “We left from Bonaire to Curaçao, stayed in Curaçao from Friday until Sunday.” (prepositional *bai*)
b. “We left from Bonaire, went to Curaçao (and) stayed in Curaçao from Friday until Sunday.” (sequential multi-verb construction)

(38) Nos a **subi** avion **bai** Sint Maarten, pero nos a transfer
1PL PFV get.on plane go S. M., but 1PL PFV transfer
di Sint Maarten **bai** Statia. Nos ta keda Statia te djarason.
from S. M. go S.E. 1PL TA stay S. until Wednesday
Djarason nos ta **subi** avion atrobe **bai** Saba. (5_B_M_-18)
Wednesday 1PL TA get.on plane again go S.
a. “We got on the plane to Saint Martin, but we transferred from Saint Martin to Saint Eustace. We stayed in Saint Eustace until Wednesday. On Thursday we got on the plane again to Saba.” (prepositional *bai*)
b. “We got on the plane (and) went to Saint Martin, but we transferred from Saint Martin to Saint Eustace. We stayed in Saint Eustace until Wednesday. On Thursday we got on the plane again and went to Saba.” (sequential multi-verb construction)

In both sentences above the reading b. could also allow for a purposive interpretation (see section 5.4.4).

Finally, I would like to include one last example, this time from a novel, in which *bai* could be ambiguously interpreted as a preposition or a verb:

(39) e ker a konsehá e distrektmester pa… sigui sierto
3SG want PFV advise DEF district.master COMP follow certain
kaminda **bai** e lanthùis kaminda fásilmente nan por
way go DEF country.house REL easily 3PL can
a skonde den skuridat. (Debrot 2008: 25)
PFV hide LOC darkness
a. “he wanted to advise the sheriff to follow a certain way to the country house where they could have easily hidden in the darkness.” (prepositional status)
b. “he wanted to advise the sheriff to follow a certain way to go to the country house where they could have easily hidden in the darkness.” (verbal status)

The following example is quite interesting because it shows variation within the very same text in terms of the form of the directional verbs in two PPs:

(40) Riba e caminda principal **di** Savaneta **bin-iendo** abou
LOC DEF way main from S. come-GER down
diamars atardi automobilista tabata core tras di un dodge
Thursday afternoon driver PST.IMP run behind of INDF d.
neon unda e chauffeur tabata cor-iendo iresponsabel. Casi
n. REL DET driver PST.IMP run-GER irresponsible almost
riba e caminda **di** Savaneta **bay** abou pa Pos Chikito
LOC DET way from S. go down to P. C.
e chauffeur poro [sic.] poco a causa desgracia.
DEF driver little REDUP PFV cause misfortune

(masnoticia.com, 2nd Dec. 2014)[38]

"On the main road from Savaneta coming down Tuesday afternoon, a driver was driving behind a Dodge Neon, whose driver was driving irresponsibly. Almost on the road from Savaneta down to Pos Chikito the driver almost caused an accident."

It could be argued that *di…biniendo* is a correlative preposition whose second component, i.e. *biniendo*, has verbal status because it is inflected for gerund. However, *bay* in the PP *di…bay* could be said to have prepositional status as it is not marked for either tense or aspect. Nevertheless, *biniendo* could also be ambiguously interpreted as a full verb.

The ambiguity in the interpretation of *bai*/*bay* in (37) to (39) and the variation presented in (40) are evidence of the coexistence of the four stages of the grammaticalization cline from verb to preposition in current Pp. Section 2.1.5 showed that grammaticalization is a gradual process, i.e. the shift from lexical to grammatical category takes place slowly, and often the grammaticalized items coexist synchronically with the lexemes from which they historically derive as well as with the intermediate stages. Furthermore, the stages of the grammaticalization path usually overlap.

5.2.6 Discussion

In this section, it has been shown that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can synchronically behave like full-fledged verbs, prepositions – with no full prepositional status – and like an intermediate hybrid category that includes both verbal and prepositional properties. I am fully aware that the present study only includes synchronic data and one must be careful when claiming that grammaticalization is taking place in the absence of diachronic records (see Lefebvre 2004: 176-178, Lightfoot 1979: 216). I am also bearing in mind that some cases of grammaticalization may actually be the result of language contact, i.e. the calque of an existing grammaticalization pattern in the substrate language(s) (see Keesing 1991, Bruyn 1996, 2009, Plag 2002). However, I take the coexistence and overlapping of the stages as well as the categorial ambiguity affecting the morphemes *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to be the consequence of a language-internal process, namely grammaticalization in Lehmann's synchronic sense (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]).

Evidence was presented in this section of the loss of verb properties that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have undergone as V_2 in intransitive directional SVCs. I claim that the marginal aspect marking on *bai*/*bay*, the fact that it is unacceptable for *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to be predicate clefted and their desemanticization clearly suggest the loss of morphosyntactic and semantic verb properties of these lexemes. Furthermore, the presence of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di… bai*/*bay* and (*for*) *di… bin*(*i*), where *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have left the scope of the intransitive directional SVC and no longer carry any preverbal marker is crucial proof of their prepositional status. The grammaticalization of the directional serial verbs gives rise to deverbal prepositions.

[38] http://masnoticia.com/chauffeur-cu-tabata-trece-bida-di-hende-na-peliger-riba-caminda-tabata-basta-burachi/ [last accessed on 8th Nov. 2016]

However, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) cannot be regarded as full-fledged prepositions, as they cannot be pied-piped in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization.

Below, I will consider some relevant pieces of evidence to support the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into deverbal prepositions.

Lack of aspect marking as evidence of the loss of verbhood of V_2

It has been shown that V_2 in intransitive directional SVCs can surface in three different forms. First, it can take the aspectual preverbal marker *ta*, emphasizing the progressivity of the action of the verb it accompanies and the simultaneity of the actions in V_1 and V_2. Bendix (1972: 9) acknowledged the possibility of the imperfective preverbal marker *ta* surfacing in front of the second verb but did not provide any further information. Second, it can be inflected for gerund like the first verb in the SVC. Third, it can be left in the bare form, and only the first verb can carry the preverbal marker *ta* and be inflected for gerund. Note that only *bai*/*bay* can be preceded by *ta* or inflected for gerund. *Bini* only appears in the bare form as V_2 in an intransitive directional SVC.

The aspectual marking of *bai*/*bay* via the preverbal marker *ta* and the inflection for gerund clearly suggest the verbal status of this constituent as V_2 in an intransitive directional SVC. That is, since only verbs can be marked for aspect, *bai*/*bay* in V_2 position in an intransitive directional SVCs must belong to the verb category whenever it is preceded by the preverbal marker *ta* and/or is inflected for gerund. However, the fact that the second constituent is most frequently left in the bare form hints at the loss of its verb properties in directional SVCs.

To sum up, the above examples exhibit variation regarding the verbal status of the second constituent of directional SVCs. While the first constituent (the motion verb) is always marked for tense, aspect and mood, i.e. the presence of a TMA marker is obligatory and the verb can optionally inflect for gerund as well, the second component presents variation. On the one hand, V_2 has verbal status for some speakers and can, therefore, receive overt aspect marking via the preverbal marker *ta* (the other preverbal markers, i.e. *a*, *tabata* and *lo*, cannot appear in that position) or the inflection for gerund. Haspelmath (2016: 304) argues for the verbal status of defective serial verbs that may still take aspect marking. It is important to note that this pattern surfaced very rarely in the corpus, and most participants objected to it. On the other hand, V_2 has lost (part of) its verb features for most speakers and, therefore, cannot be marked for aspect. The degraded inflection on the second verb, i.e. the absence of the aspectual marker *ta* in front of the second verb constituent as well as non-inflection for gerund, can be taken as evidence of the loss of verb properties of V_2. In any case, the data presented above show a *continuum* among speakers and, in some cases, even within the very same speaker. The status of V_2 ranges from verbal status, i.e. serial verb (stage II), to V_2 lacking verb properties and becoming a coverb (stage III):

Serial verb …… Coverb	
Overt aspect marking	Absence of verb properties
ta bai/bay (aspect marker *ta*)	
bayendo (inflection for gerund)	
Gradual loss of overt aspect marking	

Table 23. Gradual evolution of *bai/bay* "go" from serial verb to coverb

I argue that the marginal overt aspect marking on the second constituent of Pp intransitive directional SVCs illustrates the gradual loss of verb properties as a serial verb (stage II) and its further evolution into a coverb (stage III). A parallel process is attested in other serializing languages, e.g., São-Tomense (Hagemeijer 2001: 417), Bislama (Meyerhoff 2001: 257-260), Ndyuka and Ewe (Migge 1998: 246f.). Note that the aspectual preverbal marker can be encoded on both verbs in Saramaccan to bring about a different meaning (see Veenstra 2004: 271, Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 238), and that the semantic difference between the presence and the absence of aspect marking on V_2 in São-Tomense SVCs is difficult to perceive in some cases (see Hagemeijer 2001: 417). See section 3.1.3.2 for details.

Lastly, it could be hypothesized that Pp once exhibited tense/aspect marking on V_2 in SVCs, suggesting that these components were finite verbs.

Bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as *grammaticalization chains

I argue that a cline of grammaticalization can be traced for *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), ranging from full verb to preposition via verb serialization. Hence, the directional morphemes can function as full verbs (stage I), serial verbs (stage II), coverbs (stage III) and prepositions (stage IV). While it is easy to assess the category they display in some cases, it may be ambiguous in other cases. The ambiguity can be explained by the fact that the stages presented in this section often overlap, i.e. the boundaries between the stages are not sharp but hazy, which gives rise to *hybrid* or *amphibious* categories (see 2.1.5). Furthermore, following Heine (1992), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991a: 225-229, 1991b: 171-174), the combination of all the functions displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) synchronically can be taken to be linguistic categories of their own, namely *grammaticalization chains*. Lastly, given the fact that the grammaticalized forms are historically related to the full lexical verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bini*, the morphemes should be analysed as polysemic words, following Hopper and Traugott (1993: 69-72), rather than homophonous, as was considered in previous work (e.g. Lord 1973, 1976, Li and Thompson 1974).

The coexistence and overlapping of several stages in the process of grammaticalization from full verbs to prepositions has led to debate in the literature about the categorial ambiguity presented by the grammaticalizing morphemes (e.g. Ansre 1966, Lord 1973, Li and Thompson 1973, 1974, 1976, Bamgboṣe 1974, Awobuluyi 1973, Schachter 1974a, 1974b, Stahlke 1974). The ambiguity, namely that serial verbs can be analysed as verbs or as prepositions, is a recurrent topic in the literature, as it involves a "continuous process of categorial change necessarily leading to ambiguity at one time or another. In other words, prepositions are sometimes verbs,

just like adjectives may be verbs" (Escure 1991: 182). In Lehmann's words: "[T]here is no sharp boundary between (co-)verb and adposition" (1995 [1982]: 105).

Processes involved in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*)

Different processes can be observed in the evolution of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) from full-fledged verb (stage I) to preposition (stage IV). In the absence of historical data, it could be hypothesized that the directional verbs underwent *desemanticization* or *semantic bleaching* in the first place as serial verbs in stage II, continuing up to stage III. Thus, they gradually lost their original lexical meaning and increasingly acquired abstract functional semantics as directional markers. In this sense, the original and the new meaning/function coexist in the intermediate stages, which implies functional *expansion*. It is in the intermediate stages that the verbs also gradually lost their morphosyntactic properties in order to *adjust* (see Heine and Reh 1984) to the new morphosyntactic structure, leading to *decategorialization*. Thus, the directional verbs need to assimilate to the properties that the members of the prepositional paradigm share, i.e. *paradigmaticization* (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]). The adjustment or paradigmaticization is perceived in the fact that the directional verbs cease to be marked for tense/aspect and cease to participate in predicate cleft constructions. However, due to the gradual evolution, the directional morphemes may exhibit verbal features in some contexts, while they display the new grammatical function in others, i.e. *split* (see Heine and Reh 1984) or *divergence* (see Hopper 1991): "Adjustment is a long process and what we frequently meet in a given language is some intermediate stage of it rather than its end product" (Heine and Reh 1984: 98). Cases were shown in which the morphemes keep some verb properties and their interpretation as full verbs or as prepositions can be ambiguous.

Despite the evolution of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) from full verbs to prepositions, both morphemes have retained the deictic specification of their verbal counterparts, i.e. *bai*/*bay* indicates the direction "away from" and *bin*(*i*) "towards" the speaker. The maintenance of the deictic specification from the lexical source in the output category exemplifies a case of *persistence* (Hopper 1991) or *semantic retention* (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994).

Since all the stages coexist synchronically, i.e. *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) perform lexical and grammatical functions, no categorial shift has taken place. That is, the new grammatical function has not replaced the original lexical meaning and both forms coexist. The coexistence of the four stages indicates that the evolution from full verb to preposition has not proceeded instantaneously. The function of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions does not represent a shortcut in the grammaticalization path, which is an argument raised against grammaticalization in creole languages and in favour of the transfer of substrate grammaticalization patterns (see Keesing 1991, Bruyn 1996, 2009, Plag 2002, see *polysemy copying* in Heine and Kuteva 2003). Instead, the intermediate stages from verb to preposition are also attested in, e.g., the marginal aspectual marking on V_2 and the semantic and functional ambiguity. Furthermore, both the source and the output categories coexist: "With grammaticalization, the source item normally continues

to be used in its original function alongside the grammaticalized variant at least for some time" (Bruyn 2009: 330). It could also be hypothesized that the creators of Pp replicated the path of grammaticalization (see *replica grammaticalization* in Heine and Kuteva 2003) of the directional verbs attested in their serializing mother tongues into *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). Hence, there would be no case of ordinary grammaticalization here. Whether *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) were already used with prepositional function in older Pp texts must be left to further research using diachronic data to investigate.

Finally, *bai*/*bay* displaying prepositional function is mainly used with spatial meaning. However, it can also be used with temporal semantics. Traugott (1986: 548) notes that "spatial terms are likely to acquire temporal meanings". Remember also Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer's (1991b: 157) arrangement of metaphorical abstractness – PERSON > OBJECT > PROCESS > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY – whereby the expression of TIME involves a higher degree of grammaticalization than the expression of SPACE. However, in the absence of historical data, it cannot be confirmed whether prepositional *bai*/*bay* with temporal meaning evolved at a later stage than with spatial semantics. This aspect must be left open for further research to investigate.

Possible language-external factors in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*)

So far it has been shown that the evolution from verb to preposition is due to a language-internal process, namely grammaticalization. However, the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) may have been reinforced via two external factors.

Language contact may have played an important role in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions because neither of the contact languages on the ABC islands, i.e. Dutch, English and Spanish, uses verbs to mark directionality. Note that Jacobs (2015) relates the reanalysis of directional serial verbs as prepositions to the absence of prepositions between Pp directional verbs and their directional NP: "[T]he lack of a directional preposition between ['come/go'] and the directional complement allows ['come/go'] to be reinterpreted as a preposition" (Jacobs 2015: 70). Similarly, Hagemeijer (2001: 445) suggests the superstrate pressure exerted by Portuguese on the grammaticalization of some serial verbs in São-Tomense due to the fact that Portuguese does not use verbs to mark certain relations.

However, attitudinal factors regarding the perception of the local identity may also have played a relevant role in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). As presented in 5.9.1, some speakers showed a preference for using *bai*/*bay* rather than the preposition *pa* "to, for" to express directionality because the latter is linked to the Spanish preposition *para* "to, for". Willingness to be identified with the ethnic local community (group identification [see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985]) and to keep Pp apart from the other contact languages (Spanish, in this particular case) may have encouraged speakers to use *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to express direction to the detriment of the preposition that is available in the language, i.e. *pa*. The use of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to express direction may be perceived as an in-group

identity marker. In this case, language contact may have functioned as an *accelerating force*[39] (see Heine and Kuteva 2010: 94-97) in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). I argue for an accelerating force rather than a *propelling force* because, taking into account that the grammaticalization of serial verbs into prepositions is a linguistic phenomenon attested worldwide, it is likely that the evolution of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions would have taken place anyway. Language contact *accelerated* or maybe simply contributed to the grammaticalization process of the lexemes.

In any case, it is worth mentioning that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) underwent grammaticalization despite the availability of the prepositions *pa* and *na* to express direction in Pp. This aspect indicates that the lexemes' development into prepositions did not aim at filling a semantic or functional gap in the language and may, therefore, appear to be "superfluous" (see Lehmann 1985: 316):

> Rather than subscribe to the idea that grammatical evolution is driven by communicative necessity, we suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items. The metaphorical extensions are cognitively based, and are similar across languages. (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985: 75)

However, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) cannot be claimed to be synonymous with *pa* and *na*, as only the former display deictic specification, while *pa* and *na* are neutral for deixis. As was claimed in the above, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) retained the deictic specification as prepositions from their verbal counterparts (see *persistence* Hopper 1991). Therefore, the morphemes have *specialized* (see Hopper 1991) for this semantics. That is, speakers may be inclined to use *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) rather than *pa* and *na* when they want to convey the direction of the motion verb, namely "away from" or "towards" the speaker.

Lastly, the preference for *bai*/*bay* to the detriment of *pa* among some speakers also suggests the *obligatorification* (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]) of this morpheme. The reduction of paradigmatic variability is acknowledged in the fact that the possibilities have been reduced to the grammaticalized item *bai*/*bay*, at least in the idiolect of some speakers, for attitudinal reasons.

The role of context, discourse and frequency in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*)

It can be claimed that context, discourse and frequency played an important role in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions in Pp. As regards context, it can be argued that speakers reanalysed the serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as coverbs in contiguity with a motion verb (as suggested in Jacobs 2015) in the first place, i.e. *context-induced interpretation* (see Heine 2002). Later, the coverbs further

[39] Heine and Kuteva (2010: 94f.) propose two forces as responsible for "pushing" grammaticalizing items along the grammaticalization path in language contact contexts: propelling and accelerating forces. While language contact is considered decisive or a *sine qua non* condition for the grammaticalization of an item in the former, i.e. grammaticalization would never have taken place without the influence of another language; the latter – the accelerating force – implies that language contact speeds up the process of grammaticalization that would have occurred none the less.

grammaticalized in contact with directional/motion verbs and intransitive directional SVCs, losing their verbal meaning as well as their morphosyntactic properties, thus becoming defective. Once they attained prepositional status, they started functioning outside the scope of directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs, i.e. as part of the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di….bai*/*bay* "from….to" and *den….bai* "in…to/onwards". It is in this phase that the morphemes extended to a new context in which they were not compatible with the original lexical category. This corresponds to the *switch context* in Heine (2002). The increase of obligatoriness of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) relates to the increase in its distribution in the language: "[T]he more we enlarge the context, the more a specific sign becomes obligatory" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 140). Finally, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) acquired prepositional meaning via conventionalization and frequency.

With regard to discourse, the loss of discourse-saliency after motion verbs together with the fact that they no longer express an event of their own but simply signal the direction of V_1 may have also contributed to the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions. Finally, the frequency with which *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are used in Pp may have further warranted the evolution of these morphemes into prepositions. Several authors have referred to the relevance of frequency in grammaticalization (e.g. Bybee 2003).[40]

5.3 From intransitive directional serial verb construction to verb compound

As was presented in 4.3.2, some intransitive directional SVCs, such as *bula bai*/*bay* "fly go", *kore bai*/*bay* "run go" and *kore bini* "run come", have been reported to construct verb compounds and have lexicalized due to the frequency with which they are used in Pp (see Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 215, Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995: 326, Muysken 2001: 407, Jacobs 2015: 63). Following this line of investigation, I will provide evidence of the further grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* within the directional verb compound. I propose that the serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and, to a lesser extent, *bin* have undergone semantic bleach within some verb compounds due to their frequent and conventional use. I argue that the insertion of the prepositions *pa* and *na* after, at least, some directional verb compounds can be related to the desemanticization that *bai*/*bay* and, to a lesser extent, *bin* have undergone. Thus, since the directional serial verbs do not mark the directionality in the verb compound, the prepositions *na* and mainly *pa* are inserted to fill the semantic void. However, a language-external factor may also play a role in the insertion of prepositions after intransitive directional SVCs: language contact. Because the contact languages on the ABC islands use prepositions to indicate direction, bilingual/multilingual speakers may have transferred this pattern to Pp. The convergence of a language-internal and a language-external factor might also have been plausible in this case (see Heine and Kuteva 2003).

[40] See 2.1.2 for the role of context, discourse and frequency in grammaticalization.

5.3.1 Insertion of the prepositions *na* and *pa* "to" after intransitive directional serial verb constructions

Some languages like Saramaccan and Sranan use a locative preposition after directional verbs and directional SVCs.[41] To my knowledge, the use of prepositions after directional verbs and intransitive directional SVCs in Pp has not been dealt with in the literature so far. On the contrary, there is unanimity that neither directional verbs nor intransitive directional SVCs use any preposition to introduce the locative goal in Pp (e.g. Sebba 1987: 191, Maurer 2013: 176, see also 4.4). However, some instances are attested where the prepositions *na* and *pa* are inserted after intransitive directional SVCs in Pp:

(41) Dos mucha homber ta **biah-ando bay pa** Surinam. (15_A_F_18-30)
two child man TA travel-GER go PREP S.
"Two small boys are travelling to Suriname."

In the sentence above the locative goal has been introduced by an intransitive directional SVC followed by the preposition *pa*. This is the only example in my corpus of elicited spoken data. However, a few instances were also attested in the local press and in literary texts:

(42) a. Cu un saludo di man el a **biaha bay pa** un
with INDF greeting of hand 3SG PFV travel go PREP INDF
mundo desconoci. (masnoticia.com, 15th April 2015)[42]
world unknow.PTCP
"With a wave of the hand s/he travelled to an unknown world."

b. Loke si bo por hasi ta keda leu fo'i hende ku tin e
what yes 2SG can do COP stay far from.of person REL EXT DEF
malesa i no **biaha bai na** pais-nan ku tin e virus.
sickness and NEG travel go PREP country-PL REL EXT DEF virus
"What you can certainly do is stay away from people who have the illness and not travel to countries that have the virus." (cuckoopress.com, 12th Aug. 2014)[43]

The intransitive directional SVC *biaha bai*/*bay* is followed by the preposition *pa* in (42a) and the preposition *na* in (42b). Both prepositions are used to introduce the locative goals.[44]

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[41] The following SVCs are followed by the locative prepositions *na* and *a*:
(i) a waka go a matu (diacritical marks were not reproduced) (Saramaccan)
he walk go loc jungle
"He walked towards the jungle." (Byrne 1987: 61)
(ii) A waka go na wowoyo (Sranan)
"He walks to the market" (Sebba 1987: 46)
(iii) dem a waak go a maakit. (Caribbean English creoles)
"They're walking to (the) market." (Winford 1993a: 232)

[42] http://masnoticia.com/departamento-di-cultura-aruba-gradicimento/

[43] http://cuckoopress.com/archives/151

Na is considered an "all-purpose locative preposition" (Kouwenberg and Murray 1996: 52) or "general locative" (Maurer 2013: 176). Lenz (1926: 138), Munteanu (1996: 389) and Endruschat (2007: 161) show that, apart from a locative meaning, *na* can also express direction.[45] Munteanu (1991: 183, 1996: 389) claims that since the Spanish preposition *a* "to" was not borrowed into Pp, its functions, among others the directional meaning, were transferred to other prepositions such as *na* and *pa*.[46] However, the author acknowledges that prepositions are omitted in Pp when the context is clear. Endruschat (2007: 161f.) indicates that *na* expresses direction when it surfaces with a verb whose semantics entails direction. Thus, *na* has a vague meaning and can only indicate direction if the preceding verb specifies for it. To conclude, *na* not only displays a locative meaning but also an allative function.[47]

5.3.2 Approaches to the insertion of prepositions after intransitive directional serial verb constructions

Two independent developments or the convergence of both can be hypothesized to be responsible for the use of the prepositions *pa* and *na* after directional verb compounds. Next, I will present evidence for both hypotheses.

Language contact

Regarding the first hypothesis, the insertion of prepositions after intransitive directional SVCs could be linked to the use of prepositions after the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) when they surface as only verbs of a predicate. Prepositions could be used after intransitive directional SVCs by analogy for their (increasing) use after directional verbs.

The insertion of prepositions after directional verbs in Pp will be dealt with in 5.7.4. Both internal and external factors may have played a role in the apparently increasing preference for using the prepositions *na* and *pa* after directional verbs in Pp.

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[44] In some cases, the use of prepositions after intransitive directional SVCs parallels the contexts in which prepositions are allowed after directional verbs, i.e. *na* is used to express the direction to a thing and *den* to a room of a house (see Goilo 1972: 42, see also 4.4.):

(i) Nan a landa bai na e jola.
3PL PFV swim go LOC DEF dinghy (glossed by LF)
"They swam off to their dinghy." (Bouscholte 1978: 170)

(ii) anto el a kore bai den su kamber (Lenz 1926: 132)
then 3SG PFV run go LOC 3SG.POSS room
"then s/he ran to his/her room"

[45] Lenz (1926: 138) believes that *na* has Portuguese origin, i.e. *em* "in"+ *a* "feminine article"= *na*, while Munteanu (1996: 389) defends its Spanish origin, i.e. *en* "in" + *a* "to". Thus, according to Munteanu *na* displays the Spanish locative meaning of *en* "in" and the directionality of *a* "to" (Lenz and Munteanu defend the Portuguese and Spanish origin, respectively, of all prepositions in Pp). However, the Dutch prepositions *naar* "to" and *na* "near" might also have played a role in the preference for this preposition in Pp (Lenz 1926:138).

[46] See Kouwenberg (1990) and Lefebvre and Therrien (2015) for further functions of *pa* in Pp.

[47] Like the French preposition *à*, the German preposition *zu* was originally a local preposition with locative and allative functions (Lehmann 2002: 5-7).

Desemanticization of directional verbs in the directional verb compounds

As for the second hypothesis, the use of prepositions to introduce the local goal after intransitive directional SVCs could be explained as the result of the evolution of this type of SVC into a verb compound, and the subconsequent desemanticization of the grammaticalizing directional serial verb within the V-V compound.

As was shown in 4.3.2, Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 215), Arends, Muysken and Smith (1995: 326), Muysken (2001: 407) and Jacobs (2015: 63) claim that serial verb combinations with *bula* "fly" and *kore*/*core* "run" have lexicalized and can be interpreted as compound verbs due to the high frequency with which they are used in Pp. Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 215) even claim that the fact that both verb constituents *bula* and *bai*/*bay* can undergo predicate cleft together is evidence of the lexicalization of this SVC. However, according to my informants, clefting both verb constituents of intransitive directional SVCs is unacceptable, as seen in (43):

(43) a. * Ta bula bai e ta bula bai Hulanda.
FOC fly go 3SG TA fly go Netherlands
b. * Ta biaha bai e ta biaha bai Hulanda.
FOC travel go 3SG TA travel go Netherlands
c. * Ta kore bai e ta kore bai skol.
FOC run go 3SG TA run go school

Instead, only the initial verb in an intransitive directional SVC can occupy the position after the focus marker *ta*:

(44) a. Ta bula e ta bula bai Hulanda.
"(S)he really flies to the Netherlands."
b. Ta biaha e ta biaha bai Hulanda.
"(S)he really travels to the Netherlands."
c. Ta kore e ta kore bai skol.
"(S)he really runs to school."

The predicate cleft test presents evidence against the compounding of intransitive directional SVCs in Pp. However, the conventionalization of these kinds of SVCs can be acknowledged in examples in which, even though an intransitive directional SVC has been used, the direction is also indicated by other means, namely a preposition, as was already seen in examples (41) and (42) above.

It could be argued that the high frequency with which some intransitive directional SVCs are used in Pp, e.g. *bula bai/bay*, caused the coalescence of the directional V_2 into the motion V_1, resulting in the emergence of a V-V compound. In the next stage, the coalescing verb further underwent grammaticalization within the verb compound. The directional serial verb *bai*/*bay* may have undergone a process of desemanticization within the compound by losing its directional meaning. In the absence of a directional marker, the prepositions *pa* or *na* were introduced to fill the semantic void.

A further example of the conventionalization and compounding of intransitive directional SVCs is found in (45), where the intransitive directional SVC *bula bai* is followed by the preposition *te* "until" to express the direction/endpoint:

(45) pa bo bula bai te Oropa for di aki
COMP 2SG fly go until Europe out of here
"to fly to Europe from here" (13_C_F_+70)

Note that the above sentence contrasts with the following one in (46), in which only the motion verb *biaha* – without the serial *bai/bay* – has been used immediately followed by the preposition *te* to indicate the direction/endpoint:

(46) Studiante-nan no mester biaha te Hulanda pa sigui estudio...
student-PL NEG need travel until NetherlandsCOMP continue study
"Students do not need to travel to the Netherlands to continue their studies…"
(awemainta, 21st May 2014)[48]

No directional serial verb has been used after the motion verb *biaha* in (46), as opposed to (45). It could be argued that the difference between (45) and (46) is that *bai* in (45) conveys the direction deictically, whereas *te* in (46) does not specify whether the direction is away from or towards the speaker. Hence, *bai* in the verb compound *bula bai* in (45) has not completely lost its lexical meaning but has retained the original verbal deictic function. It can be claimed that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions (see 5.2.4) and as part of the directional verb compound have retained the deictic function, which represents a case of *persistence* (Hopper 1991) or *semantic retention* (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994).

In a similar way, (47) presents two examples in which the SVCs *sali bin* "go.out come" and *kana bin* "walk come" are followed by the fused item *pafó*/*pafo* (lit. to outside) "outside" (preposition *pa* + adverb *afó*/*afo*) and an example in which the SVC *kana bai* "walk go" is followed by *p'ariba* (lit. to up) "up/upstairs". Both *pafó*/*pafo* and *p'ariba* already express the direction:[49]

(47) a. E ta sali bin pafo. (20_A_M_+70)
3SG TA go.out come to.outside
"He is going outside."

b. e ta kana bin pafó… (21_C_W_31-50)
3SG TA walk come to.outside
"he is walking out…"

[48] https://issuu.com/awemainta/docs/21_mei_2014

[49] Note that the adverb *afó*/*afo* is neutral for directionality. Its interpretation depends on the verb it accompanies:
(i) Mi ta lesa afó "I am reading outside"
(ii) Mi ta bai afó "I am going outside"

c. E katibu-nan a kana bai p' ariba.[50] (de Haseth 1988: 16)
DEF slave-PL PFV walk go PREP-up
"The slaves walked up."

However, the serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin* are omitted in (48) and the motion verb *sali* is immediately followed by the compound adverb *pafó*:

(48) a. E meneer a sali pafó... (6_B_W_17)
DEF sir PFV go.out to.outside
"The man went outside…"

b. Ora e hòmber a sali pafó... (12_C_W_51-70)
when DEF man PFV go.out to.outside
"When the man went outside…"

Since the directionality is already expressed by the adverb *pafó*/*pafo*, the directional serial verbs in (47) only convey the direction of the motion verb deictically, i.e. away or towards the deictic centre.

Finally, another possible path of evolution is that the very frequent use of some intransitive directional SVCs may have led speakers, or at least some of them, to reanalyse the structure of the SVCs. The verb constituents may have been resegmented (see reanalysis in Langacker 1977), giving rise to a single phonological word, i.e. a verb compound. The frequent use of these SVCs is responsible for their conventionalization. Note that reanalysis is regarded as a different process than grammaticalization (see 2.1.4).

5.3.3 Discussion

Two different hypotheses or a combination of the two can be proposed to account for the insertion of prepositions to indicate direction after intransitive directional SVCs in Pp.

First, the presence of prepositions indicating direction after intransitive directional SVCs may be related to the use of prepositions after directional verbs, where both internal and external factors interact. This aspect will be discussed in 5.7.4.

Second, the insertion of prepositions can be the result of the desemanticization of *bai*/*bay* and, to a lesser extent, *bin*(*i*) within the directional verb compounds. According to the literature, some intransitive directional SVCs have undergone lexicalization as verbal compounds due to the frequency with which they appear in the language (see Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995:215, Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995: 326, Muysken 2001: 407, Jacobs 2015: 63). I argue for the grammaticalization of the directional V_2 in the frame of intransitive directional SVCs following Hopper and Traugott's (1993: 108)

[50] Goilo (1972: 16) plainly uses the adverb *ariba* after the directional verb *bai*:
(i) Bo ta bai ariba
2SG TA go up (glossed by LF)
"You go upstairs" (Goilo 1972: 16)
The preposition *pa* has not been used, probably because *bai* already conveys the direction.

verb-to-affix cline, whereby a verb evolves into an affix, giving rise to a verb compound, and Durie's (1988: 3) *centripetal tendency* of serial verbs, which brings about the evolution of verbs into affixes. Durie claims that serial verbs evolving into affixes usually convey directionality, among other meanings, and often involve "heavy lexicalization". The directional serial verb continued grammaticalizing within the verb compound, undergoing desemanticization. Consequently, it stopped marking direction, at least for some speakers, and only retained the deictic specification.[51] The desemanticization of *bai/bay* and, to a less extent, of *bin*(*i*) within the directional verb compound would, therefore, be responsible for the fact that the prepositions *pa* and *na* are added after the verb compound to fill the semantic void. Thus, since the directionality has been eroded from the directional serial verb, speakers require the insertion of a directional preposition after the verb compound in order to fill the blank.

Furthermore, the frequent use of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Pp with their lexical and various grammatical functions (see 5.4.) may have contributed to the meaning of the morpheme becoming vague in, at least, some intransitive directional SVCs. The desemanticization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in the verb compound and the vagueness of the morphemes, as they can convey diverse functions, may have contributed to the insertion of directional prepositions after intransitive directional SVCs to make up for their semantic imprecision or underspecification.

Finally, it could also be argued that the compounding of Pp intransitive directional SVCs is not due to grammaticalization but a result of reanalysis or lexicalization. As regards the former, Hopper and Traugott (1993: 40, 49) argue that compounding is a type of reanalysis based on Langacker's (1977) boundary loss. Due to the frequency with which some intransitive directional SVCs are used in Pp, speakers may have reanalysed the constituents as a single lexeme. Note that a distinction has been drawn in the literature between grammaticalization and reanalysis (see. 2.1.4). Haspelmath (1998) claims that reanalysis is abrupt, whereas grammaticalization entails a gradual process. As regards the latter, the frequent and conventionalized use of some intransitive directional SVCs in Pp may have brought about the lexicalization of the directional verb compounds. Afterwards, the non-head or modifying V_2 *bai*/*bay* and, to a lesser extent, *bin*(*i*) may have undergone semantic erosion within the lexicalized verb compound. Thus, first there was lexicalization and later on grammaticalization of the V_2 within the lexicalized compound. Note that Mithun (2002) also takes the lexicalization of verbal compounds as the initial stage of the grammaticalization of the non-head verb constituent in several North American languages. Brinton and Traugott (2005) show parallels between grammaticalization and lexicalization.

5.4 Multi-functionality of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Papiamentu/o

In 4.3.3, it was shown that, apart from behaving like full-fledged verbs and particles indicating direction, *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come" can also function as e.g., future,

[51] Note that Jacobs (2015: 63) suggests the semantic erosion or even complete semantic loss of the first constituent of intransitive directional SVCs, e.g., *bula* and *kore*, once the SVCs have lexicalized.

aspectual and purposive/assertative markers. Although this section is not central part to this dissertation, I consider it relevant to include the multi-functionality of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Pp for two reasons. First, in order to offer an overview of the different grammatical functions that have been proposed in the literature for the morphemes *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), illustrating them with examples from my corpus. Second, in order to provide evidence that the lexemes for "go" and "come" tend to exhibit the grammatical functions they display in Pp cross-linguistically, and to suggest an analysis for the multi-functional nature of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). However, because this dissertation is based on synchronic data, diachronic research is needed to complement the analysis of the development of the grammatical functions of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*).

5.4.1 *Bai*/*bay* as a future marker

Bai/*bay* can function as a future marker in Pp (e.g. Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974). Muller (1989: 348) argues that the insertion of *bai*/*bay* implies the intention on the side of the speaker to perform the action of the verb that follows.

(49) Mi ta bay papia awor di un biahe ku... (13_A_M_51-70)
1SG TA go speak now of INDF travel REL
"Now I am going to speak about a trip that…"

Bendix (1972: 52f.) and Valeriano Salazar (1974: 45) distinguish between the definite future with *bai*/*bay* and the hypothetical or conditional future marked by the preverbal marker *lo*. According to Bendix (1972: 53), the insertion of *bai*/*bay* "indicates that plans or preparations are already made for the action or that things are such that the action will occur". Valeriano Salazar (1974: 45) claims that "the action is about to take place or there is a certainty that it will take place." The differences between the two types of future in Pp can be explained by the fact that they have two different origins, i.e. *lo* comes from the Portuguese adverb *logo* (e.g. Lenz 1926: 121, J. Kramer 2013: 72), and *bai*/*bay* from the Portuguese verb *vai*, third singular person of *ir* "go" (J. Kramer 2013: 16):

> Futures that develop from different sources will be slightly different from one another semantically because they may never fully lose all traces of their original lexical meaning, yet the primary function will be to mark the future.
>
> (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985: 76)

5.4.2 *Bai*/*bay* as a durative aspectual marker and further

In Pp, *bai*/*bay* can express an "activity continuing endlessly" (Bendix 1972: 53). The author indicates the aspectual function of *bai*/*bay* in what he refers to as *serial-like strings*. Thus, Bendix does not consider the series of verbs with *bai*/*bay* expressing the duration of an activity to be SVCs:

(50) a. balya bay
dance go
"dance on (and on)" (Bendix 1972: 53)

b. sigi kanta ketu bay
keep sing quiet go (glossed by LF)
"continue to sing quietly on" (Bendix 1972: 54)

c. Nan ta papia bai. (Field notes with 6_C_W_51-70)
3PL TA speak go
"They talk on and on."

Bay does not display full lexical meaning in (50) but signals the duration of the action expressed by the preceding verb. Note that *ketu* may accompany the aspectual marker on some occasions (50b). One of my informants mentioned the possibility of the aspectual marker *ta* being inserted in front of *bai*/*bay*:

(51) a. Nan ta blo papia ta bai. (Field notes with 6_C_F_51-70)
3PL TA just speak ASP go
"They just continue talking."

b. E ta blo bira gordo ta bai. (Field notes with 6_C_F_51-70)
3SG TA just turn fat ASP go
"He just continues gaining weight."

There are parallels between the structure in (51) and the sentences in (10), in which the second verb constituent of intransitive directional SVCs, i.e. *bai*/*bay*, was marked for aspect via the preverbal marker *ta*. One of the sentences in (10) is repeated here for convenience:

(10) c. E mucha ta kor-iendo ta bai skol. (19_C_F_18-30)
DEF child TA run-GER ASP go school
"The child is running to school."

I argue that the fact that *bai*/*bay* may be preceded by the aspect marker *ta* in (10) and (51) indicates that the morpheme retains some verb properties. However, some informants objected to sentences in (10) and (51), saying that only V_1 can carry the preverbal marker *ta*. It could be claimed that the sentences in (10) and (51) represent two different paths of grammaticalization. While the serial verb *bai*/*bay* in (51) evolves into a durative aspectual marker, as in (50), *bai*/*bay* develops into a coverb and then a directional preposition in (10). In any case, it can be noted that different stages coexist and overlap in these two grammaticalization clines involving *bai*/*bay*.

It was shown in (50b) that the aspectual marker *bai*/*bay* can be accompanied by *ketu* to mark the duration of the preceding verb. However, *ketu bai* is located in front of the verb it modifies and even in front of the preverbal marker in (52):

(52) Ta un pensamentu no bon ku ketu bai ta anda den e
COP INDF thought NEG good REL quiet go TA walk LOC DEF
gremio mas abou di e poblashon. (Baselmans 2010: 87)
guild more down of DEF population
"It is a bad thought that continuously spreads in the lower guild of the population."

Bai/*bay* has abandoned its original position as aspectual marker after the verb it modifies and can now surface in front of the verb and preverbal marker. However, it does not surface alone in the new position but together with *ketu*. Furthermore, *ketu* and *bai* have fused and lexicalized into the adverb *kétubai* with the meaning "constantly, increasingly, always", as can be attested in van Putte-de Windt and van Putte's (2005: 214) dictionary, where *kétubai* has its own lexical entry.

The data indicate different stages of the grammaticalization cline of *bai*/*bay* from full verb to an adverb expressing duration. *Bai*/*bay* still exhibits verbal properties in (51) because it carries the preverbal aspectual marker *ta*. However, it does not exhibit verbal features in the other examples. The evolution of *ketu bai* into *kétubai* entails boundary loss.

5.4.3 *Bai*/*bay* and *bin* as inceptive aspectual markers

Bai/*bay* and *bin* can mark inceptive aspect in Pp. They are used to indicate the beginning of an action combined with a change of state or activity (see Wood 1971a: 61f., 1972c: 643, Bendix 1972: 51, Valeriano Salazar 1974: 43f.):

(53) a. Anto despues m' a bin[52] komprondé kuantes eh hopi eh... afrikano
then after 1SG-PFV come understand how.many many African
ku a wòrdu hibá di e region-nan aki eh komo
REL PFV PASS.AUX bring.PTCP from DEF region-PL hier as
esclavo tabata den karantena na islas[53] Cabo Verde.(16_C_M_+70)
slave COP.PST LOC quarantine LOC islands C. V.
"Then afterwards I came to realize how many eh many Africans that were brought from these regions eh as slaves had been in quarantine on the islands Cape Verde."

(54) Antó mi a bai sosegá mi kurpa[54]. (1_B_M_18-30)
then 1SG PFV go calm 1SG body
"Then I went to relax myself."

Bai/*bay* and *bin* indicate that the beginning of an action represents a sudden change of state or a gradual process. Valeriano Salazar (1974: 78f.) proposes that the inceptive

[52] See further examples with *bin* as an inceptive aspectual marker in the Annex.
[53] Note that the speaker did not use the plural marker *–nan*, i.e. *islanan*, but *–s*.
[54] The grammaticalization of the word for "body" into a reflexive marker is attested cross-linguistically (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 58-60). See Muysken (1993) for an overview of the variety of reflexive structures in Pp and Muysken and Smith (1995) for an overview including other creole languages.

meaning can also be conveyed in Pp via an aspective construction using *para* "stop". Note that *kay*/*cay* "fall" can also convey inceptive aspect in Pp (see 4.3.4. and 6.3.).

5.4.4 *Bai*/*bay* and *bin* as purposive/assertive markers

Bai/*bay* and *bin* are used in Pp to express purpose and/or assertion or consequence (see Bendix 1972: 51f., Valeriano Salazar 1974: 46). Bendix (1972: 51) relates this use to the previous one, i.e. inceptive marker.

(55) Anto un di e biaha-nan nos mester a bai Cabo Verde
then INDF of DEF travel-PL 1PL need PFV go C. V.
bai tuma piska pa[55] hiba Puerto Rico. (10_B_M_+70)
go take fish COMP bring P. R.
"Then once we had to go to Cape Verde and took/to take fish to bring to Puerto Rico."

(56) E meneer bieu ta bini te pafó ku su vierpod
DEF mister old TA come until outside with 3SG.POSS walking.stick
bin zundr' ele. (8_B_F_31-50)
come yell 3SG.EMPH
"The old man comes outside with his walking stick and yells/to yell at him."

In the above sentences *bai* "go" and *bini* "come" have been used as lexical words, i.e. full-fledged verbs, firstly and as functional words, i.e. assertive/purposive markers, secondly.[56] Note that the phonetic reduction of *bini* to *bin* in (56) cannot be taken as evidence of grammaticalization because, as was shown above, the phonetically reduced form *bin* can also be used with full lexical meaning as only verb in a predicate.[57] Valeriano Salazar (1974: 47) notes that *bai*/*bay* and *bin* retain their deictic value in their role as connective markers.

However, the purposive/consecutive semantics can also be conveyed without *bai*/*bay* and *bin*:[58]

[55] Some informants claimed they noticed a semantic difference between *bai*/*bay* and the preposition *pa* in a sentence like

(i) Ayera m' a bai supermarket bai/pa kumpra karni.
yesterday 1SG- PFV go s. go/PREP buy meat
"Yesterday I went to the supermarket to buy meat."

Using *pa*, the speaker clearly expresses that the only purpose of him/her going to the supermarket was to buy meat. However, using *bai* another purpose is implied, i.e. apart from buying meat, he/she also bought/did something else. The difference between purposive *bai*/*bay* and *pa* needs further research.

[56] The allative function of the German preposition *zu* evolved into a purposive marker (Lehmann 2002: 6). Winford (1993a: 236f.) also proposes the purposive function of *go* and *kom* as V_1 in Caribbean English creoles.

[57] Bendix (1972: 51) also acknowledges the existence of the short form of *bai*/*bay* as *be*, which would clearly point to the grammaticalization of this morpheme, as the lexical form maintains the full form, contrary to the case of *bin*(*i*). No instances of *be* were found in my data.

[58] See the ambiguity between a purposive, consecutive and even simultaneous reading in Sebba (1987: 192).

(57) E meneer a sali zundra nan. (5_B_M_16)
DEF sir PFV exit yell 3PL
"The man goes out and yells/to yell at them."

5.4.5 *Bai*/*bay* as an adverbial modifier

Bai/*bay* can also convey an atelic adverbial function whereby no specific direction is expressed, e.g., *el a bula bai* "s/he flew away", *el a kore bai* "s/he ran away":

(58) a. E kliente a gradisí mashá i sali bai. (Lauffer 2013: 19)
DEF customer PFV thank a.lot and exit go
"The customer deeply expressed his/her gratitude and went out/left."

b. un katibu muhé di dje a hui bai. (Lauffer 2013: 51)
INDF slave woman of 3SG PFV flee go
"a female slave of his fled away."

This use is contrary to the telic function of its lexical counterpart, which expresses the direction.[59]

Bouscholte (1978: 222-226) considers the adverbial use of *bai*/*bay* and other verbs in Pp to be calques of Dutch separable verbs, i.e. verb compounds that consist of a verb and a particle, e.g. *hij vloog weg* "he flew away" (Pp *bula bai*), *hij ging uit* "he went out" (Pp *sali bai*), *hij rende weg* "he ran away" (Pp *kore sali*). Bendix (1972: 50) also acknowledges that *bai*/*bay* can be interpreted as an indicator of direction away or involving disappearance.

I argue that the adverbial use of *bai*/*bay* derives from the directional verb as the result of a process of grammaticalization. The example below shows parallels with (10) and (51) because *bai*/*bay* is preceded by the aspectual marker *ta*, which hints at its verbal status:

(59) pero ora e ta kor-iendo ta bai, e ta dal abou...
but when 3SG TA run-GER ASP go 3SG TA hit down
"but when he is running away, he falls down…" (24_C_F_31-50)

Bai/*bay* exhibits verbal properties in (59) because it carries the aspectual marker *ta*. However, it appears to lack its verb features in (58) because it is no longer preceded by a preverbal marker. The pattern in (59) seems to be marginal because it is the only example in my corpus and, furthermore, it was rejected by the informants. In any case, *bai*/*bay* does not display full lexical meaning in any of the examples above but has an adverbial function.

The verb *dirti* "melt" can surface followed by the particle *bai*, as is illustrated in the following example:

[59] Lichtenberk (1991b: 490) distinguishes between telicity and atelicity in the functions developed by the lexeme "go" in Oceanic languages.

(60) tur ansha ta dirti bai… (de Haseth 1988: 9)
all fear TA melt go
"all fear melts away…"

It could be argued that *bai* modifies the preceding verbs in the sentences in (58) and (59). Its presence emphasizes the fact that the subject runs away or disappears. However, *dirti* and *dirti bai* are translated identically, i.e. "to melt", in van Putte-de Windt and van Putte's dictionary (2005: 103), which suggests that *bai* does not seem to modify *dirti* in any sense. In 5.5, we will see that the difficulty in interpreting what a verb contributes to the predicate is a common feature of light verbs.

Finally, it is worth noting that *bula bai*/*bay* and *kore bai*/*core bay* with the meanings "fly away" and "run away", respectively, have undergone lexicalization in Pp to the extent that they are included in some Pp dictionaries. *Bula bai* is included in the lexical entry for *bula* in van Putte-de Wind and van Putte (2005: 76) and *core bay* is included under the entry *core* in J. Kramer (2013: 33). Note that *kore limpi bai* (lit. run clean go) "to flee" is found in van Putte-de Wind and van Putte (2005: 239).

5.4.6 Discussion

Bendix (1972) and Valeriano Salazar (1974) already perceived differences between real SVCs and those series of verbs in which *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) perform what they refer to as auxiliary functions (see also Jacobs 2012a: 241ff.).

The diverse functions displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in this section suggest the multi-functionality of these morphemes in Pp. The question which now arises is what the nature of the multi-functionality of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) is. Following Wood (1971a: 61f., 1972c: 643), Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974) and Jacobs (2012a), *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are analysed as auxiliary verbs. However, they could also be regarded as light verbs in two cases and language contact may have played a relevant role in another case.

It could be hypothesized that the diverse functions performed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in this section, together with the evolution of these lexemes into prepositions, are the result of the lexemes participating in different grammaticalization clines. Hence, the nature of the multi-functionality could be accounted for in terms of the *polygrammaticalization* of these lexemes in the sense described by Craig (1991). Thus, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are the source of various grammaticalization paths that give rise to diverse grammatical functions. Note that there is evidence in two cases of the synchronic coexistence of two stages and the loss of the verbhood of *bai*/*bay*. Furthermore, there is cross-linguistic evidence of the fact that these functions have developed in the lexemes for "go" and "come" as a consequence of grammaticalization.

I am aware that this study does not present historical data and, therefore, one should be careful when interpreting the nature of multi-functionality or the direction of evolution (see Lefebvre 2004: 176-178, Lightfoot 1979: 216), especially when some cases initially linked to grammaticalization in creole languages have ended up being related to the transfer of an existing grammaticalization pattern in the substrate

languages or to aspects available in the lexifier languages. That is why I prefer to leave the analysis of the multi-functionality of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to diachronic research. However, I lean towards the polygrammaticalization of these lexemes in Pp although some cases seem to be dubious. In any case, regardless of the nature of their multi-functionality, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be claimed to be polysemous words in Pp, or else the multi-functionality could also be regarded as two cases of *heterosemy* (see Lichtenberk 1991b) because the grammatical functions displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are derived from the same source. Evidence in favour of the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) is examined below.

First, as regards the evolution of *bai*/*bay* into a future auxiliary verb, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1991) and Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) show that motion verbs like "go" and "come" are lexical sources of "future grams" cross-linguistically (see also Heine and Kuteva 2002: 161-163). However, the lexifier languages may also have contributed to the use of *bai*/*bay* as a future marker in Pp.

Secondly, as regards the function of *bai*/*bay* as a durative aspectual marker,[60] the variation concerning the insertion or omission of the aspectual preverbal marker *ta* in front of *bai*/*bay* as V_2 expressing the duration of the action of V_1 represents the overlap of two different stages of grammaticalization. *Bai*/*bay* displays verbal features when it is marked for the preverbal marker *ta*, and represents a step further in the grammaticalization path when it stays in the bare form. *Bai*/*bay* further evolves into an adverb together with the morpheme *ketu*, with which it abandons the original position after the verb it modifies, and occupies a new position in front of the verb and its preverbal marker. *Ketu bai* undergoes boundary loss and lexicalizes into the adverb *kétubai*. Note that Heine and Kuteva (2002: 157f.) argue that the lexeme for "go" may evolve into a progressive, durative aspect auxiliary indicating the duration of an action as a result of a process of grammaticalization.

Furthermore, the use of the morpheme *bai*/*bay* becomes more speaker-based when it functions as an aspectual marker. Thus, the speaker's perception is taken into account in e.g. *balia bai*/*bay* (lit. dance go) "keep dancing". The speaker assesses the event and expresses his/her subjectivity, i.e. he/she gives his/her point of view about the fact that the person danced for a long time, according to him/her (see *subjectification* in Traugott 1986).

Thirdly, the evolution of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into assertative/purposive markers can also be claimed to be the result of grammaticalization. The lexemes for "go" and "come" can evolve into purpose clause markers cross-linguistically (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 78f., 163-165). Lichtenberk (1991a: 67) claims that "[t]he pairing of allative and purpose prepositional functions with reason and (positive) purpose complementizer functions… is common crosslinguistically." Furthermore, directional

[60] The evolution is attested in Mandarin Chinese, where *xiaqu* "go down" has been voided of its directional meaning and has acquired an aspectual function (Thompson 1973: 364, 371, Lu 1977: 297):

(i) Tamen nian xiaqu le. (Mandarin Chinese)
they study keep on Asp
"they kept on studying" (Lu 1977: 297)

verbs may also grammaticalize into discourse markers to introduce new events and structure the narrative (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 68f., 156f.).[61]

Moreover, the grammaticalization of the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into textual markers exemplifies the process of *subjectification* proposed by Traugott (1986: 540f.). The meaning of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) becomes increasingly discourse-based when the morphemes are used as purposive or consecutive markers. The meaning of the lexemes evolves from concrete, i.e. action, into abstract, i.e. the morphemes connect two actions in the sentence to indicate purpose, consecutiveness or consequence. However, as noted by Valeriano Salazar (1974: 47), *bai*/*bay* and *bin* retain their deictic value when they function as connective markers, which suggests the process referred to as *persistence* (see Hopper 1991: 28-30) or *semantic retention* (see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 15-19).

Fourthly, as regards the function of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as inceptive aspect markers to convey a change of state or activity, Heine and Kuteva (2002: 74f., 156) claim that the lexemes for "go" and "come" can express change of state in diverse languages as the result of a process of grammaticalization.[62] However, *bai*/*bay* and *bin* displaying inceptive aspect can also be regarded as light verbs rather than auxiliaries because one of the functions usually performed by light verbs is the marking of inceptive aspect. The use of *bai*/*bay* and *bin* to mark the beginning of the action expressed by the full verb they accompany parallels the use of *kai*/*cay* as a light verb to convey inceptive aspect in 6.3. In both cases, *bai*/*bin* and *kai*/*cay* are located in V_1 position and mark the beginning of the event expressed by the main verb, i.e. V_2. Further research is needed regarding the status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as auxiliaries or light verbs when they function as inceptive aspectual markers.

Finally, the adverbial use of *bai*/*bay* can be claimed to be the product of grammaticalization because two different stages were shown to coexist synchronically. The possibility of inserting and omitting the preverbal marker *ta* in front of *bai*/*bay* is evidence of different grades of verbhood. Furthermore, the use of *bai*/*bay* with an adverbial function after a main verb parallels the evolution of "go" into an andative marker in diverse languages of the world, including several creole languages, as shown in Heine and Kuteva (2002: 155f.). However, *bai*/*bay* could also be claimed to act as a light verb in this case because it modifies the main verb it accompanies in manner, as is customary for this category. The semantics of light verbs is often difficult to identify, which may give the impression that these verbs are semantically empty (see 3.2 for more information on light verbs). The translation of *dirti bai* (lit. melt go) as plainly "to melt" in van Putte-de Windt and van Putte's dictionary (2005: 103) may hint at the semantic emptiness of *bai*.[63]

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[61] See also Bourdin (2008) for the grammaticalization of directional verbs into textual markers.

[62] *Come* and *go* also display aspectual uses in English (see Jaeggli and Hyman 1993).

[63] Note that Butt and Lahiri (2002: 37) consider "go" with an adverbial use in Urdu and Bengali to be a light verb:

(i) batʃtʃʰa gɪr ga-ya (Urdu)
child.M.Nom fall go-Perf.M.Sg
"The child fell (down)." (Butt and Lahiri 2002: 37)

Finally, the verbs "go" and "come" are among the lexemes that usually develop light verb uses cross-linguistically. The general lexical semantic specification of these verbs enables them to participate in a variety of contexts, which is why they are termed *passepartouts* (see Butt 2010: 72). Further research into the possible light verb uses of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Pp is necessary.

5.5 *Bula* "fly, jump"and *kore*/*core* "run" (V_1) as light verbs

In the following, two motion verbs that usually occupy V_1 position accompanying directional serial verbs in Pp intransitive directional SVCs are presented as behaving like light verbs in some contexts. The verbs are *kore*/*core* "run" and *bula* "fly, jump". The structure V_1 + V_2 may look like an SVC on the surface, but it will be shown to be a V+V LVC, in which *kore*/*core* and *bula* (V_1) act as light verbs modifying the full verb (V_2) they accompany.

5.5.1 Light verb uses of *bula* and *kore*/*core*

According to the literature, some Pp motion verbs have partially or completely lost their lexical meaning when used in combination with other verbs. In these contexts, the motion verbs exhibit a functional meaning (see Bendix 1972: 54, Maurer 1988: 257, Muller 1989: 364, Jacobs 2015: 63, see also 4.3.4. in this work). Bendix (1972: 54) considers *bula* and *kore* with the adverbial meanings "suddenly" and "in a hurry", respectively, to be auxiliaries that form what he refers to as "serial-like strings" with the verb they complementize. Like Bendix (1972), Valeriano Salazar (1974) differentiates between SVCs and other verb constructions. She uses the label "constructions expressing manner" to refer to those verbal combinations in which the V_1 expresses the manner with which the action conveyed by the V_2 has been executed, e.g. *el a bula lanta* "he got up quickly", *el a kana bin* "he came walking" (1974: 82).

During my fieldwork, I noticed that speakers interpreted some motion verbs quite differently. For example, *kore*/*core* in (61) can exhibit full lexical or grammatical meaning:

(61) E mucha ta kore bai school.
DEF child TA run go school
a. "The child is running to school."
b. "The child is going fast to school." (but he is not actually running)

However, it is clear that *kore*/*core* does not display full lexical meaning in other contexts but performs an adverbial function:

(62) a. Nos ta bai Miami promé... Nos ta keda wikènt. Despues nos
1PL TA go M. first 1PL TA stay weekend after 1PL
ta kore bai Orlando keda shete dia. (2_C_M_18-30)
TA run go O. stay seven day

"We are going to Miami first… We are going to stay (there) for the weekend. Afterwards we will go to Orlando to/and stay there seven days." (we are not going to stay long in Miami, we are just going to spend the weekend there and we will immediately go to Orlando, but we will not actually run from Miami to Orlando)

b. Ayera m' a core pasa cerca mi mama.
yesterday 1SG PFV run pass PREP 1SG mother
"Yesterday I dropped by my mother´s place."
(I stayed there for a short time)[64] (Field notes, 4_A_F_18-30)

c. Bueno, chambòn mi no por kore bisa. (Lauffer 2013: 46)
well stupid 1SG NEG can run say
"Well, I cannot say so fast [that the articles are] stupid."[65]

As far as *bula* is concerned, the lexeme does not exhibit lexical meaning in the following examples but displays an adverbial function. Note that *bula* has an underspecified meaning when it surfaces as the only verb in a predicate because it can be interpreted as "fly", "jump" and "explode", depending on the context.

(63) a. E kandal a bula habri[66]. (Debrot 2008: 26)
DEF lock PFV jump open
"The lock opened suddenly."

b. Un herida bieu a bolbe bula habri. (Debrot 2008: 14)
INDF wound old PFV return jump open
"An old wound reopened suddenly."

c. M' a bula bisa: ketu para! (Fieldwork notes 6_C_W_51-70)
1SG-PFV jump say quiet stop
"I suddenly said: Stop!"

5.5.2 Lexicalization

Bula and *kore*/*core* can combine with other words and even participate in idiomatic expressions in Pp.

[64] Some informants stated that if one wants to emphasize the lexical meaning of these verbs, the sentence needs to be reformulated using a gerundive form or the PP *na kareda*/*careda* "running":
(i) E mucha ta bai skol kor-iendo. or (ii) Kor-iendo e mucha ta bai skol.
DEF boy TA go school run-GER run-GER DEF boy TA go school
"The boy is running to school." "The boy is running to school"
Note that this observation contrasts with Muller (1989: 353f.), who states that sentences containing *kore bai* "run go", *landa bai* "swim go" or *bula bai* "fly go" can be paraphrased by *bai koriendo*, *bai landando* and *bai bulando*.

[65] One informant stated that while *core pasa* can be paraphrased by *pasa na coremento* "pass by a place running", depending on the context, *core bisa* cannot be paraphrased with *bisa na coremento* "say something while running at the same time".

[66] Note that *fly* can also be used in English to mean "suddenly". Pearsall and Trumble (1995: 536) include the entry "be forced off suddenly", providing the example "*the door flew open*" in The Oxford English Reference Dictionary.

As regards *bula*, the lexeme can combine with several nouns, e.g. *bula kabes* (lit. fly head) "to decapitate, behead", *bula kabuya* (lit. fly/jump rope) "to skip or jump rope"[67] and *bula kaya* (lit. jump street) "to leave willingly" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 76f.). The combination of *bula* and the noun *pipa* "pipe", as in *bula pipa*, has developed the idiomatic meaning "to shirk a duty" (Mansur 1991: 32). *Bula* can also combine with verbs, e.g. *bula bai bin* (lit. fly/jump go come) "fly/jump back and forth" and *bula lanta* (lit. fly/jump get/stand up) "stand up suddenly" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 76f.).

When it comes to *kore*/*core*, the lexeme appears in combination with the verb *bisa*, i.e. *kore bisa* (lit. run say) "to assert fast" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 239). Furthermore, *kore*/*core* can be used in combination with some nouns, conveying a predictable meaning, e.g. *kore outo* (lit. run car) "to drive a car", *kore baiskel* (lit. run bicycle) "to ride a bicycle", *kore kabai* (lit. run horse) "to ride a horse", *kore* (*ròl*)*skats* (lit. run skates) "to skate" and *kore wil* (lit. run wheel) "to hoola-hoop" (2005: 239f.). However, *kore* can also participate in idiomatic expressions in combination with several nouns, e.g. *kore guil* (lit. run storm) "to go through a bad time", *kore kabes di gai* (lit. run head of rooster) "to do something headlong" or "to find obstacles on the way" and *kore peliger* (lit. run danger) "to be in danger" (2005: 239) as well as with the PP *den stef*, i.e. *kore den stef* (lit. run in bow/prow) meaning "to cadge somebody" (2005: 239, 433). Furthermore, the verb combination *kore kue* (lit. run get) has nominalized and given rise to the game "hide-and-seek" (2005: 239).

To summarize, *bula* and *kore*/*core* can combine with a series of words with which they form idiomatic expressions in some cases. For example, *kore kabes di gai* (lit. run head of rooster) "to do something headlong" or "to find obstacles on the way" has a fixed form and an idiomatic meaning. Thus, there is semantic opacity because the meaning of the expression does not correspond to the sum of the meanings of the individual constituents.

5.5.3 Discussion: Analysis of *bula* and *kore*/*core* as light verbs

Bula and *kore*/*core* displaying adverbial meaning have been analysed as auxiliaries (see Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974) and minor verbs (see Jacobs 2015) modifying the main verb or head they accompany. Note that Maurer (2013: 175) considers *bula* to be part of the SVC *bula lanta* "get up rapidly". The author proposes that *bula* functions as a manner adverb within the SVC.[68] I argue that *bula* and *kore*/*core* are best analysed as light verbs when they occupy V_1 position and modify the head V_2 adverbially in the complex predicate they integrate. Below, I provide evidence why they should be analysed as light verbs.

[67] Ratzlaff (1992: 36) also translates it as "jump a skipping rope".
[68] Maurer (1995: 106, 2009: 117) also proposes that *thata* "jump" in Angolar and *vwa* "jump" in Principense as V_1 denote the rapidity with which the action expressed in V_2 is performed.

First of all, when *bula* and *kore*/*core* act as light verbs, they display an adverbial function.[69] This is customary for light verbs, as has been indicated by Butt and Geuder (2001). Further, *bula* and *kore*/*core* as light verbs are form identical with their main verb counterparts (see Butt 2010: 53). This fact indicates that the morphemes have not undergone phonetic erosion or any other process of grammaticalization but have remained stable over the years, which distinguishes them from auxiliaries: "[A]uxiliaries may be form identical to a full verb at the initial stages of reanalysis from verb to auxiliary, but then quickly tend to develop away from the original form of the full verb" (Butt 2010: 53).

I argue that *bula* and *kore*/*core* each have a single underlying lexical entry that binds the different uses displayed by their main verb variants and their light verb counterparts. Following Butt and Lahiri's (2013: 32) schema, I represent the uses of *bula* and *kore*/*core* as follows:

(64) *Bula* → Main verb: full lexical meaning "fly", "jump", "explode"
→ Light verb: adverbial meaning "suddenly", "quickly"

(65) *Kore*/*core* → Main verb: full lexical meaning "run"
→ Light verb: adverbial meaning "fast", "in a rush", "immediately"

Bula and *kore*/*core* are polysemous words. The lexical and adverbial uses of *bula* and *kore*/*core* can be said to be bound to one single lexical entry. *Bula* is polysemous in its heavy and light senses, i.e. it exhibits three heavy uses ("fly", "jump" and "explode") and two light uses ("suddenly" and "quickly").[70] *Kore*/*core* is a polysemous word if one takes into consideration the different semantics exhibited by its heavy and light verb variants. The main or heavy verb is monosemous because it displays only one meaning, i.e. "run", but the light verb exhibits three related meanings, i.e. "fast", "in a rush" and "immediately". Note that *bula* and *kore*/*core* exhibit similarities in their light meanings. The diverse semantics exhibited by each lexeme, including the main and light verb uses, are related via lexical polysemy and not due to a process of desemanticization, i.e. grammaticalization.

The lexemes can exhibit both lexical and adverbial meanings depending on their syntactic environment (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 328, Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33) and even depending on the context and the information one wishes to convey. *Kore*/*core* can display the lexical meaning "run" in combination with *bai*/*bay* [see (61), reading a.], but

[69] Note that Jacobs (2015: 63) assigns the motion verbs an aspectual function. I argue that *bula* and *kore*/*core* display an adverbial function in the examples above.
[70] J. Kramer (2012a: 262) claims that the meaning "fly" comes from Spanish, but the semantics of "jump" is a development that has only taken place in Pp.

it can also act as a light verb modifying the V_2 in manner, as illustrated in sentences (61, reading b.) and (62).

Jacobs (2015: 63) notes that it is not easy to know which of the uses (head or modifying verb) is at play in some cases:

> A frequently occurring pattern is that a semantically more specific, intransitive motion verb endows a semantically more general verb (often, but not necessarily an intransitive motion verb)… It is not always clear which verb modifies which
>
> (Jacobs 2015: 63, my underline)

However, taking the context into consideration, *kore*/*core* cannot be interpreted as having lexical meaning in (62). Hence, it can only function as a light verb modifying the V_2 it accompanies. Similarly, *bula* exhibits full lexical meaning when it is used to denote a trip, e.g. *mi ta bula bai Sürnam* "I fly to Suriname",[71] but it displays an adverbial meaning in (63), where it behaves like a light verb modifying the main verb it precedes. It is worth mentioning that there seem to be lexical restrictions regarding the lexemes with which *bula* and *kore*/*core* can be combined as light verbs. For example, *kore*/*core* cannot combine with any lexeme to denote that somebody has performed an activity rapidly. The adverb *lihé* "fast" would be used instead. Similarly, *bula* cannot combine with all sorts of verbs to express that a person has carried out an action suddenly. The adverb *diripiente* "suddenly" would be used instead. It is important to note that there are discrepancies between speakers concerning the lexemes that can combine with *kore*/*core* and *bula* as light verbs. Further research in needed regarding this aspect.

To sum up, two different syntactic analyses of the same surface structure, i.e. V+V, are possible depending on the interpretation of one of the verbs either as main or light verb (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 328, Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33). When *bula* and *kore*/*core* display an adverbial meaning, they form a V+V LVC with the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate. Furthermore, *bula* and *kore*/*core* can combine with a variety of nouns, comprising V+N LVCs. Some combinations have lexicalized and even developed an idiomatic meaning. Lexicalization and idiomaticization have been reported to be the only changes that light verbs can undergo over time (see Butt 2010: 72). Otherwise, light verbs have been considered to be *historical dead ends* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002).

The different functions and meanings displayed by *bula* and *kore*/*core* mean that the semantics of the lexemes are rather underspecified and that their accurate interpretation depends on the specific context in which they surface. Moreover, due to the fact that both are used in different contexts with different functions and meanings, they behave like verbal *passepartouts* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013).

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[71] Remember that *bula* can also display other meanings as main verb, i.e. "jump" and "explode":

(i) E cacho a bula riba e ladron. (Lasten et al. 2010: 81)
DEF dog PFV jump on DEF thief
"The dog jumped onto the thief."

(ii) kantidat di e rebelde-nan a bula na lamán brutu di nòrt (de Haseth 1988: 19)
quantity of DEF rebel-PL PFV jump to sea rough of north
"many of the rebels jumped into the rough sea of the north"

Finally, although the marking of light verbs for tense and aspect does not seem to be diagnostic for this syntactic category (see 3.2.4.), both *bula* and *kore*/*core* always receive tense and aspect marking. Moreover, they can undergo predicate clefting in the same way as their full lexical counterparts.

To conclude, *bula* and *kore*/*core* can display lexical and adverbial functions in combination with other verbs. The lexemes have lexical meaning when they act as main verbs in the predicate, and receive an adverbial interpretation when they function as light verbs modifying the main or heavy verb they accompany. Moreover, *bula* and *kore*/*core* can appear in combination with several nouns. In some cases, the V+N LVCs have given rise to idiomatic expressions, which further points to their use as light verbs.

5.6 Interim conclusion

In sections 5.2 and 5.3, I argued that Pp intransitive directional SVCs are unstable structures because they are subject to grammaticalization processes that are attested in serializing languages worldwide (see 3.1.4). The second constituents of the intransitive directional SVCs, i.e. *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), were claimed to have entered two divergent grammaticalization clines: from full lexical verb to adposition, giving rise to the deverbal prepositions *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), and from verb to affix, bringing about intransitive directional verb compounds. While *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) have evolved from full verbs into actual prepositions, detaching from the main verb (V_1) in the SVC (see 5.2), *bai*/*bay* and, to a lesser extent, *bin* have coalesced into V_1 to make up a verb compound (see 5.3). Following Durie (1988), the former process corresponds to the centrifugal tendency of serial verbs, while the latter relates to the centripetal tendency:

Divergent grammaticalization paths of the serial verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come"	
1. Full verb → preposition	2. SVC → V-V compound
Centripetal tendency of serial verbs	Centrifugal tendency of serial verbs

Table 23. Divergent grammaticalization paths of the serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*)

The first grammaticalization path (from full verb to preposition) was presented in 5.2. Building on the reinterpretation of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions (see Bendix 1972: 49, Endruschat 2005: 186, 2007: 162f. and Jacobs 2015: 70), I provided morphosyntactic evidence that these directional serial verbs have evolved into prepositions via grammaticalization. Intransitive directional SVCs were shown to present structural variability synchronically: V_2 can be marginally marked for aspect but cannot be predicate clefted; moreover, V_1 and V_2 can surface adjacently as well as non-contiguously. The aspectual marking on V_2 hints at its verbal status. However, the marginal nature of the aspectual marking on V_2 suggests that this verbal constituent is gradually losing verbhood. This seems to be corroborated by the fact that V_2 cannot undergo predicate clefting. Furthermore, evidence was presented of the prepositional status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*). However, it is in some cases not easy to interpret these morphemes as prepositions owing to the fact that "there is no sharp boundary between (co-)verb and adposition" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 105). I argued that the availability of

the different stages (full-fledged verbs, serial verbs, co-verbs and prepositions) as well as the ambiguous categorial status and interpretation of the morphemes in some contexts indicate the synchronic coexistence of all stages of the verb-to-preposition grammaticalization cline. The coexistence and overlapping of these stages indicate the gradual nature, which is part of grammaticalization, as opposed to the abruptness that is characteristic of reanalysis (see Haspelmath 1998). In any case, the absence of aspect marking on *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in the intransitive directional SVCs as well as the fact that it is unacceptable for these morphemes to undergo predicate cleft is clear proof of their deverbalization and evolution into deverbal prepositions. I consider *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to be incipient prepositions in Pp due to their inability to be pied-piped in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization. This suggests that the process of paradigmaticization has not been completed. Thus, the grammaticalizing items have not completely integrated the prepositional paradigm.

The second path of grammaticalization (from intransitive directional SVC to verb compound) was present in 5.3. Following Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 215), Arends, Muysken and Smith (1995: 326), Muysken (2001: 407) and Jacobs (2015: 63), who claim that some SVCs with *bula* and *kore/core* have lexicalized as compound verbs due to their frequent use, I proposed the coalescence of the directional verbs (V_2) – mainly *bai/bay* – into at least some motion verbs (V_1) in the context of intransitive directional SVCs. The coalescence gives rise to directional V-V compounds due to their frequent and conventionalized use in Pp. Furthermore, I argued that these directional serial verbs may have undergone further grammaticalization within the verb compound together with a process of semantic bleach because they appear to have stopped marking direction. The desemanticization of the directional morphemes – mainly *bai/bay* – in the verbal compound may have caused the use of directional prepositions after the compound to indicate direction. The semantic bleach undergone by the morphemes within the verb compound together with the semantic imprecision caused by the multi-functionality displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*), as shown in 5.4, may have contributed to the insertion of directional prepositions after the V-V compounds to compensate for the semantic void or semantic vagueness and make the directionality explicit. The directional serial verbs retain the deictic specification from their lexical counterparts.

Apart from acting as full lexical verbs and directional prepositions, in 5.4 *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) were also shown to function as future, aspectual, adverb as well as assertative/purposive markers. The multi-functionality displayed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be accounted for by the fact that the lexemes have undergone different grammaticalization paths, i.e. *polygrammaticalization* (see Craig 1991). However, in the absence of diachronic data, other explanations could also be plausible.

I am aware of the objections that have been put forward in the literature concerning those cases in which processes of grammaticalization have been claimed in the absence of historical data. For example, Lefebvre (2004: 176-178) claims that multi-functionality does not necessarily equal grammaticalization. I argue for the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions based on the synchronic coexistence and overlapping of the different stages, which causes semantic ambiguity in some cases, i.e. the synchronic view of grammaticalization in Lehmann (1995 [1982]).

The evolution of *bai*/*bay* into a durative aspectual marker and an adverb also suggests the coexistence of two intermediate stages that represent a different grade of verbhood. Furthermore, I also considered cross-linguistic evidence: the grammatical functions performed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Pp are also attested worldwide among creole and non-creole languages, and have been related to processes of grammaticalization (see Heine and Kuteva 2002). In any case, since the diverse functions performed by *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) seem to be historically related to the same sources, the directional verbs are best analysed as polysemous words rather than homonyms[72] of the other forms that exhibit different functions (see Hopper and Traugott 1993).

Finally, intransitive directional SVCs need to be distinguished from other syntactic structures that may look identical on the surface, namely, light verb constructions (LVCs). In 5.5, *bula* "fly, jump" and *kore*/*core* "run" were reported to display a dual function because they can be synchronically used as main and light verbs. I argued that *bula* and *kore*/*core* in V_1 position modifying a V_2 adverbially are best analysed as light verbs and not as auxiliaries resulting from a process of grammaticalization for several reasons.

First, when *bula* and *kore*/*core* in V_1 position function as full verbs, the second verb constituent exhibits grammatical meaning, as was shown in 5.2. However, when the lexemes do not predicate as full or main verbs, they behave like light verbs displaying an adverbial function, which is customary among light verbs, whereas temporal and aspectual functions are characteristic of auxiliaries (see Butt 2010: 72). The fact that *bula* and *kore*/*core* each constitute a single underlying lexical entry that binds the heavy and the light verb uses means that it may be hard to know which function the lexemes are displaying in some cases, as noted by Jacobs (2015: 63). Thus, the possible ambiguous interpretation is not the result of grammaticalization but of lexical polysemy and the fact that the accurate interpretation of the lexemes *bula* and *kore*/*core* is context dependent.

Second, *bula* and *kore*/*core* are form identical to their corresponding full verbs, while auxiliaries tend to undergo phonetic erosion. Both lexemes seem to be historically stable and do not appear to undergo further changes, except for the fact that they constitute lexicalized expressions with other words, e.g. collocations with a variety of nouns, developing idiomatic meaning in some cases. Lexicalization and idiomaticization are the only changes attributed to light verbs (Butt 2010: 72). Finally, the lexemes display an underspecified meaning due to the different contexts in which they can be used and the distinct functions and meanings they can exhibit. This aspect makes them qualify as *passepartouts* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013).

[72] Valeriano Salazar (1974: 46) considers the auxiliary *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to be homophonous with the full verbs.

Surface structure	V_1 (*bula*, *kore*/*core*)	V_2 (directional verb)
Intransitive directional SVC	Main verb	Grammaticalization of V_2 1. Centrifugal tendency: verb → preposition 2. Centripetal tendency: SVC → V-V compound
Light verb construction (LVC)	Light verb	Main verb (not only directional verbs, but also e.g. *habri* "open", *bisa* "say", etc.)

Table 24. One surface structure and two possible interpretations: SVC or LVC

To conclude, two divergent paths of grammaticalization have been reported to have taken place in Pp intransitive directional SVCs. Moreover, some syntactic structures that use the lexemes *bula* and *kore*/*core* in V_1 position to modify the main verb in V_2 position can resemble SVCs on the surface but are best analysed as LVCs.

5.7 Other ways to express direction in Papiamentu/o

Speakers have a wide range of possibilities for indicating direction in Pp. Apart from directional SVCs, motion verbs and directional verbs can be used. The three options can be followed by either a directional NP or a PP.

The different ways of expressing direction in Pp will be presented in the following. In some cases, a brief introduction of the state of the art on the topic is included (for more details, see 4.4).

5.7.1 Motion verb + prepositional phrase

A parallel syntactic alternative to intransitive directional SVCs is the use of motion verbs followed by the prepositions *pa* and *na* (Muller 1989: 201, van Putte and van Putte-De Windt 2014: 191). Thus, the (grammaticalized) serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can be replaced by these prepositions to express the direction of the preceding motion verb.

As is the case with intransitive directional SVCs, motion verbs and prepositions can be contiguous, as in (66), where the motion verbs *bula* "fly" and *sali* "go out" are immediately followed by the preposition *pa*:

(66) a. nan ta bula pa Sürnam. (24_C_F_31-50)
3PL TA fly PREP S.
"they are flying to Suriname."

b. Pero ora e tabata sali pa Boneiru… (Lauffer 2013: 50)
but when 3SG PST.IPFV exit PREP B.
"But when he was leaving to Bonaire…"

c. Si mi ke, mi por sali pa laman mesora. (Lauffer 2013: 59)
if 1SG want 1SG can exit PREP sea immediately
"If I want, I can leave for the sea immediately."

However, in other cases, the motion verb and the preposition can be separated by an adverbial phrase, as in (67), where the motion verb *biaha* and the directional PP *pa Sürnam* are separated by the PP *den un avion*. This structure parallels the arrangement in (25a) and (25b), where the motion and directional verbs are not contiguous but separated by an adverbial phrase.

(67) Akinan dos hende ta biah-ando den un avion pa
here two person TA travel-GER LOC INDF plane PREP
Sürnam. (8_C_M_31-50)
S.
"Here two people are travelling in a plane to Suriname."

In these examples, only the preposition *pa* was used. However, motion verbs can also be followed by the preposition *na*.

5.7.2 Motion verb + nominal phrase

As was shown in the previous section, the prepositions *pa* and *na* can be inserted after motion verbs to introduce the locative goal. However, an opposite phenomenon that to my knowledge has not yet been dealt with in the literature can also occur. Under certain circumstances a motion verb can surface without a directional PP, even if the semantics of the motion verb is neutral with regard to direction.

If the direction is clear from the semantics of the motion verb, the locative goal can be expressed by an NP (van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191f.). In the following sentence, *trese* "bring" does not need to be accompanied by a preposition because the semantics of the verb already specifies the direction:

(68) Nos tabata kohe piska di kosta-nan di Afrika trese Puerto Rico.
1PL PST.IMP take fish from coast-PL of Africa bring P. R.
"We used to take fish from the coasts of Africa and/to bring it to Puerto Rico."
(10_B_M_+70)

However, what happens in those cases in which the semantics of the motion verb does not clearly indicate the direction? Van Putte and van Putte-de Windt (2014: 191) point out that a preposition is required when the direction is not specified in the semantics of the motion verb, and the speaker wants to make sure that their interlocutor understands the information correctly (see 4.4). The ambiguity can be avoided by introducing a preposition, as is seen in the following sentences:

(69) a. Nos ta kore skol.
1SG TA run school
"We are running (to? in? at?) school."

b. Nan ta bula[73] Hulanda.
3PL TA fly Netherlands
"They are flying (to? over?) the Netherlands."

Nevertheless, two instances were attested in the elicited spoken data, in which two motion verbs whose semantics do not specify for direction were used without a preposition:

(70) a. Un mucha homber ta cor-iendo scol pasobra e ta laat.
INDF child man TA run-GER school because 3SG COP late
"A boy is running to school because he is late." (15_A_F_18-30)

b. Pa bo biaha Sürnam for di Kòrsou? (18_C_M_51-70)
COMP 2SG travel S. from of C.
"For you to travel to Suriname from Curaçao?"
"To travel to Suriname from Curaçao?"

Further examples were found in which prepositions are omitted after motion verbs such as *bula* "fly" and *biaha* "travel", whose meanings do not explicitly express the direction. The examples in (71) were taken from comments written by readers in response to articles appearing in an Aruban newspaper:[74]

(71) a. By the way KLM tambe ta mas cara cu e otro-nan
K. also COP more expensive than DEF other-PL
cu ta bula Hulanda... (24ora.com, 2nd June 2011)[75]
REL TA fly Netherlands
"By the way KLM is also more expensive than the others that fly to the Netherlands…"

b. Ami ta compronde si bo a biaha Miami cu AA
1SG.EMPH TA understand if 2SG PFV travel M. with A.
p.e. bo a paga 1100.00 pa ticket… (24ora.com, 16th Aug. 2010)[76]
2SG PFV pay per ticket
"I understand if you travelled to Miami with AA for example you paid 1,100.00 per ticket…"

Further examples were found in articles that appeared in Aruban newspapers.[77] The examples were taken from the article itself and not from the comments sent in by the readers:

(72) a. Renze Postma hunto cu Head Coach di Aruba Triathlon...
R. P. together with head coach of A. triathlon

[73] Note that *bula* can also have further meanings as a lexical verb: "jump" and "explode".
[74] See a further example in the Annex.
[75] http://www.24ora.com/politica-mainmenu-18/32303-otmar-oduber-turismo-di-aruba-ta-sigui-desaroya-positivamente
[76] http://www.24ora.com/local-mainmenu-5/20895-tene-cuenta-cu-cambio-den-ley-di-aduana
[77] See more examples in the annex.

a biaha Colombia.... (24ora.com, 21st Feb. 2015)[78]
PFV travel C.
"Renze Postma together with the head coach of the Aruba Triathlon… travelled to Colombia…"

The above examples show that motion verbs can lack prepositions that introduce the directional complement, even in those cases in which the meaning of the motion verb lacks specification for direction. I will come back to this aspect in 5.9.

5.7.3 Directional verb + nominal phrase

There seems to be unanimity in the literature regarding the fact that the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bini* are followed by an NP[79] (Lenz 1927: 193, Wood 1971a: 63, Goilo 1972: 16, 42, Maurer 1988: 42, 2013: 176, Munteanu 1991: 183; 1996: 389, Bartens 1995: 255, Jacobs 2009: 335f., 2012b: 103, 241, van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191, Michaelis et al. 2013a: 316, Holm 2006: 57).[80] *Bai*/*bay* and *bini* can be immediately followed by an NP because they inherently express the direction deictically. Below are some examples in which the directional verbs are followed by proper and common nouns:[81]

(73) a. M' a bay Sankt Petersburg algu aña pasa. (23_A_M_+70)
1SG PFV go S. P. some year pass.PTCP
"I went to Saint Petersburg some years ago."

b. Mi gusta bay laman. (16_A_F_18-30)
1SG like go sea
"I like going to the sea."

c. E krudo di Venezuela tawata bini Lago. (19_A_M_+70)
DEF crude from V. PST.IPFV come L.
"The crude oil from Venezuela used to come to Lago."

[78] http://www.24ora.com/deporte-mainmenu-7/92074-renze-postma-a-bay-competi-na-e-2015-baranquilla-camtri-triathlon-american-cup-and-cac-championship

[79] Other languages follow the same strategy as Pp (see Maurer 1995: 122 for Angolar, 2009: 124 for Principense).

[80] *Yega* "arrive" also expresses the endpoint via a directional NP:
(i) Nan a kana na pia for di Rincon pa nan yega Tera Korá. (9_B_F_+70)
3PL PFV walk LOC foot out of R. COMP 3PL arrive T. K.
"They walked on foot from Rincon in order for them to arrive in Tera Korá."
(ii) Ora m´ a yega trabou... (1_B_M_18-30)
when 1SG PFV arrive work
"When I arrived at work…"

[81] No sentence with *bini* followed by a common noun was found in the fieldwork data. However, we often come across instances with the predicates *bini kas* "come home", *bini skol* "come to school", etc.

5.7.4 Directional verb + prepositional phrase

As shown in the previous subsection, the literature on Pp unanimously agrees that the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are followed directly by an NP that indicates the locative goal.[82] Goilo (1972: 42) notes that three prepositions can be added after the directional verbs in the following contexts: *na* is used to express the direction towards a thing, e.g. *bai na porta* "go to the door", *den* expresses the direction to the room in a house, e.g. *bai den kamber* "go to the bedroom" and *serka*/*seka*/*cerca* expresses the direction towards a person, e.g. *bai cerca dokter* "go to the doctor". Muller (1989: 201) acknowledges a semantic difference between the insertion and omission of *na* in sentences like *el a bai* (*na*) *e supermerkado ei*. The author remarks that the agent of the action is assumed to have actually entered the supermarket when the preposition is omitted (see 4.4). Nevertheless, the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are often accompanied by the prepositions *pa* and *na* in cases in which there is no semantic difference between their presence and absence, contrary to the difference acknowledged by Muller:

(74) a. Akinan tin dos... dos hende den un avion... ku ta... biah- ando
here EXT two two people LOC INDF plane REL TA travel-GER
of **bayendo** **pa** Surinam. (5_A_M_18-30)
or go.GER PREP Suriname
"Here there are two… two people inside a plane who is/are travelling or going to Suriname."

b. Pa bo conose un pueblo, bo tin cu **bay** **na** e
COMP 2SG know INDF people 2SG must go PREP DEF
pais di e pueblo. (21_A_F_+70)
country of DEF people
"In order for you to know a people you have to go to the country of the people."

The examples above provide evidence that the prepositions *pa* and *na* can be inserted after the directional verbs in Pp. Remember that intransitive directional SVCs were also followed by these prepositions in (41) and (42a, b).

Next, I will account for the insertion of the prepositions *pa* and *na* after the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) via a language-internal and a language-external factor as well as the convergence of both factors. First, I will argue that the apparent increasing use of prepositions after the directional verbs in Pp started off as a strategy for clarifying and disambiguating the message for better comprehension and that later it extended to all other uses. Second, I will consider the influence that language contact may also have exerted on the insertion of prepositions after directional verbs. Since the Indo-European contact languages on the ABC islands make use of prepositions after directional verbs, bilingual speakers may have transferred this pattern into Pp.

[82] Note that directional verbs are followed by prepositions in other creole languages:
(i) a go a matu (diacritical marks were not reproduced) (Saramaccan)
he go loc jungle
"He went to the jungle." (Byrne 1987: 61)

Language-internal factor: Clarification and disambiguation

The preposition *na* has been used in (75a, b) after the directional verb *bai* "go" to introduce the directional complement:[83]

(75) a. Mi ta **bai** mas tantu **na** sinema. (11_C_F_18-30)
1SG TA go more to[84] cinema
"I usually go to the cinema."

b. Dos aña pasá ami ku mi amigu-nan a **bai**...
two year last 1SG.EMPH with 1SG friend-PL PFV go
ku vakansi **na** un weekendthuis. (10_C_M_18-30)
with holiday to INDF weekend.house
"Two years ago my friends and I went… on holidays to a weekend house."

In the above sentences, *bai* is not followed directly by a directional PP. Instead, the adverbial phrases *mas tantu* "more" and *ku vakansi* "on holidays" have been inserted between the directional verb and the PPs. It can be argued that the use of the preposition *na* to introduce the locative goal could be related to the insertion of the adverbial phrases. Since the directional verb and the locative target are not adjacent, speakers may feel compelled to resort to a directional marker to make sure that the interlocutor interprets the phrase as a directional complement.[85] This strategy parallels the use of prepositional *bai*/*bay* after the directional verbs and the intransitive directional SVC in sentences (26), (27) and (28).

One of the three informants whose data were not considered in the quantitative analysis owing to the fact that he had learnt Pp as an adult also resorted to the same strategy in the following sentences:

(76) a. Anto ora el a **bin** di vacansi **na** Aruba... (27_A_M_31-50)
then when 3SG PFV come of holiday to Aruba
"Then when (s)he came on holidays to Aruba…"

[83] Note that the preposition *na* can also be inserted after *yega* "arrive" to indicate the endpoint:
(i) Mucha homber ta cor-iendo pa e por yega na tempo na scol
child man TA run-GER COMP 3SG can arrive on time PREP school
"The boy is running so that he can arrive on time at school." (8_A_F_31-50)

[84] From here onwards, I will gloss the prepositions *pa* and *na* introducing a locative goal as "to".

[85] Parallel examples with *sali* "go out" can also be attested. The preposition *for di* can be omitted when the locative goal is situated right after the verb, i.e. sentence (i), but the preposition is required when there is an adverbial phrase between the verb and the directional goal, i.e. example (ii) (see van Putte and van Putte-de Windt 2014: 191f.):
(ii) Kemen nos a sali kas bai skol ku sinku, seis aña. (17_C_M_+70)
that.is 1PL PFV leave house go school with five six year
"That is we left home and went/to go school with five, six years."
(iii) E ta sali ku su vierpot for di su kas (20_C_F_31-50)
3SG TA leave with 3SG.POSS walking.stick out of 3SG.POSS house
"He goes out with his walking stick out of his house"
However, *for di* can introduce the directional complement even when it is directly adjacent to *sali*:
(iv) E homber ta sali for di su cas bai reclam' ele. (5_A_M_18-30)
DEF man TA leave out of 3SG.POSS house go complain-3SG.EMPH
"The man goes out from his house and complains/to complain about him"

b. anytime mi kier **bay** bek **na** Colombia **na** su cas...
1SG want go back to Colombia LOC 3SG.POSS house
"anytime I want to go back to Colombia to his house…" (27_A_M_31-50)

The insertion of the PP *di vacansi* between the directional verb and the locative goal in sentence (76a) may have triggered the insertion of the preposition *na* to introduce the locative goal *Aruba*. However, two directional PPs with *na* following the directional verb *bay* are found in sentence (76b). The first one, i.e. *na Colombia*, can be justified by the insertion of the adverb *bek* between the verb and the directional complement, whereas the second PP, i.e. *na su cas*, can be accounted for due to the distance between the directional verb *bay* and the locative target *su cas*. Thus, if the preposition is removed in the second PP, i.e. *anytime mi kier bai bek na Colombia ∅ su cas*, the interlocutor may have difficulties interpreting the directionality assigned to the NP *su cas*, since *Colombia su cas* could express possession following the pattern possessor+possessive pronoun+possessed[86] (see Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 50). However, the second interpretation would be less preferable due to extralinguistic reasons (? the house of Colombia). Taking the context and discourse into consideration, the interpretation of *su cas* as a directional phrase is more plausible.

In the examples below, *bai*/*bay* is followed by two directional phrases. The first is a directional NP and the second is couched as a directional PP headed by the preposition *na*:

(77) a. Anto despues m' a **bai** Spaña, **na** un siudat ku yama
then after 1SG PFV go S. to DEF city REL call
Almuñecar. (16_C_M_+70)
A.
"Then afterwards I went to Spain, to a city which is called Almuñécar."

b. Despues di Malta nos a **bai** Italia... **na** Napoles.
after of M. 1PL PFV go I. to N.
"After Malta we went to Italy… to Naples." (23_A_M_+70)

c. Despues m' a **bai** kas **na** Pos Chikito. (7_A_M_31-50)
after 1SG PFV go house to P. C.
"Afterwards I went home in/to Pos Chikito."

In these examples, it is obvious that the speakers did not consider it necessary to use a preposition to introduce the first locative goal because it is situated right next to the directional verb *bai*/*bay*, and the direction is already implied in it. However, they did consider that a directional preposition was required to introduce the second directional complement because it is not contiguous with the directional verb, and its directional

[86] Possession is expressed using this pattern in the following example: *Maria* (possessor), *su* (possessive pronoun) and *wowo* (possessed):
(i) Lágrima a kuminsá kore pokopoko na Maria su wowo. (Debrot 2008: 56)
tear PFV start run little.REDUP LOC Maria 3SG.POSS eye
"Tears started running slowly in Maria's eye."

projection may be felt to have faded away in the discourse. Thus, the distance between the directional verb and the second locative target may be the reason why a morpheme indicating direction was inserted.[87] The preposition *na* was used for this purpose.

Apart from *na*, the preposition *pa* can also be used to express direction. The following example is taken from a conversation in which one of the speakers announced that she was flying to the Netherlands soon (*mi ta bay Hulanda* "I am going to the Netherlands"), to which the interlocutor reacted by saying:

(78) Bo mes sa, bo mes sa, pa tera friu. (7_A_M_31-50)
2SG REFL know 2SG REFL know to land cold
"You know well, you know well, [you go] to a cold place."

The directional verb *bay* was not overtly realized in the sentence, but it was still weakly perceived in the discourse. Hence, the speaker considered the realization of the preposition *pa* to be mandatory to convey direction. *Na*, also a locative preposition, was probably not used because it does not express direction as explicitly as *pa* does.

So far, I have argued that the preposition *na* can be used to introduce a directional complement in those cases where the directional verb *bai*/*bay* is not adjacent to the locative goal but both are separated by an adverbial phrase. The directional preposition *pa* was used on one single occasion, in a context where the directional verb was covert. It is important to emphasize that the use of a preposition was necessary in all cases to improve comprehension of the information that was being conveyed or to avoid ambiguity.

I argue that this evidence leads to the stage presented in the sentences in (79), in which the prepositions *pa* and *na* are used immediately after the directional verb *bai*/*bay*:

(79) a. Esaki ta un avion ta **bay** **pa** Surinam. (14_A_F_51-70)
DEM COP INDF plane ASP go to S.
"This is a plane going to Suriname."

b. [gasolin] e ta´ta **bay** **pa** Colombia, pa **bay** **pa** Peru, pa
oil 3SG PST.IPFV go to C. COMP go to P.
COMP
pa **bay** **pa** Ecuador, Chile... eh Brasil. (19_A_M_+70)
COMP go to E. C. B.
Brasil.
B.
"[oil] it used to go to Colombia, to go to Peru, to go to Ecuador, Chile...eh Brasil."

c. bo ta bai traha na Venezuela, bo ta **bai** **na** Colombia .
2SG TA go work LOC/to Venezuela 2SG TA go to Colombia
"you go to work in/to Venezuela, you go to Colombia." (19_A_M_+70)

[87] There is even a small break in (77a) and a pause in (77b) between the directional verb and the second directional goal.

Interestingly, two speakers initially opted to indicate direction using a PP immediately after the directional verb *bai*/*bay*. However, after a short pause, they reformulated the sentence to omit the preposition:

(80) a. E avion ta **bayendo** **pa**... bayendo Surinam. Ø ta bayendo
DEF plane TA go.GER to go.GER S. TA go.GER
Surinam. (20_A_M_+70)
S.
"The plane is going to…going to Suriname. It´s going to Suriname."

b. i kan-ando nos a **bai** **na**... **na** skol. Kan-ando nos
and walk-GER 1PL PFV go to to school. walk-GER 1PL
a bai skol. (11_B_F_+70)
PFV go school
"and we went to… to school on foot. We went to school on foot."

It could be argued that the speakers thought they had made a mistake due to being distracted or not concentrating properly. However, the modification could also be related to the *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972: 209). Thus, the participants may have deliberately modified this part of their speech, which they considered to be non-normative, due to the fact that they were being recorded and, moreover, due to the fact that the data were going to be used for research on Pp.

To sum up, evidence has been provided that prepositions can be inserted after the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) to indicate direction. The PPs were sometimes used due to the insertion of adverbial phrases between the directional verbs and the locative goals. In other cases, the directional PPs were directly juxtaposed with the directional verbs.

It has been shown that the insertion of adverbial phrases between the directional verbs and the directional complements may have triggered the use of directional prepositions to introduce the target. Nevertheless, many examples[88] are attested in the spoken data that were elicited during the fieldwork in which the informants did not resort to a preposition despite the presence of a(n) (heavy) adverbial phrase between the directional verb and the directional NP:[89]

(81) a. Mi a **bay** un par di biaha kaba **Maastricht**. (11_A_F_51-70)
1SG PFV go INDF couple of travel already M.
"I have already travelled to Maastricht a couple of times."

b. Nos a **bin** ku e stewardess **Aruba** bek. (15_A_F_18-30)
1PL PFV come with DEF stewardess A. back

[88] See further examples in the Annex.
[89] See also a parallel example with *yega*:
(i) Akinan e mucha homber a **yega** laat **skol**. (17_A_F_18-30)
here DEF child man PFV arrive late school
"Here the boy arrived late at school."

"We came with the stewardess back to Aruba."

c. Ahm mi a **bai** ku vakansi na aña pasa, no, dos aña pasa
1SG PFV go with holiday LOC year last NEG two year last
Sint Maarten. (11_C_F_18-30)
S. M.
"Ahm I went on holiday last year, no, two years ago to Saint Martin."

The examples above contrast with the ones presented at the beginning of this section. As is clear, the speakers opted for a directional NP despite the presence of an adverb or a PP between the directional verb and the directional complement.

Furthermore, cases of variation between directional NPs and directional PPs after directional verbs can be attested in one and the same speaker:

(82) E or' ei am' a **bai** **Aruba** ku mi dos yiu-nan...
DEF hour DEM 1SG.EMPH PFV go Aruba with 1SG two child-PL
Nos a **bai** també **na** **e** **ehm** **e** **lugá** kaminda bo... por
1PL PFV go also to DEF DEF place REL 2SG can
wak barbulete. Nos a **bai** **un** **parke** di awa ku yama
see butterfly 1PL PFV go INDF park of water REL call
Arawak. Anto mi kier a **bai** també **na** **Palm** **Island**, pero
A. then 1SG want PFV go also to P. I. but
e dia-nan no tabata sufisiente pa mi por a **bai**
DEF day-PL NEG PST.IPFV enough COMP 1SG can PFV go
Palm **Island**... Nos a **bai** **ehm** … **e** **kaminda** ku nan
P. I. 1PL PFV go DEF way REL 3PL
tin e mall di ehm Palm Beach... Nos a … ehm **bin** bek
EXT DET of P. B. 1PL PFV come back
Kòrsou … Mi no ta-tin gana mes di **bin** bek **Kòrsou**.
C. 1PL NEG TA-have desire more of come back Curaçao
(5_C_F_31-50)
"That time I went to Aruba with my two children… We also went to the ehm the place where you can see butterflies… We went to a water park that is called Arawak. Then I also wanted to go to Palm Island, but there was not enough time for me to have been able to go to Palm Island… We went ehm to the road where they have the mall of ehm Palm Beach… We ehm came back to Curaçao… I was not looking forward to coming back to Curaçao again."

In most cases, a directional NP immediately follows a directional verb (*am'a bai Aruba, nos a bai un parke di awa, pa mi por a bai Palm Island, nos a bai e kaminda*). On two occasions, the adverb *bèk* is located between the directional verb and the NP (*nos a bin bek Kòrsou, di bin bek Kòrsou*). In two cases, a directional PP headed by the preposition *na* was preferred by the speaker. Interestingly, the adverb *també* was inserted between the verb and the directional complement in the two cases (*nos a bai també na e ehm e lugá, anto mi kier a bai també na Palm Island*). The insertion of the adverb may have triggered the directional PP.

In the following sentence, the speaker uses an NP and two PPs after the directional verb *bay*. The use of a PP in *nos a bay cu su yiunan na varios ciudad* can be accounted

for by the insertion of the PP *cu su yiunan* between *bay* and the directional complement. However, the preposition *na* is used in *nos a bay na e parke mecanico*, where no adverbial is placed between the directional verb and the locative goal:

(83) Nos a **bay** **tur** **e** **parke-nan** **mecanico** ehm... ahm. Nos a **bay**
1PL PFV go all DEF park-PL mechanic 1PL PFV go
with 3SG.POSS
cu su yiu-nan **na** varios ciudad. Nos a **bay** **na**
with 3SG.POSS child-PL to several city 1PL PFV go to
e parke mecanico. (21_A_W_+70)
DEF park mechanic
"We went to all the fun fairs ehm… ahm. We went with his/her children to several cities. We went to the fun fair."

The following example shows variation concerning the structures directional verb + NP and directional verb + PP:

(84) Nan ta bul-ando pa **bai** **Sürnam**. Kiermen di nan ta biah-ando
3PL TA fly-GER COMP go S. that.is say 3PL TA travel-GER
pa **bai** **na** **Sürnam**. (5_C_W_31-50)
COMP go to S.
"They are flying to go to Suriname. That is, they are travelling to go to Suriname."

To conclude, a language-internal factor has been presented to account for the use of prepositions after directional verbs in Pp. Speakers tend to introduce the preposition *na* when the directional verb is not directly juxtaposed to the directional complement but is separated by an adverbial phrase. This strategy aims at achieving clarification and avoiding possible ambiguity. However, several examples have been provided in which the speakers do not use the preposition *na* despite the distance between the directional verb and the locative goal. The scenario directional verb + adverbial phrase + PP was presented as a possible first stage leading to the second stage in which the prepositions *na* and also *pa* are used right after the directional verb. Both syntactic patterns coexist synchronically in Pp, and, furthermore, instances of variation within the same idiolect were provided. Below, I will consider an external factor.

External factor: Language contact

Language contact can also be regarded as a factor that exerts an influence on the use of prepositions after directional verbs in Pp. Since Dutch, Spanish and English are non-serializing languages that use prepositions after directional verbs to express direction, i.e. *to* in English, *naar* in Dutch and *a* or *para* in Spanish, Pp speakers may have transferred this syntactic pattern to the creole language. Section 5.9 presents the participants' interpretation of the insertion of prepositions after directional verbs in Pp.

Discussion

Two hypotheses were proposed for the apparent increasing use of prepositions after directional verbs in Pp. First, a language-internal factor was presented. The insertion of prepositions after directional verbs at an initial stage is accounted for as a means for easier comprehension and to avoid possible semantic ambiguity due to the presence of an adverbial phrase between the directional verb and the locative goal. Later on, the prepositions *na* and *pa* started to be inserted in further contexts, even in those cases in which the directional verbs and the directional complements are directly juxtaposed. This points to the obligatorification, which is common in grammaticalization (see 2.1.4): "[T]he more we enlarge the context, the more a specific sign becomes obligatory" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 140). Second, a language-external factor was introduced, namely language contact with Indo-European languages, which use prepositions after directional verbs.[90] Winford (2003: 96f.) proposes that structural borrowing can take place in order to fill a functional gap in the recipient language. A structure that is available in the source language is borrowed into the recipient language to fill a functional gap. However, the convergence of both internal and external factors could also be proposed, i.e. contact-induced grammaticalization (see Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005). In any case, variation between the presence and absence of prepositions after directional verbs can be attested, even within one and the same speaker: "[V]ariation is possible even within the same idiolect" (Mufwene 2008: 66).

Although it is not the aim of this dissertation to carry out a diachronic investigation, the presence of prepositions after directional verbs does not seem to be a recent or innovative pattern in Pp, as there already seems to be variation regarding the presence and absence of prepositions in old texts. I will offer some examples below.

The first example is taken from "carta di amor", the oldest Pp text, written in 1776 by a Curaçaoan Sephardic Jew. The directional verb is followed by a directional NP:

(85) nan taba biny punta. (carta di amor from 1776 in Wood 1972a: 25)
3PL PST.IPFV come Punda
"They were coming to Punda"

The following example was found in the oldest document written in Pp from Aruba. It is a letter that dates back to 1803. In the example, the directional verb *bay* is followed by a PP headed by the preposition *na*:

(86) comandant engels a bay na cas di comandeur (J. Kramer 2004: 223)
captain English PFV go to house of commander
"the English captain went to/inside the commander´s house"

Interestingly, J. Kramer (2004: 225) translates the sentence using the German preposition *ins* (*in* "in" + *das* "neutral definite article") "into the", which not only

[90] Lorenzino (1998: 186f.) recalls the influence of Portuguese on São-Tomense in the insertion of the locative preposition *ni* after verbs.

expresses direction but also emphasizes the fact that the English captain actually entered the house, as opposed to the preposition *zum* (*zu* + *dem*), which only expresses direction. It could be hypothesized that the use of the preposition *na* in Pp has the function of indicating that the agent of an action has actually entered the endpoint or aims to do so. Hence, *bai*/*bay* would convey the direction and *na* the ingressive semantics. However, evidence has been presented in examples throughout this section that there is no such semantic difference between the use and omission of the preposition. For the opposite interpretation to the one presented in J. Kramer (2004), see Muller (1989: 201) and also (4.4).

The example below has a preposition inserted after a directional verb:

(87) Rabiá rabiá Cha Kargapilon a tuma kaminda ta bai na kas di Cha Nanzi.
angry REDUP C. K. PFV take way TA go to house of C. N.
"Very angry Cha Kargapilon took the way to go to Cha Nanzi's place."[91]
(Jesurun 1899 in Maurer 1988: 261)

To conclude, although the literature unanimously agrees that no prepositions are used in Pp after directional verbs, considerable synchronic evidence has been presented for the fact that prepositions are indeed inserted after directional verbs to introduce the directional complements. It could be hypothesized that this is a new development in Pp. However, the few diachronic data presented above suggest that prepositions seem to have been used after directional verbs at an earlier stage already. Since this study focuses on synchronic data, further research on historical data would provide further insight on this subject.

5.8 Quantitative data regarding the expression of direction in Papiamentu/o

This section presents the tendency among speakers to use intransitive directional SVCs or an alternative non-serial structure to express direction in the grammaticality judgment test (GJT) and the stimulus test.

5.8.1 Grammaticality Judgment Test

Four items in the GJT tested the participants' preference for using an SVC or a non-serial syntactic structure to express direction in Pp. In three out of the four items, I opted to use a motion verb followed by neither a preposition nor a serial verb in order not to interfere with the speakers' choice. Thus, by not inserting either of these two options, informants were able to express their preference more freely.[92] Below is an overview of the results of two of the four sentences. The general result together with the

[91] "Furieux, Cha Kargapilon se mit en route pour aller chez Cha Nanzi" (translation provided in Maurer 1988: 261).

[92] It was during the fieldwork and by talking to the informants that I became aware that (certain) motion verbs can be used followed by a directional NP. The speakers' judgements regarding this type of structure are presented in section 5.9.2.

results according to two diastratic factors (age and gender) and the diatopic dimension, i.e. the variety from each island, are presented.

(88) Djarason mainta trempan nos ta bula Miami.
Wednesday morning early 1PL TA fly Miami
"On Wednesday early in the morning we fly ___ Miami."

Most informants – 37 (41%) – opted to insert the serial verb *bai*/*bay*, while 27 (30%) preferred the preposition *pa*. It is interesting to note that one of the speakers who opted for the SVC changed the motion verb *bula* "fly" to *biaha* "travel". Likewise, six informants who preferred the preposition *pa* also changed the motion verb to *biaha*. Section 5.9 provides an explanation for this preference. Sixteen (17%) speakers chose to use the directional verb *bai*/*bay* and 11 (12%) participants accepted the original sentence *bula*+NP. It is important to note that 26 of the informants who modified the original sentence admitted to being familiar with the structure in (88), i.e. *bula*+NP, although they said they would never use it themselves. In section 5.9, the informants' explicit knowledge provides more insight regarding their choices.[93]

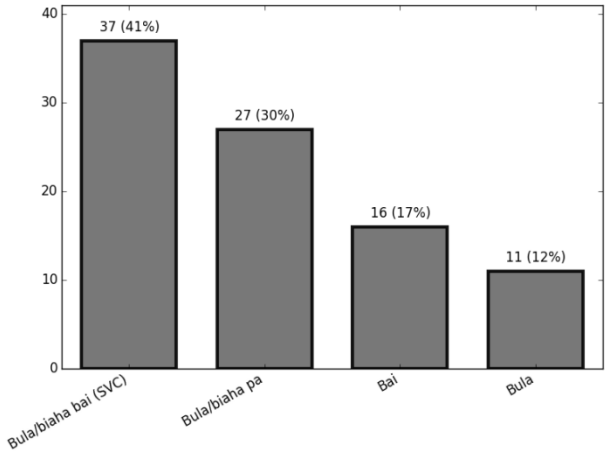

Figure 1. Sentence 88: General result

In terms of the age groups, a clear preference is attested for the use of the intransitive directional SVC *bula bai*/*bay* among the first age group (18-30), while a tendency to use a motion verb followed by the preposition *pa* is observed among the 51-70 age group. Interestingly, most speakers who accepted the sentence in the GJT, i.e. *bula*+directional NP, belonged to the 18-30 age group. A connection between this structure and this particular age group is established in 5.9.

Sentence 88 (Age)	**<18**	**18-30**	**31-50**	**51-70**	**>70**
Bula bai (SVC)	2	17 (45%)	8 (44%)	4 (21%)	6 (46%)
Bula pa	0	4 (10%)	8 (44%)	11 (58%)	4 (31%)
Bai	1	8 (21%)	2 (12%)	3 (16%)	2 (15%)

[93] The figure shows how the participants would utter the sentence. However, 26 out of the speakers who corrected the sentence admitted to being familiar with the structure presented in the original item.

Bula	0	9 (24%)	0	1 (5%)	1 (8%)
Total	**3**	**38**	**18**	**19**	**13**

Table 25. Sentence 88: Result by age group

No significant differences can be found regarding the factor gender, although it seems that slightly more male participants preferred to use an SVC, whereas more female speakers opted to insert the preposition *pa*.

Sentence 88 (Gender)	**Male**	**Female**
Bula bai (SVC)	21 (46%)	16 (36%)
Bula pa	11(24%)	16 (36%)
Bai	9 (19%)	7 (15%)
Bula	5 (11%)	6 (13%)
Total	**46**	**45**

Table 26. Sentence 88: Result by gender

In terms of the diatopic dimension, the Curaçaoan variety shows a similar distribution in preference for the directional SVC and the preposition *pa*, i.e., both structures were preferred almost in equal measure. However, the trend in Aruba seems to be more clearly oriented to the use of an SVC to the detriment of a motion verb followed by the preposition *pa*. The participants who speak the Bonairean dialect also preferred the SVC.

Sentence 88 (Island)	**Curaçao**	**Aruba**	**Bonaire**
Bula bai (SVC)	15 (39%)	13 (44%)	9 (41%)
Bula pa	14 (36%)	7 (23%)	6 (27%)
Bai	6 (15%)	6 (20%)	4 (18%)
Bula	4 (10%)	4 (13%)	3 (14%)
Total	**39**	**30**	**22**

Table 27. Sentence 88: Result by island home

The second sentence that will illustrate the preference among the speakers is below:

(89) Mi ta gusta biaha. Mi a biaha hopi pais.
1SG TA like travel 1SG PFV travel many country
"I like travelling. I have travelled ____ many countries."

More participants – 27 (30%) – opted to insert a preposition in (89) than in sentence (88): 17 chose the preposition *pa*, while 10 preferred *na*. Seventeen informants (19%) opted for an SVC, 22 (24%) accepted the original sentence, i.e. *biaha*+directional NP, and six speakers (7%) preferred to use the verb *bishita* "visit" rather than *biaha*.[94] The preference could be explained by the awkwardness felt by some speakers at finding a

[94] 21 out of the participants who modified the sentence admitted to being familiar with the structure in the original sentence.

motion verb like *biaha* followed by an NP.[95] A transitive verb like *bishita* could have been regarded as a better alternative due to the fact that it requires an object, which could have been interpreted to be *hopi pais*.

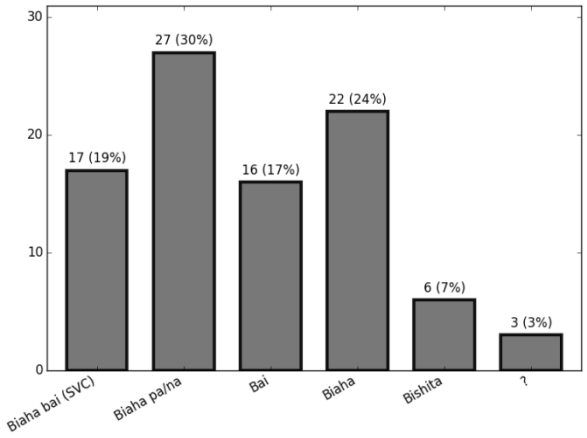

Figure 2. Sentence 89: General result

With regard to preferences among the different age groups, there is a strong tendency to insert a preposition among the 51-70 and 70+ age groups, whereas the 18-30 age group opted for the directional verb *bai*/*bay* or the motion verb *biaha* followed by an NP. The speakers in the 31-50 age group preferred the use of the serial verb *bai*/*bay* and a preposition in equal measure.

Sentence 89 (Age)	**<18**	**18-30**	**31-50**	**51-70**	**>70**
Biaha bai (SVC)	1	5 (13%)	6 (33,5%)	3 (16%)	2 (15%)
Biaha pa/na	0	4 (10%)	6 (33,5%)	8 (42%)	9 (69%)
Bai	1	12 (32%)	0	3 (16%)	0
Biaha	1	12 (32%)	4 (22%)	4 (21%)	1 (8%)
Bishita	0	2 (5%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	1 (8%)
?	0	3 (8%)	0	0	0
Total	**3**	**38**	**18**	**19**	**13**

Table 28. Sentence 89: Result by age group

No significant differences were found between male and female participants.

Sentence 89 (Gender)	**Male**	**Female**
Biaha bai (SVC)	7 (15%)	10 (22%)
Biaha pa/na	15 (33%)	12 (27%)
Bai	8 (17%)	8 (18%)
Biaha	9 (20%)	13 (29%)
Bishita	4 (9%)	2 (4%)
?	3 (6%)	0
Total	**46**	**45**

Table 29. Sentence 89: Result by gender

[95] I am aware that some speakers may have interpreted the NP in *biaha*+NP as a locative "to travel a country", and not as a directional complement "to travel to a place".

As for the diatopic dimension, the Aruban and Bonairean participants showed a preference for using a preposition rather than an intransitive directional SVC. The Curaçaoan speakers chose the SVC and the motion verb plus preposition in equal measure, though they slightly favoured the motion verb *biaha* followed by the NP.

Sentence 89 (Island)	**Curaçao**	**Aruba**	**Bonaire**
Biaha bai (SVC)	7 (18%)	5 (17%)	5 (22,5%)
Biaha pa/na	7 (18%)	10 (33%)	10 (45%)
Bai	9 (23%)	5 (17%)	2 (10%)
Biaha	11 (28%)	6 (20%)	5 (22,5%)
Bishita	3 (8%)	3 (10%)	0
?	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	0
Total	**39**	**30**	**22**

Table 30. Sentence 89: Result by island

Two more items concerning the choice between an intransitive directional SVC and a non-serial structure were used in the GJT:

(90) Otro siman nos ta sali sine.
other week 1SG TA go.out cinema
"Next week we go ___ the cinema."

Most participants, i.e. 66, opted to use the directional verb *bai*/*bay* followed by an NP, i.e. *bai sine* (lit. go cinema) in sentence (90). The intransitive directional SVC *sali bai* was used by 16 speakers. The rest of the participants accepted the original sentence *sali sine*, but when asked for clarification they pointed out that they interpreted *sali sine* as "to leave the cinema".

The last sentence included the intransitive directional SVC *biaha bai*/*bay* (lit. travel go). Most informants, i.e. 59, accepted the original sentence with the SVC, but 23 participants preferred to use the motion verb *biaha* followed by the preposition *pa*. Only one informant substituted the motion verb *biaha* for *bula* "fly". No significant differences were found among the diastratic factors age and gender. However, when it comes to the diatopic dimension, the Aruban speakers showed a clear preference for the SVC. Only three speakers from Aruba changed the serial verb *bay* for the preposition *pa*, among them one informant who was almost monolingual.

Comparing the syntactic structures used by the informants in the four items, we observe that most speakers varied as regards their choices. Only two out of the 91 participants consistently used an SVC in the four items and another two were consistent in their use of the directional verb *bai*/*bay*. Thirteen tended to use SVCs, i.e. chose an SVC in three out of the four items, eight were inclined to use a motion verb followed by a preposition (mostly *pa* but also *na*), seven preferred the directional verb *bai*/*bay* and five informants showed a tendency to use motion verbs without a preposition. Interestingly, out of the eight informants who preferred a motion verb with a preposition, four represented the Curaçaoan dialect, three the Bonairean variety and only one came from Aruba. The preference for SVCs was distributed equally across the

three islands, as was the tendency to use the directional verb *bai*/*bay*. As for the five speakers who tended to use a motion verb followed by an NP, these all belonged to the 18-30 age group; three came from Aruba and two from Bonaire.

Finally, as regards the use of a PP after the directional verb *bai*/*bay*, there was one item in the GJT that tested this aspect. Only seven out of the 91 speakers accepted the use of the preposition *pa* in a sentence containing the predicate *bai*/*bay pa skol* "go to school", and one of them preferred a directional SVC followed by the preposition *pa*, i.e. *sali bai pa skol* (lit. exit go to school) "leave for the school". Two informants belonged to the 18-30 age group, one to the 31-50, two to 51-70 and three to 70+ age group; five were men and three women; five originated from Curaçao and three from Aruba. Interestingly, no speaker from Bonaire accepted the insertion of the preposition *pa* after the directional verb *bai*/*bay*.

5.8.2 Stimulus test

The tables below offer an overview of the preference among participants for using an intransitive directional SVC or a non-serial syntactic structure to express direction in two pictures in the stimulus test.[96]

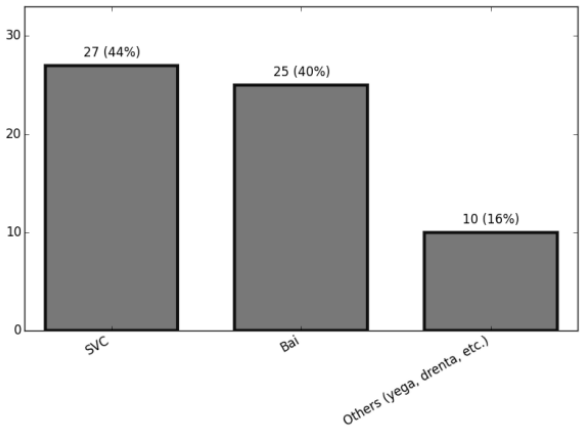

Figure 3. Picture 1 in the stimulus test: General result

As regards the first picture, almost the same number of speakers chose to use an intransitive directional SVC, e.g. *kore bai skol* (lit. run go school), as the directional verb *bai*/*bay* followed by a directional NP, e.g. *bai skol* (lit. go school). The rest opted for a motion verb followed by a directional NP, e.g. *yega skol* (lit. arrive school), *drenta skol* (lit. enter school) and even *kore skol* (lit. run school) with a directional meaning. *Yega* was used with a directional PP only on one occasion. Interestingly, there was an adverbial phrase between the verb and the directional phrase, which may have triggered the use of the preposition *na* in front of the endpoint *skol* (see 5.7.4).

[96] In the first picture, a boy can be seen running to school. In the second picture, two people are flying to Suriname. The other two images used for the stimulus test were two picture stories that the participants had to narrate.

It is worth noting that not a single speaker used a preposition (*na* or *pa*) after the motion verb *kore* in the first picture in the stimulus test.

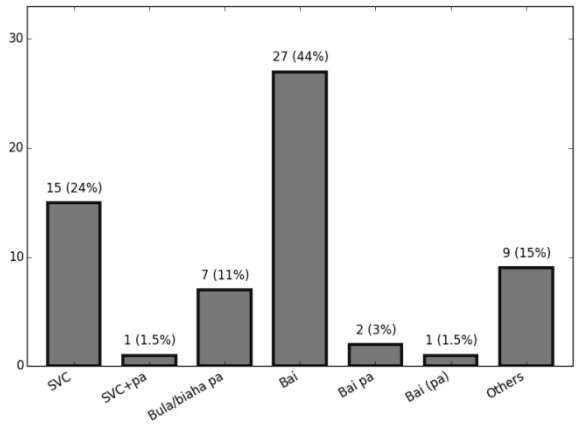

Figure 4. Picture 2 in the stimulus test: General result

The data from the second picture show a clear preference for the directional verb *bai*/*bay* followed by a directional NP. On two occasions, the directional verb was followed by a PP headed by the preposition *pa* and, in one case, a speaker was unsure whether to use a directional PP or an NP. The second option was an intransitive directional SVC, i.e. *biaha bai*/*bay* (lit. travel go) or *bula bai*/*bay* (lit. fly go). On one occasion, a speaker inserted the preposition *pa* after the SVC. Contrary to the data deriving from the first picture, a few participants (seven) used the motion verbs *bula* and *biaha* followed by a PP introduced by the preposition *pa* when describing the second picture.

Comparing each participant's uses when describing the first and the second pictures, we observe that 12 informants chose the directional verb *bai*/*bay* for both pictures, 12 were consistent in the use of intransitive directional SVCs for both images and the rest of the speakers, i.e. 38, varied their usage.

To sum up, most speakers who participated in the stimulus test expressed direction using the directional verb *bai*/*bay* followed by a preposition-less directional phrase, i.e. *bai skol* and *bai Sürinam*. Two speakers used a PP after the directional verb and another one first expressed a PP and immediately resorted to a directional NP. The three speakers came from Aruba and belonged to different age groups. It is worth noting that one of the two informants who chose *bai*/*bay*+pa was almost completely monolingual and the other was fluent in English and Dutch. The speaker who changed the PP into an NP was fluent in Spanish, English and Dutch. The fact that the quasi-monolingual participant used the directional verb with a PP suggests that this syntactic structure appears to have spread, and it is not merely an example of transfer that only applies to bilingual speakers. The second option was the use of an intransitive directional SVC. Only one speaker from Aruba used a PP after the SVC. Among the seven informants who opted for a motion verb plus a PP, i.e. *bula*/*biaha pa*, either immediately after the verb or after an adverb or another PP, four came from Curaçao, one from Aruba and two from Bonaire. They belonged to different age groups and both male and female

participants used them. Lastly, I would like to point out that no speaker used a PP after the motion verb *kore*/*core*, only after the lexemes *biaha*, *bula* and even after the directional verb *bai*/*bay*. Note that no speaker used *sali* with a PP in the GJT (see 5.8.1). There seem to be lexical restrictions, at least among some speakers, when it comes to combining certain motion verbs with a PP.

5.8.3 Conclusion

It has been shown in this section that there is considerable variation in the expression of direction among speakers and even within one and the same speaker, i.e. idiolects can be very variable. However, there were instances in which informants stuck to a specific syntactic structure.

Of the possible syntactic structures that can be used in Pp to express direction, there is a general tendency to resort to SVCs or only directional verbs rather than motion verbs followed by a preposition. As regards the latter, there seem to be lexical restrictions regarding the insertion of PPs after certain motion verbs. For example, while *bula* and especially *biaha* can be followed by the preposition *pa*, *kore*/*core* cannot. Some informants (primarily in the 18-30 age group) resorted to motion verbs immediately followed by NPs. The use of directional verbs and mainly intransitive directional SVCs followed by PPs was marginal in the GJT and the stimulus test.

Taking into account the path of grammaticalization proposed for *bai*/*bay* in 5.2, and the overlap of stages, it is important to note that the label SVC that is used throughout this section is rather ambiguous because, depending on the speaker and the level of grammaticalization, *bai*/*bay* as V_2 in an intransitive directional SVC could either represent a serial verb (stage II) or a coverb (stage III) evolving into a preposition (stage IV). As will become clear in 5.9, some speakers interpreted *bai*/*bay* as a verb, while others perceived it as a directional marker or a coverb, i.e. *bai*/*bay* exhibits desemanticization and loss of verb properties. If that is the case, then it forms a coverb construction.

In any case, it has been shown that intransitive directional SVCs, with a more or less grammaticalized V_2, were used very often by the participants. Further, they are also frequently attested in written texts, e.g. local literature and newspapers (cf. Endruschat 2007: 163f.). The data show that this construction was generally more preferable than the non-serial structure motion verb+preposition.

5.9 Informants' interpretation of the various possibilities of expressing direction in Papiamentu/o

As was presented above, several structures are available in Pp for expressing direction. However, the informants who were consulted during the fieldwork acknowledged some differences regarding their interpretation and their (un)acceptability. In the following, I will summarize the information provided by the participants.

5.9.1 Directional serial verb constructions vs. motion verb + prepositional phrase

Some speakers stated that both serial and non-serial structures can be used interchangeably to express direction in Pp. However, other informants noted some differences and admitted to avoiding one of the structures for the reasons detailed below.

On the one hand, some participants reported opting for intransitive directional SVCs and avoiding motion verbs followed by the preposition *pa* because they perceived *pa* as a Spanish word. Thus, SVCs were regarded as "good" or "pure" Pp, whereas the use of the preposition *pa* was considered to be diagnostic for a Hispanicized lect.

On the other hand, some informants perceived redundancy in the combinations *biaha bai* and *bula bai*, claiming that there was no need to use both verbs at the same time. Instead, they claimed that only *bai*/*bay* followed by an NP or *biaha* or *bula* followed by a PP was sufficient. This is quite relevant because it seems that speakers – or at least some of them – did not consider the second constituent of intransitive directional SVCs to be a grammatical word indicating the direction of the first verb (as discussed in 5.2), but they interpreted it as a lexical word, i.e. the verb "to go". Some draw the conclusion about the redundancy of *biaha bai* or *bula bai* because they literally translated the SVCs into Dutch, English and/or Spanish. The ungrammaticality of the literal translation into the non-serializing contact languages on the ABC islands made some of the speakers doubt the grammaticality of intransitive directional SVCs in Pp. Furthermore, the conscious or unconscious translation of directional SVCs into the non-serializing contact languages on the island as "travel go" and "fly go" indicates the verbal status of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*).

5.9.2 Motion verb + nominal phrase

Some speakers rejected the possibility of using motion verbs that are neutral as regards direction followed by an NP (and not a PP), while others accepted it in some contexts.

Some informants stated that *bula* "fly" can be followed by an NP in a sentence like *mi ta bula Miami* (lit. I fly Miami) in three types of contexts. First, the omission of the preposition *pa* "to" or the serial verb *bai*/*bay* "go" to indicate direction after a motion verb is possible in an informal/colloquial (spoken) register. Second, some participants remarked that such a structure was used in the sociolect spoken by flight assistants.[97] Third, one speaker affirmed that *bula* followed by an NP was possible when speakers already know for sure that they are flying to a certain destination, i.e. all arrangements for the trip have already been made.

The observations made by the speakers concur with the data presented in the GJT and in some of the examples above. In 5.8.1, it was shown that *bula* followed by an NP

[97] Pp speakers also tend to omit the preposition when indicating the airline with which they are travelling:
(i) Mi ta bula KLM.
1SG TA fly K.
"I fly/am flying (with) KLM."

was mainly accepted among the participants in the 18-30 age group. Younger speakers are more prone to use colloquial or informal structures than older ones. Furthermore, the sentences in (71) could be related to the sociolect used by flight crews. It could be argued that the sentences were written in an informal register, i.e. they were comments written by readers in response to a newspaper article, and this could justify the use of the motion verbs *bula* and *biaha* followed by an NP. However, this kind of examples can also be attested in newspaper articles, as in (72), i.e. a formal register.

5.9.3 Preference for *bai*/*bay*

Most informants admitted to using *bai*/*bay* on a regular basis and claimed to prefer this verb over intransitive directional SVCs and motion verbs followed by PPs. The frequency with which *bai*/*bay* is used in Pp suggests its grammaticalization, as morphemes that are regularly used have a higher tendency to grammaticalize (see Bybee and Pagliuca 1985: 72, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 103, Heine 2002, Bybee 2003, Heine and Kuteva 2005: 50). The preference for *bai*/*bay*, and not *pa* to avoid sounding Spanish, might have favoured the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* into a preposition. The perception of identity may have played a decisive role (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) in the preference for using *bai*/*bay* rather than *pa* and, consequently, in the grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay* into a preposition.

Moreover, the geographical location of the islands seems to play a role in the preference for the verb *bai*/*bay* over the use of *bula* and *biaha* in intransitive directional SVC or followed by a PP. Some informants explained that since Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao are islands, one needs to fly (*bula*) or travel (*biaha* – travel involves flying) to get anywhere. Even if one wants to go from one island to another, the only possibility is flying – at least nowadays. Therefore, speakers claimed that *bula bai*/*bay* or *bula pa* are redundant in combination with Miami or the Netherlands because our knowledge of the world says that these destinations can commonly only be reached by plane from the ABC islands. Moreover, if one wants to be more explicit, the means of transportation can be introduced with a PP, as in *bai ku avion* "go by plane" and *bai ku bapor* "go by boat".

5.9.4 Lexical restrictions

Some speakers associated the lexeme *bula* with a colloquial or informal register due to the lexeme's polysemy. Apart from "fly", *bula* also means "jump" and "explode" when used as a main verb.[98] Some speakers opted for the lexeme *biaha* "travel" or simply *bai*/*bay* because, according to them, these lexemes sound more formal. This interpretation explains why some speakers changed *bula* into the lexeme *biaha* in sentence (88) in the GJT.

[98] Remember that *bula* was also analysed as a light verb with the adverbial meanings "suddenly" and "quickly" (see 5.5).

Lastly, the verb *kore*/*core* was never used together with the preposition *pa* to indicate direction, only with a directional serial verb.

5.10 Conclusion

Several aspects were examined in chapter 5 regarding intransitive directional SVCs, the directional verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come", the motion verbs *kore*/*core* "run" and *bula* "fly, jump" and the expression of direction in Pp.

First, two paths of grammaticalization were proposed for the verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*): from full-fledged verbs to prepositions (5.2) and from full verb to affix, giving rise to the evolution of SVCs into verb compounds (5.3). Moreover, evidence was provided that both morphemes display multi-functionality in Pp, as they can function as future, aspectual, assertive/purposive markers and adverb (5.4). *Bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are claimed to have undergone polygrammaticalization, but in the absence of diachronic data further research is needed in this field.

Second, the lexemes *kore*/*core* and *bula*, which often occupy V_1 position in intransitive directional SVCs, can behave like full lexical verbs as well as light verbs modifying in manner the action expressed by V_2. When the lexemes function as light verbs, they form LVCs with the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate. Therefore, the same surface structure or similar surface structures can be analysed as an SVC or an LVC depending on whether V_1 is interpreted to be a heavy or a light verb (5.5).

Third, several non-serial syntactic alternatives for expressing direction in Pp were presented in (5.7). Quantitative data were provided concerning the preference among participants for using an SVC or a non-serial syntactic structure to express direction (5.8). The speakers' interpretation of the different structures available in Pp for expressing direction was presented in 5.9.

Section 5.6 provided an interim conclusion of the data that were presented in 5.2 to 5.5.

6. Empirical study: Analysis of syntactic variation in resultative serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

6.1 Overview of resultative serial verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

Resultative SVCs in Pp consist of two verb constituents. The first verb (V_1) expresses an action and the second verb (V_2) signals the result of the action expressed by the first verb. Hence, the construction conveys an action-result semantic relation. The following sentences illustrate various types of resultative SVCs in Pp:

(1) a. el a supla e bela paga. (Debrot 2008: 51)
3SG PFV blow DEF candle put.out
"he blew the candle out."

b. nos a dal e outo di Jan ku Piet kibra. (Melfor 2013: 47)
1PL PFV hit DEF car of J. with P. break
"we crashed into Jan and Piet's car and broke it."

c. Shana a ranka mi kamisa kibra (Muller 1989: 367)
S. PFV tear 1SG shirt break
"Shana tore my shirt"

d. OUTO A DAL KABRITU MATA (extra.cw, 21st Aug. 2013)[1]
car PFV hit goat kill
"Car crashes into goat and kills it" (article headline)

e. MUCHA A KAI MURI FOR SPRINGKUSSEN
boy PFV fall die from bouncing.castle
"Boy falls from bouncing castle and dies" (article headline)
(extra.cw, 12th Jan. 2016)[2]

f. Ayera anochi un damita... a kai kibra su pia.
yesterday night INDF woman PFV fall break 3SG.POSS foot
"Yesterday night a woman… fell over and broke her foot."
(extra.cw, 13th Nov. 2013)[3]

Resultative SVCs can follow three patterns in Pp.[4] First, NP_1 V_1 NP_2 V_2 (1a-d), where both verbs are transitive and non-contiguous; second, NP_1 V_1 V_2, where both verbs are unaccusative (1e); and third, NP_1 V_1 V_2 NP_2, where the first verb is unaccusative and the second one transitive (1f). While the verb constituents are non-adjacent in the first pattern, they are juxtaposed in the other two cases. The structures may appear to illustrate cases of core-layer and nuclear-layer serialization (see Foley and Olson 1985),

[1] http://extra.cw/news/2013-08-21/Lokal/OUTO_A_DAL_KABRITU_MATA.html
[2] http://extra.cw/news/2016-01-12/Hulanda/MUCHA_A_KAI_MURI_FOR_SPRINGKUSSEN.html
[3] http://extra.cw/news/2013-11-13/Lokal/DAMITA_A_KAI_KIBRA_PIA.html
[4] I follow Veenstra's (2004) classification of resultative SVCs in Saramaccan when classifying these constructions in Pp.

respectively. However, as shown below, V_2 gradually loses its verb properties, which inexorably has an effect on the structure and nature of the construction.

As regards the first combination (NP_1 V_1 NP_2 V_2), V_1 and V_2 can, at first glance, be said to share the same object (NP_2), which is located between the two verbs.[5] Thus, the sentences (1a) to (1d) could be analysed as same-subject and same-object SVCs, i.e. NP_1 is the subject of both verbs, and NP_2 is the internal argument of both verb constituents. However, it could also be argued that (1a) to (1c) contain a switch-function or switch-subject type of SVC, i.e. the object of V_1 functions as the subject of V_2 (see Aikhenvald 2006: 14ff. for more details on this type of SVC).[6] This could be a plausible interpretation because *paga* "put out" and *kibra* "break" can also be used intransitively as unaccusative verbs.[7] Examples (2a) and (2b) illustrate the intransitive use of these verbs:

(2) a. E bela a paga.
DEF candle PFV put.out
"The candle blew out."

b. E outo a kibra.
DEF car PFV break
"The car broke."

Conversely, (1d) cannot be interpreted as a switch-function SVC because *mata* "kill" is a transitive verb and does not admit an unaccusative interpretation, as *paga* and *kibra* do. While (2c) would be an odd sentence because the internal argument of the verb is missing,[8] (2d) would be an appropriate alternative because *muri* "die" (an intransitive unaccusative verb) has been used instead:

(2) c.? E kabritu a mata.
DEF goat PFV kill
"The goat killed."

[5] Baker (1989) argues that object sharing is a prerequisite for SVCs, whereas Collins (1993) claims the presence of a co-referential empty category after the final verb.

[6] This type of SVC, in which the object of V_1 is understood as the semantic subject of V_2, is called a causative SVC (see Lord 1974: 197, Foley and Olson 1985: 25f.). Aikenvald (2006: 14ff.) includes causative SVCs as a sub-group of switch-function SVCs.

[7] These verbs have been referred to as *alternating verbs* in the literature, e.g. *he opened the door* vs. *the door opened*.

[8] Transitive verbs can also be used intransitively taking on a passive meaning in some languages. *Trowe* "throw" is a transitive verb in Sranan, but a passive reading is applied when it is used intransitively, i.e. there is no object in the sentence (Sebba 1987: 92):

(i) a tiki trowe.
DET stick throw (glossed by LF)
"The stick has been thrown away" (Sebba 1987: 92)

Transitive verbs like *mata* "kill" cannot be used intransitively with a passive meaning in Pp. Instead, the passive voice would be used, although some speakers object to using the passive diathesis in Pp.

(ii) E kabritu a wòrdu matá.
DEF goat PFV AUX.PASS kill.PTCP
"The goat was killed."

d. E kabritu a muri.
DEF goat PFV die
"The goat died."

As illustrated above, sentences (1a) to (1c) are ambiguous because they can be interpreted as having a same-subject or switch-subject, i.e. causative, reading. Following the first interpretation, both verbs are transitive and not only share the same subject but also the same object, i.e. there is subject and object sharing. In the second interpretation, V_1 is transitive while V_2 is unaccusative. The object of V_1 is considered to be the semantic subject of V_2, i.e. V_1 is viewed as the cause of the result expressed in V_2:[9]

(3) Un outo a dal un pal'i[10] lus kibra.
INDF car PFV hit INDF stick-of light break
a. "A car crashed into a lamppost and broke it."
(same-subject reading, object sharing)
b. "A car struck a lamppost and it (i.e. the lamppost) broke."
"A car struck a lamppost, causing the lamppost to break."
(causative reading)

However, the first interpretation seems to be more plausible for two reasons. First, Pp resultative SVCs seem to exhibit a constraint on the pattern NP V_1 NP V_2, in which the first verb is transitive and the second verb is unaccusative, i.e. NP_1 V_{TRANS} NP_2 V_{UNACC}:

(4) * Un outo a dal un kabritu muri.
INDF car PFV hit INDF goat die
"A car hit a goat and (the goat) died."

* Un hòmber a dal un mucha kai.
INDF man PFV hit INDF child fall
"A man struck a child and (the child) fell down."

Second, evidence will be provided in 6.2.3 that the structure NP V_1 V_2 NP with two juxtaposed transitive verbs is possible in current Pp. This has, to my knowledge, not yet been dealt with in the literature. The coalescence of V_2 into V_1 will be accounted for as a result of the grammaticalization of V_2.

Further, Muller (1989: 367-369) also claims that V_2 *kibra*, *habri* and *sera* function as transitive verbs (not as intransitive ones) in combination with a V_1, such as *dal* "hit, strike, beat, crash", *ranka* "tear" and *pusha* "push".

To conclude, the following verb combinations are possible in Pp resultative serialized constructions:

[9] The same ambiguity can be found in Yoruba, where, in some cases, both the subject and the object of V_1 can be interpreted as the possible subjects of V_2 (Lord 1974: 198). Foley and Olson (1985: 26), citing an example from Diller (p.c.), provide an example of a similar case in Thai, where the interpretation of an SVC in Thai is ambiguous.

[10] See Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 18) and Eckkrammer (2001: 183-186) including references therein for sandhi phenomena in Pp.

(5) a. NP_1 V_{TRANS} NP_2 V_{TRANS}
b. NP_1 V_{UNACC} NP_2 V_{TRANS}
c. NP_1 V_{UNACC} V_{UNACC}
d. ? NP_1 V_{TRANS} NP_2 V_{UNACC}

However, it is important to mention that not all verb combinations are possible when forming acceptable resultative SVCs in Pp. Instead, the verbs that can occur together in these patterns are restricted. Haspelmath (2016) notes this aspect in the literature on SVCs:

> When an author tells us, for example, that their language allows three types of serial verb constructions (intransitive-intransitive, intransitive-transitive and transitive-transitive…), this rarely means that every intransitive verb and every transitive verb can occur in these constructions and that all combinations are possible. The precise semantic-pragmatic conditions for combining different kinds of verbs have been much less described than the morphosyntactic properties of the resulting constructions. Many studies of SVCs cite a few examples and acknowledge the lack of full generality, but say little about the ways in which the pattern is restricted.
>
> (Haspelmath 2016: 297)

Due to time constraints I will leave the study of the verb restrictions in Pp SVCs to further research.

Lenz (1927: 183), Wood (1972c: 643) and Jacobs (2015: 64f.) observe similarities between Pp resultative SVCs, such as *dal mata* (lit. hit kill), *dal habri* (lit. hit open) and *dal sera* (lit. hit close), and Dutch secondary predication with particle verbs like *doodslaan* (lit. dead-hit), *openslaan* (lit. open-hit) and *dichtslaan* (lit. closed-hit), respectively.[11] Further examples of Pp resultative SVCs that resemble Germanic secondary predication are *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) and Dutch *doodschieten* (lit. dead-shoot), as well as *kai kibra* (lit. fall break) and Dutch *kaputvallen* (lit. broken-fall) or *stukvallen* (lit. piece-fall).

In this chapter, I present evidence that the second verb in Pp resultative SVCs has grammaticalized. It will become clear that some verbs that frequently occupy the V_2 position have entered the grammaticalization cline in which a full verb evolves into an affix. The path of grammaticalization from full verb to affix involves three intermediate stages: an optional stage as vector verb, as auxiliary and clitic. I modify the grammaticalization cline found in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 108) somewhat by substituting the "vector verb" stage with "serial verb":

(6) full verb > serial verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix
(slightly modified from Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108)

[11] Bouscholte (1978: 217, 220) claims that these structures are calques of Dutch separable verb compounds. However, Jacobs (2015: 64f.) argues against this idea, proposing that the structure is also available in other creole languages with which Dutch had not been in contact during their formation.

As a result, Pp resultative SVCs evolve into resultative verb compounds. Both resultative syntactic structures, i.e. SVCs and verb compounds, coexist synchronically in current Pp.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, I provide evidence that the V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs has grammaticalized (6.2). It will be argued that a gradual process of grammaticalization is affecting the second verb constituents in resultative SVCs, which is evidenced by their loss of verb properties. A path of grammaticalization can be attested in the synchronic data from full-fledged verb, when the constituent appears as only verb in a predicate, to defective verb, when it surfaces within the frame of a resultative SVC. The defectiveness of V_2 leads to its coalescence with the head V_1, which results in the formation of V-V compounds, and its further incorporation into V_1. The compounding of some action-result verb structures is further evidenced by the lexicalization that some verb compounds have undergone. Second, in 6.3, resultative SVCs will be differentiated from other structures that may look alike on the surface, but are best analysed as LVCs. Thus, some verbs that frequently surface as V_1 constituents in resultative SVCs can also behave like light verbs in certain contexts. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 are summarized in 6.4, which includes an interim conclusion. Next, two further syntactic structures that express a semantic cause-result relation in Pp will be presented in 6.5, namely the covert and overt coordination. Quantitative data will be provided in 6.6 to illustrate the preference among the speakers for using a serial or a non-serial structure – (c)overt coordination – to express the cause and effect of an action. The explicit knowledge of the participants needed to interpret the different resultative constructions presented throughout the chapter will be addressed in 6.7. Finally, 6.8 provides a conclusion.

6.2 Grammaticalization of V_2 in Papiamentu/o resultative serial verb constructions

Five pieces of evidence are presented in 6.2.1 to prove the loss of verbal properties of V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs: V_2's inability to be predicate clefted, V_2's varying ability to inflect for past participle, V_2's coalescence with V_1, bringing about the emergence of verb compounds, V_2's incorporation into V_1 and the lexicalization of some resultative verb compounds. It is proposed in 6.2.2 that a language-internal and a language-external factor may have influenced the coalescence of V_2 with V_1. 6.2.3 presents a discussion.

6.2.1 Evidence for the grammaticalization of V_2

V_2's inability to be predicate clefted

The first piece of evidence for the loss of verb properties of V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs comes from the predicate cleft test. According to my informants, it is unacceptable to cleft V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs (6). Instead, only V_1 can occupy the position after the focus marker *ta* (7):

(6) a. * Ta mata un outo a dal kabritu mata.
FOC kill INDF car PFV hit goat kill
b. * Ta mata polis a tira e hoben mata.
FOC kill police PFV shoot DEF young kill
c. * Ta paga e mucha a supla e bela paga.
FOC put.out DEF boy PFV blow DEF candle put.out
d. * Ta kibra e glas a kai kibra.
FOC break DEF glass PFV fall break
e. * Ta kibra e hòmber a kai kibra su heup.
FOC break DEF man PFV fall break 3SG.POSS hip

(7) a. Ta dal un outo a dal kabritu mata.
FOC hit INDF car PFV hit goat kill
"A car really hit a goat dead."
b. Ta tira polis a tira e hoben mata.
FOC shoot police PFV shoot DEF young kill
"The police really shot the youngster dead."
c. Ta supla e mucha a supla e bela paga.
FOC blow DEF child PFV blow DEF candle put.out
"The boy really blew the candle out."
d. Ta kai e glas a kai kibra.
FOC fall DEF glass PFV fall break
"The glass really fell down and broke."
e. Ta kai e hòmber a kai kibra su heup.
FOC fall DEF man PFV fall break 3SG.POSS hip
"The man really fell down and broke his hip."

As shown in the examples above, V_2 fails to occupy the position after the highlighter *ta* in predicate cleft constructions. The fact that it is unacceptable to predicate cleft a serial verb suggests that it has lost its verbal status (see Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978, Veenstra and den Besten 1995).[12] Remember that the directional serial verbs (V_2) *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) could not be predicate clefted either and only the V_1 in intransitive directional SVCs could occupy the position after the focus marker *ta* (see 5.2.3).[13]

[12] Remember that the predicate cleft test has been assigned crucial relevance in the literature for testing the verb status of serial verbs.

[13] Note that auxiliary verbs like *mester* "need", *kier* "want" (modal verbs) and *wordu* (passive auxiliary) can undergo predicate cleft like the main verbs they accompany in the predicate (see Luidens et al. 2015: 18):

(i) Ta mester mi mester haci e tarea ey?
FOC need 1SG need do DEF task DET
"Do I really need to do that task?"

(ii) Ta kier e kier bay e boda?
FOC want 3SG want go DEF wedding
"Does he really want to go to the wedding?"

(iii) Ta wordo el a wordo ge-dal door di e auto.
FOC PASS.AUX 3SG PFV PASS.AUX PTCP-hit by of DEF car
"Was he really struck by the car?"

V_2's varying ability to inflect for past participle

There are two patterns for building past participles in Pp. First, disyllabic verbs stemming from Ibero-Romance verbs form the past participle form by shifting the stress pattern from the penultimate to the final syllable (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 20, Maurer 1991b: 11, J. Kramer 2004: 193):[14]

	Bare form		Participle form	
	tra	-ha	tra-	há[15]
Tone pattern	low	high	low	high
Accent pattern	accented	unaccented	unaccented	accented

Table 31. Formation of the past participle in Ibero-Romance disyllabic verbs in Papiamentu/o

Second, verbs of Germanic origin (Dutch, English) and the monosyllabic Ibero-Romance verb *dal* "hit" build the past participle by adding a prefix that presents diatopic allomorphy: *he-* in the Aruban dialect and *di-*, *i-*, *e-* in the Curaçaoan dialect (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 20). The prefixes *gi-* (Maurer 1988: 69) and *ge-* (Birmingham 1970: 94, J. Kramer 2004: 193) are also attested.

Like the predicate clefting of serial verbs in Pp, the inflection of the verb constituents of SVCs to form the past participle in Pp has, to my knowledge, not been dealt with yet in the literature. The speakers who were consulted as regards this aspect noted that only V_1 can inflect for past participle in the context of a passive diathesis,[16] whereas the V_2 remains in the bare form. The examples in (8) exhibit this pattern:

(8) a. Un hòmber no identifiká a wòrdu **tirá** **mata**...
INDF man NEG identify.PTCP PFV AUX.PASS shoot.PTCP kill
"An unidentified man was shot dead…" (extra.cw, 17th Nov. 2012)[17]

b. un famia ku tabata hopi pegá na otro i
INDF family REL PAST.IMP very stick.PTCP LOC other and
kende-nan a ser[18] **tirá** **mata**. (Baselmans 2010 : 171)
REL-PL PFV AUX.PASS shoot.PTCP kill
"the members of a family who were very close to each other and who were shot dead."

[14] See Römer (1991: 97-99) for more information on the origin of this form.
[15] The Curaçaoan orthography uses accents to mark the final stress in Ibero-Romance disyllabic participles in Pp. No accents are used in the Aruban orthography.
[16] For an account of the formation of the passive voice in Pp, see Birmingham (1970: 95f.), Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 37) and Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007: 319). For more information regarding the origin and variability of the passive diathesis in Pp, see Eckkrammer (2004), Sanchez (2005, 2008) and Jacobs (2011).
[17] http://m.extra.cw/news/2012-11-17/Internashonal/TA_TIRA_HOBEN_MATA_DURANTE_PROTESTA.html#.V5h8LXqkWao
[18] The passive auxiliaries *wòrdu*/*wordo* and *ser* present allomorphy in free variation (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 37). Eckrammer (2004) adds the forms *worde* and *keda*; the latter exhibits restrictions in its use. The author argues for different preferences between the Aruban dialect and the Curaçaoan/Bonairean varieties.

These examples follow the Curaçaoan orthography. (8a) was taken from a local newspaper and (8b) from a novel. The accent mark on the last syllable in *tirá* and not in *mata* clearly indicates that only V_1 is inflected for past participle as it receives final stress, while V_2 is left in the bare form.[19] However, a few cases were attested in which both constituents of a resultative SVC are stressed in the last syllable:

(9) un hòmber ku a wòrdu **tirá** **matá**...
INDF man REL PFV AUX.PASS shoot.PTCP kill.PTCP
"a man who was shot dead…" (extra.cw, 24th Oct. 2013)[20]

The fact that both verbs are stressed in the last syllable indicates that they are past participles, which hints at their verbal status. However, the inflection of both verbs for participle in passive constructions appears to be marginal. It is worth mentioning that many informants were reluctant to use the passive diathesis in Pp.[21]

The absence of stress marking in the Aruban orthography does not imply that the verbs that are of Ibero-Romance origin used in resultative SVCs are not inflected for past participle when they are used in passive constructions. According to the Aruban speakers who were consulted, despite the lack of stress marking in the Aruban orthography, the stress in V_1 of resultative SVCs shifts from the penultimate to the final syllable, while V_2 is left in the bare form. Thus, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable in V_2:

(10) E ruman di Francis a ser tira mata pa polis...
DEF brother of F. PFV AUX.PASS shoot.PTCP kill by police
"Francis' brother was shot dead by the police…" (24ora.com, 28th June 2010)[22]

The first constituent in (11) has been inflected for past participle following the Germanic pattern by adding the prefix *ge-*:

(11) Cuanto hende no a wordo ge- dal mata
how.many person EMPH PFV AUX.PASS PTCP hit kill
inocentemente...? (24ora.com, 21.06.2015)[23]
innocently

[19] Zwicky (1990: 8f.) argues that *hear tell* is a case of ordinary serialization in English that has lexicalized into an idiom. Only the head or main verb, i.e. V_1, is tensed, as in the following example:
(i) I've heard tell that a pound of lead is as heavy as a pound of gold. (Zwicky 1990: 9)

[20] http://m.extra.cw/news/2013-10-24/Internashonal/ATAKANTE_DI_BOSTON_VINKULA_KU_ASESINATONAN_DI_2011.html#.V5iPonqkWao

[21] Some speakers objected to using passive constructions in Pp because they are regarded as a borrowing or, better still, as an intrusion from the contact languages on the islands. The participants stated that sentences are best formulated using an active construction with the arbitrary subject *nan* (3PL) "they" or an arbitrary null subject in order to convey the pragmatic value that the agent of the action is either unknown or irrelevant (see also e.g. Birmingham 1970: 95, Wood 1972b: 859):
(ii) Un hoben a wòrdu tirá mata → Nan a tira un hòben mata / ∅ A tira un hòben mata
According to Haspelmath et al. (2013: 360), Pp has a "typical passive construction".

[22] http://www.24ora.com/policial-mainmenu-8/19114-dos-ruman-ta-muri-tira

[23] http://www.24ora.com/policial-mainmenu-8/96546-autonan-na-linear-park-ta-stroba-peatonnan

"How many people have been stricken dead innocently?"

To summarize, the above examples show that there is variation regarding the verbal status of V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs. Although there are cases in which both constituents of resultative SVCs are inflected for past particle, there is a preference for inflecting only V_1 for participle, whereas V_2 is left in the bare form. The fact that V_2 fails to be marked for past participle indicates the loss of morphological verb properties and, consequently, the loss of verbal status.

V_2's coalescence with V_1: The emergence of resultative verb compounds

So far, Pp resultative SVCs with two transitive verbs have been shown to surface following the syntactic structure NP_1 V_{TRANS} NP_2 V_{TRANS}. Thus, the verb constituents are non-contiguous but separated by the internal argument, which is shared by both verbs. Muller (1989: 367f.) shows that V_1 and V_2 can be adjacent when the object is extracted in cleft sentences.[24] Further instances were attested in which V_2 occupies the position right after V_1, relegating the object to the position after the two verbs:

(12) a. Polis di Sint Maarten cu a **tira** **mata** un persona a
police of S. M. REL PFV shoot kill INDF person PFV
bin sinta castigo na Aruba. (diario.aw, 21st Nov. 2015)[25]
come sit punishment LOC A.
"The police from Saint Martin who shot a person dead came to serve his sentence in Aruba."

b. Auto a **dal** **kibra** palo di luz na Primavera
car PFV hit break stick of light LOC P.
"Car strikes lamppost broken in Primavera" (headline)
(masnoticia.com, 21st May 2016)[26]

c. Forklift durante trabao-nan a dal pega[27] den waya di coriente y
F. during work-PL PFV hit stick LOC wire of current and
a **ranca** **kibra** un palo di lus na Madiki
PFV tear break INDF stick of light LOC M.
(awe24.com, 16th Feb. 2015)[28]

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[24] Two transitive verbs in resultative SVCs can be contiguous when the object has been extracted in a cleft sentence:

(i) Ta e kakalaka e mucha a dal mata (Muller 1989: 368)
FOC DEF cockroach DEF child PFV hit kill
"It was the cockroach the child struck dead"

(ii) Ta e porta Cha Tiger a pusha habri (Muller 1989: 368)
FOC DEF door C. T. PFV push open
"It was the door Cha Tiger pushed open"

[25] http://www.diario.aw/2015/11/polis-di-sint-maarten-cu-a-tira-mata-un-persona-a-bin-sinta-castigo-na-aruba/

[26] http://masnoticia.com/auto-dal-kibra-palo-di-luz-na-primavera/

[27] Note that *dal pega* is also a resultative SVC in which the two constituents act as intransitive verbs.

[28] http://www.awe24.com/r20910

"Forklift gets stuck in the power (by crashing into it) and rips a lamppost out of the ground in Madiki" (headline)

The resultative construction now surfaces as NP_1 V_{TRANS} V_{TRANS} NP_2, in which V_1 and V_2 are adjacent, moving the shared internal argument of V_1 and V_2 to the position after the verb compound. Sentences (12b) and (12c) contrast with (1b) and (1c), respectively, because while the verb constituents in the former are contiguous, they are separated by the object in the latter, i.e. *nos a **dal** e outo di Jan ku Piet **kibra*** (1b) and *Shana a **ranka** mi kamisa **kibra*** (1c). At first glance, the juxtaposition between V_1 and V_2 resembles the nuclear-layer serialization pointed out by Foley and Olson (1985). However, I argue that the examples in (12) are cases of V-V compounds resulting from the grammaticalization process of V_2. The main piece of evidence that sentences in (12) do not entail verb serialization is the fact that V_2 has lost verbal status. The loss of verbal status is evidenced in the unacceptability of V_2 being predicate clefted, the fact that it marginally inflects for past participle in passive voice constructions and the increase in bondedness between V_2 and V_1, as V_2 occupies the position immediately after V_1. I will elaborate on this in the discussion in 6.2.3.

Resultative SVCs and resultative V-V compounds coexist synchronically in current Pp and they can even co-occur within the same text. In (13) the resultative V-V construction *tira mata* is used in the first position and the resultative SVC *tira* NP *mata* appears at the end of the text:

(13) Geerman a tira Graciete, un tiro fiho den cabes...
G. PFV shoot G. INDF shot clear LOC head
Geerman a **tira** **mata** Graciete... Hues ta haya cu e video
G. PFV shoot kill G. judge TA find COMP DEF video
ta mustra claramente cu ta Geerman a mata Graciete...
TA show clearly COMP FOC G. PFV kill G.
A keda proba, segun hues, cu legalmente
PFV AUX.PASS prove.PTCP according judge COMP legally
Geerman a **tira** Graciete **mata**... (Bondia24.com, 20th Feb. 2016)[29]
G. PFV shoot G. kill
"Geermain shot Graciete, a clear shot in the head… Geerman shot Graciete dead … The judge finds that the video clearly shows that it was Geerman who killed Graciete… According to the judge, it has been proved that Geerman shot Graciete dead…"

It can be noted that both constituents of the resultative SVC and V-V compound in the above text can also be used as the only verbs in a VP: *Geerman a tira Graciete* "G. shot G." and *Geerman a mata Graciete* "G. killed G".

In the following example, the action-result semantic relation is expressed via the resultative SVC *dal* NP *kibra* as well as the resultative V-V construction *dal kibra* NP:

[29] http://www.bondia24.com/?q=article/stanley-geerman-keda-condena-na-14-%C3%B1-di-prizon

(14) Chofer a baha caminda **dal** palo di lus **kibra** y a bandona
driver PFV go.down road hit stick of light break and PFV abandon
e sitio di accidente. Diadomingo atardi a drenta informe di
DEF place of accident Sunday afternoon PFV enter report of
cu tin un auto cu lo a **dal** un palo di luz **kibra**...
COMP EXT INDF car REL IRR PFV hit INDF stick of light break
ta trata di un pick-up blauw A32936 cu lo a pasa **dal**
TA deal of INDF p. blue REL IRR PFV pass hit
kibra e palo di luz y a sigui core bay.
break DEF stick of light and PFV continue run go
(awe24.com, 24th May 2015)[30]

"A driver came down the road, crashed against a lamppost, breaking it and abandoned the place of the accident. Sunday afternoon a report came in that a car probably crashed against a lamppost breaking it… It is a blue pick-up A32936 that probably crashed against a lamppost, breaking it and drove away."

These examples corroborate the suggestion that resultative SVCs and resultative V-V compounds coexist in current Pp. The structures seem to be semantically interchangeable and could be interpreted as stylistic variants. However, the possible difference between the two structures needs further research. It should be pointed out that all informants who were consulted regarding this aspect objected to using resultative V-V compounds. They all inserted the object between the transitive verbs.[31] The examples with resultative V-V compounds were all taken from local newspapers.

V_2's incorporation into V_1 in resultative verb compounds

A further piece of evidence for the grammaticalization of V_2 within the frame of resultative SVCs is its apparent incorporation into V_1, as is suggested by the use of the prepositions *riba* "on, at" and *for* (*di*) "out (of)/from" after the resultative V-V compound in the sentences in (15). (1e) is repeated as (15c) below for convenience.

(15) a. York a wordo acusa di a **tira** **mata** riba
Y. PFV AUX.PASS accuse.PTCP of PFV shoot kill PREP
Hakeem Kwame Isidora... (Diario.aw, 21st Nov. 2015)[32]
H. K. I.
"York was accused of having shot Hakeem Kwame Isidora dead…"[33]

[30] http://www.awe24.com/r21886

[31] One informant noted that the verb compound may possibly surface after a predicate cleft construction:
(i) Ta tira polis a tira mata e hòmber.
FOC shoot police PFV shoot kill DEF man
"The police really shot the man dead."
Another speaker claimed that a sentence with a V V structure could be acceptable if a pause were included between the verbs. The structure would result in a covert coordination:
(ii) Un outo a dal, mata un kabritu.
INDF car PFV hit kill INDF goat
"A car struck, killed a goat."

[32] http://www.diario.aw/2015/11/polis-di-sint-maarten-cu-a-tira-mata-un-persona-a-bin-sinta-castigo-na-aruba/

b. Dama bou influencia ta **dal kibra** riba otro auto dilanti
lady under influence TA strike break PREP other car in.front.of
Olde Molen. (24ora.cw, 19th Dec. 2014)[34]
O. M.
"Woman under influence crashes into another car and breaks it in front of Olde Molen."

c. MUCHA A **KAI**[35] **MURI**[36] FOR SPRINGKUSSEN
child PFV fall die out bouncing.castle
"Child falls from a bouncing castle and dies" (headline)
(extra.cw,12.01.2016)[37]

Used as the only verb in a predicate, *mata* "kill" is a transitive verb that requires an object. *Kibra* "break" can act as a transitive verb, like *mata*, but it can also be used intransitively. In any case, none of the verbs can be followed by a PP:

(16) a. Polis a mata (*riba) e hòben.
"The police killed (*at) the youngster."
b. Un outo a kibra (*riba) e kurá.
"A car broke (*at) the wall."

However, the initial verbs *tira* "shoot" and *dal* "hit" can subcategorize for the PPs in (16):

(17) a. Polis a tira riba e hòben.
police PFV shoot PREP DEF youngster
"The police shot at the youngster."
b. Un outo a dal riba e kurá.
INDF car PFV hit PREP DEF wall
"The car crashed into the wall."

Similarly, *kai*/*cay* "fall" can subcategorize for the PP introduced by the complex preposition *for di* "out of" in (18a), whereas *muri* "die" in (18b) cannot:

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[33] Note that this sentence cannot be interpreted such that the agent shot at somebody with the intention of killing that person, but the killing did actually take place. Instead, V_2 is the result of V_1. In fact, it is clear in the article that H.K.I actually died. Furthermore, preposition *riba* was not used in the headline:
(i) Polis di Sint Maarten cu a tira mata un persona a bin sinta castigo na Aruba.
police of S. M. REL PFV shoot kill INDF person PFV come sit punishment LOC A.
"The police from Saint Martin who shot a person dead came to serve the sentence in Aruba."

[34] http://www.24ora.com/policial-mainmenu-8/89920-dama-bou-influencia-ta-dal-kibra-riba-otro-auto-dilanti-olde-molen

[35] Note that *kai*/*cay* "fall" can also be used as a light verb in Pp (see 6.3). However, *kai* displays lexical meaning in (15c) because the boy did actually fall from the bouncing castle, as stated in the article:
(ii) Un mucha di 4 aña a muri despues ku el a kai for di un asina yamá Springkussen.
INDF boy of year PFV die after that 3SG PFV fall out of INDF so call.PTCP bouncing.castle
"A 4-year-old boy died after falling from a so-called bouncing castle."

[36] See a further example of incorporation with *kai*/*cay muri* in the Annex.

[37] http://extra.cw/news/2016-01-12/Hulanda/MUCHA_A_KAI_MURI_FOR_SPRINGKUSSEN.html

(18) a. Un mucha a kai for di un bentana.
INDF child PFV fall out of INDF window
"A child fell out of a window."
b. * Un mucha a muri for di un bentana.
INDF child PFV die out of INDF window

The examples in (16) exhibit selectional restrictions because *mata* and *kibra* used as the only verbs in a predicate can be followed by an NP, but not by the PP that accompanies the verb compounds in (15). *Mata* and *kibra* in (15) have lost their valency, i.e. they do not exhibit their internal argument. Similarly, *muri* in (18b) cannot subcategorize for the PP introduced by *for* (*di*). The use of the preposition *riba* after the V-V compounds *tira mata* and *dal kibra*, as well as the use of the preposition *for* (*di*) after *kai*/*cay muri*[38] suggests that V_2 has incorporated into V_1. The PPs introduced by *riba* and *for di* are under the syntactic scope of V_1, i.e. V_1 subcategorizes for the PPs. This fact indicates that V_1 functions as the main verb, whereas V_2 acts as a grammaticalized verb that has undergone coalescence, i.e. it has juxtaposed V_1, and has further incorporated into V_1, losing its internal structure. The lexemes *mata* "kill" and *muri* "die" are subject to selectional restrictions when they function as main verbs. However, the selectional restrictions do not apply when the verbs surface as grammaticalized resultative V_2 that have incorporated under the syntactic scope of the head V_1.

The compounding of action-result constructions seems to be still incipient due to the fact that V_1 and V_2 cannot be predicate clefted together. This suggests that the V-V compound is still perceived as being composed of two independent constituents and is not conventionalized as one lexeme:

(19) a. * Ta dal mata un outo a dal un kabritu mata.
FOC hit kill INDF car PFV hit INDF goat kill
b. * Ta tira mata polis a tira un ladron mata.
FOC shoot kill police PFV shoot INDF thief kill

The informants modified the sentences in (19) by placing only V_1 after the focus marker *ta*, as was the case with intransitive directional SVCs (see 5.3.2). Thus, only V_1 can be predicate clefted.

Marginal boundary loss

A further piece of evidence to prove that resultative serial verbs have entered the grammaticalization path from verb to affix (see Hopper and Traugott 1993: 108) is that the resultative V-V compounds *tira mata* and *dal pega* constitute a single lexeme, i.e. *tiramata* "kill by shooting" and *dalpega* "get stuck", in Ratzlaff's (1992: 257, 45) dictionary. Furthermore, Ratzlaff (1992: 45) gives *dalpega* "get stuck" a separate lexical

[38] Note that Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 153) do not consider "die", among other verbs, to be a source concept for grammaticalization despite its belonging to a language's basic vocabulary.

entry.[39] Since these are the only instances that have been attested, one should be careful in claiming that resultative V-V compounds in Pp agglutinate.

In any case, the evolution of the verb compounds *tira mata* and *dal pega* into the lexemes *tiramata* and *dalpega* can be accounted for by a process of *boundary loss* (Lehmann 1985, 1995 [1982]) or *fusion* of the constituents of the verb compounding (Heine and Reh 1984). The agglutination of V_2 into V_1 constitutes the last stage of the grammaticalization path from full verb to affix. However, it could also be argued that it is due to a process of lexicalization, i.e. from complex to simple lexeme via fusion and institutionalization (see Traugott and Brinton 2005). Traugott and Brinton (2005: 104-109) list a number of processes that are shared by both grammaticalization and lexicalization. I assign the evolution of *tira mata* into *tiramata* to grammaticalization, and the fact that the verb compound *tira mata* or the amalgamated compound *tiramata* appear in the lexicon to a process of lexicalization via institutionalization (see Lipka 2002 [1990]: 112, Traugott and Brinton 2005: 45-47): "As a nonce formation comes to be accepted by part or all of the speech community (it is "institutionalized"), it becomes a new word of the language, or a NEOLOGISM" (Traugott and Brinton 2005: 45).

Lexicalization

A last piece of evidence for the compounding of resultative verb constructions in Pp is their lexicalization. Sebba (1987: 201) analyses Pp SVCs with *mata* "kill" in V_2 position and an object between V_1 and V_2 as lexical idioms or compounds, e.g. *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill) "shoot dead", *dal mata* (lit. strike kill) "strike dead", *choka mata* (lit. choke kill) "choke dead". Dijkhoff (1993: 66) shows that some lexicalized verb combinations have nominalized, as in the following sentences:

(20) e ta biba den choka mata na Barber.
he T/A live in choke kill in Barber
"he lives in a far away place in Barber" (Dijkhoff 1993: 66)

(21) dal pega (lit. hit stick) "mentzelia aspera (plant)" (Dijkhoff 1993: 102)

Even though the deverbal compound nouns are made up of two independent grammatical words, they are treated as single lexemes. However, note that *dal pega* also surfaces as a single lexeme, i.e. *dalpega* (see Dijkhoff 1993: 152, 163). The author spells this V V nominal compound as two words and as a single word, explaining that "Papiamentu has no consistent way of writing complex nouns" (1993: 100, fn. 32). The lexeme *dalpega* suggests the fusion of the two verb constituents into one grammatical word, i.e. boundary loss. Further, the lexicalized compounds have developed an idiomatic meaning because the meaning of the compound does not equal the sum of the

[39] Note that *dal* does not seem to contribute any meaning in *dalpega* "get stuck", unlike *tira* in *tiramata* "kill by shooting", which definitely contributes information to the compound. This relates to the difficulty in interpreting the meaning of light verbs in some contexts (see 5.3). However, my informants interpreted *dal* in *dal pega* (12c) as displaying full lexical meaning.

individual constituents, i.e. the constituents exhibit semantic opacity as the meaning becomes unpredictable or idiomaticized. Hence, it can be concluded that the compounds have undergone idiomatization in (20) and (21). Lipka (2002 [1990]: 112) defines idioms "as formally complex linguistic expressions whose meaning is not derivable from that of their constituents."

The resultative V-V compound *tira mata* has also undergone nominalization, as can be seen in the following sentence, where it is used as part of the nominal compound *wega di tira mata* "shooting game". However, the lexicalized resultative V-V compound has not acquired any idiomatic meaning:

(22) e tabata hunga wega-nan di tira mata ku su
3SG PST.IPFV play game-PL of shoot kill with 3SG.POSS
ruman-nan mas grandi. (Baselmans 2010: 171)
sibling-PL more big
"he was playing shooting games with his/her older siblings."

The two constituents of the compound *tira mata* are bond and treated as a single lexeme within the compound noun. Note other nominal compounds in Pp that follow the pattern *wega di* + noun, e.g. *wega di bala* (lit. game of ball) "football match", *wega di number* (lit. game of number) "lottery", *wega di mucha* (lit. game of children) "children's game", *wega di plaka* (lit. game of money) "gambling game" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 482). The semantics of these nominal compounds are predictable.

Lastly, further evidence for the lexicalization of, at least, some resultative serialized constructions in Pp is the fact that they are included in Pp dictionaries. *Tira mata* appears under the lemma *tira* "shoot" in van Putte-de Windt and Van Putte (2005: 456) and as a single lexeme, i.e. *tiramata*, under the lexical entry *tira* in Ratzlaff (1992: 257).[40] *Dalpega* "get stuck" has its own lexical entry in Ratzlaff (1992: 45). The verb combination *kai kibra* is registered under the entry *kai* with the meaning *stuk vallen* "to fall to pieces" in van Putte-de Windt and van Putte (2005: 196). The resultative constructions *kibra drenta* (lit. break enter) "to break into a house", *kibra habri* "to break open" and *dal kibra* (lit. hit break) "to crash" are included under the lemma *kibra* in van Putte-de Windt and van Putte (2005: 214).

6.2.2 Possible internal and external influences in the development of resultative verb compounds

Two factors may have exerted an influence on the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in Pp resultative SVCs, giving rise to resultative V-V compounds. Evidence of a language-internal and a language-external factor is presented below.

[40] Note that *tira* has various meanings, e.g. "throw" and "shoot". It also acts as a light verb in combination with nouns, e.g. *tira un bista* (lit. throw a look) "take a look", *tira kochi* (lit. throw kick) "kick". Further, it has developed idiomatic meaning in other cases, e.g. *tira bos* (lit. throw voice) "to make known, announce" (van Putte-de Wind and van Putte 2005: 220, 455f.). The lexemes *tira kochi* have fused into *tirakochi*, giving rise to a lexicalized noun with the idiomatic meaning "grasshopper", likewise *dalakochi* (lit. give-kick) (Ratzlaff 1992: 257).

Firstly, I argue that the evolution of resultative SVCs into V-V compounds may have been influenced by processes related to NP-movement that make it possible for the verb constituents of resultative SVCs to surface adjacently. In sentence (23a), the object of the resultative construction has been extracted and fronted as part of a relative clause.[41] As a consequence, the two verb constituents surface contiguously. Similar cases can be observed in (23b), where the object has been clefted,[42] and in (23c), where the object of an active sentence becomes the patient subject in the passive voice counterpart (sentence (10) is repeated here as (23c) for convenience):

(23) a. Chicago ta spera mas protesta pa hoben ku polis a **tira mata**.
C. TA await more protest for young REL police PFV shoot kill
"Chicago awaits more protests for the youngster that the police shot dead."
(laprensaultimonotica.com, 26th Nov. 2015)[43]

b. Ta djis un porta e mester a **stot habri**. (Debrot 2008:48)
FOC just INDF close 3SG need PFV push open
"It was just a door he had to push open."

c. E ruman di Francis a ser **tira** **mata** pa polis...
DEF brother of F. PFV AUX.PASS shoot.PTCP kill by police
"Francis' brother was shot dead by the police…" (24ora.com, 28th June 2010)[44]

The fact that resultative SVCs can surface with an identical syntactic structure as resultative V-V compounds as a consequence of processes that are connected to NP-movement may have supported the increase in bondedness between V_2 and V_1. This is because (some) speakers may have grown familiar with the contiguity of the action-result verb constituents and, hence, may have started using them in juxtaposition even in those contexts in which there is no object extraction.[45]

[41] See a further example of this type in the Annex.
[42] As was indicated above, Muller (1989: 367f.) shows that the transitive verb constituents of resultative constructions can be contiguous when the object is extracted in cleft sentences.
[43] http://laprensaultimonoticia.com/news/6385/chicago-ta-spera-mas-protesta-pa-hoben-ku-polis-a-tira-mata.html
[44] http://www.24ora.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19114:dos-ruman-ta-muri-tira&catid=6:policial&Itemid=8
[45] Note that in some Germanic languages such as German the constituents of the secondary predication also surface contiguously when NP-movement is involved:
(i) Der Mann schlug den Jung-en tot.
DEF.M.NOM man hit.PST.3SG DEF.M.ACC boy-ACC dead
"The man struck the boy dead."
(ii) Der Mann, der den Jung-en tot schlug, sitzt im Gefängnis.
DEF.M.NOM man REL DEF.M.ACC boy-ACC dead hit.PST.3SG sit.PRS.3SG LOC.DAT prison
"The man that struck the boy dead is in prison."
In (ii) the secondary predication appears in a relative subordinate clause that involves NP-movement. Furthermore, the constituents of the secondary predication surface jointly in the past participle form:
(iii) Der Mann hat den Jungen tot-geschlagen.
DEF.M.NOM man AUX.3SG DEF.M.ACC boy.ACC dead-PTCP.hit
"The man has struck the boy dead."

Influence of object extraction on the coalescence of V_2 into V_1 in resultative SVCs
1. Resultative SVCs: Un outo a **dal** e kabritu **mata**. INDF car PFV hit DEF goat kill "A car struck a goat dead."
2. Resultative SVC involving NP-movement: Esaki ta e doño di e kabritu ku un outo a **dal** **mata**. here COP DEF owner of DEF goat REL INDF car PFV strike kill "Here is the owner of the goat that a car struck dead."
3. Resultative V-V construction (product of grammaticalization of V_2): Un outo a **dal** **mata** e kabritu. INDF car PFV strike kill DEF goat "A car struck a goat dead."

Table 32. Influence of object extraction on the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in resultative SVCs

It could, further, be argued that some speakers opt for a more consistent SVO typology with a V-V construction occupying the VP position, i.e. SVVO (V-V compound) instead of SVOV (with a transitive resultative SVC).

Moreover, the variable structure exhibited by intransitive directional SVCs as V+V+PP or V+PP+V may possibly have played a role in the extension of resultative V-V constructions in Pp. As shown in 5.2.3, the directional serial verb (V_2) in intransitive directional SVCs can surface right after the motion verb, e.g. *el a **biaha bai** Miami ku avion* (contiguous directional SVC) "he travelled to Miami by plane", but it can also be separated from the motion V_1 by an adverbial phrase, e.g. *el a **biaha** ku avion **bai** Miami* (non-contiguous directional SVC) "he travelled by plane to Miami". Pp speakers may have transferred the flexibility of the position occupied by V_2 in transitive resultative SVCs before and after the object in analogy with the flexible position of the directional V_2 in intransitive directional SVCs.[46] Furthermore, the fact that the constituents of resultative SVCs with two intransitive verbs surface contiguously may have further encouraged the compounding of transitive resultative SVCs.

Secondly, as indicated above, all the examples exhibiting resultative V-V compounds, e.g. (12) to (15), were found in local newspapers. The synchronic variation in the position of the resultative V_2 in Pp, i.e. either right after the action V_1 or after the V_1 and shared object, parallels the variation that also takes place regarding the position occupied by the second constituent in cases of secondary predication in English. In a sentence like *the police **shot** the man **dead***, the position of the adjective *dead* parallels the position of *mata* in the resultative SVC *tira* NP *mata* (lit. shoot NP kill). However, the position of *dead* in the following examples taken from newspaper articles parallels the position of *mata* in Pp resultative V-V compounds like *tira mata* NP (lit. shoot kill NP):

[46] Some speakers preferred the structure V+V+PP for intransitive directional SVCs rather than V+PP+V.

(24)
a. A gunman has **shot dead** prominent Jordanian writer Nahed Hattar outside a court where he was facing charges for sharing a cartoon deemed offensive to Islam. (aljazeera.com, 25.09.2016)[47]
b. Israeli police **shoot dead** Palestinian in Jerusalem camp
Israeli forces **shoot dead** man after alleged car ramming attack, an account denied by the victim's family. (aljazeera.com, 05.09.2016)[48]
c. US police **shoot dead** boy, 13, with BB gun following armed robbery report
Police in Ohio **shot dead** a 13-year-old boy with a BB gun when they responded to reports of an armed robbery. (itv.com, 15.09.2016)[49]

Several informants commented on the fact that the Pp used in local newspapers is influenced by the contact languages on the ABC islands. Thus, the language of newspaper articles tends to be quite Europeanized. Some speakers said that journalists tend to translate international news closely following the structures and vocabulary found in the original newspaper article.[50] However, the above examples, in which resultative V-V compounds are found in Pp, are local news, i.e. the incidents took place on the ABC islands and, therefore, the articles were not translated from another language. In any case, the apparent flexibility with which the second constituent in secondary predication can surface in the English examples above closely parallels the flexibility that the second member in resultative constructions also displays in Pp.[51] It could be hypothesized that the variation exhibited by the second constituent in cases of secondary predication in newspaper articles written in English exerted some influence on the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in Pp resultative SVCs. The journalistic sociolect may, thus, have accelerated the compounding of resultative SVCs in Pp (see *accelerating force* in Heine and Kuteva 2010: 94-97). However, I leave the possible contribution of the English journalistic sociolect to the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in Pp resultative structures to further research to investigate.

Regardless of the role that language contact may have played in the compounding of resultative SVCs in Pp, the parallelism regarding the variable position of the second constituent in both Pp resultative constructions and in English secondary predication contributes to the literature on the similarities between resultatives SVCs in serializing languages and secondary predication (e.g. Sebba 1987, Baker 1989, Larson 1991, Law

[47] http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/09/jordan-nahed-hattar-shot-dead-cartoon-trial-160925080745317.html
[48] http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/09/israeli-police-shoot-dead-palestinian-jerusalem-camp-160905161512874.html
[49] http://www.itv.com/news/2016-09-15/us-police-shoot-dead-boy-13-following-armed-robbery-report/
[50] Eckkrammer (1996: 210) acknowledges the influence of Spanish in the translation of literary works into Pp.
[51] The grammaticalized item appears in different positions in other Germanic languages depending on the tense. Note the variable position of the grammaticalized item in German secondary predication. The position depends on the tense the verb is inflected into and whether an auxiliary is used. The examples below contain the verb *totschießen* (dead-shoot):
(i) Der Jäger schießt ein Wildschwein tot. (Present) "The hunter shoots a wild boar dead."
(ii) Der Jäger schoß ein Wildschwein tot. (Past perfect) "The hunter shot a wild boar dead."
(iii) Der Jäger hat ein Wildschwein totgeschoßen. (Present perfect) "The hunter has shot a wild boar dead"
(iv) Der Jäger wird ein Wildschwein totschießen. (Future) "The hunter will shoot a wild boar dead."

and Veenstra 1992, Collins 1997, Veenstra 1996a, 2000, 2003, see Lenz 1927: 183, Jacobs 2015: 64f. and Bouscholte 1978: 217, 220 for a parallelism between Pp SVC and Dutch secondary predication).[52]

To conclude, internal and external factors may have converged to support the compounding of transitive resultative SVCs in Pp. Further research is needed in this respect.

6.2.3 Discussion

Several pieces of evidence were presented to prove the grammaticalization of V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs. First, V_2 cannot undergo predicate cleft. Second, there is variation regarding whether it is acceptable to inflect V_2 for past participle in passive constructions. There is a tendency towards the pattern in which only V_1 is inflected for past participle while V_2 remains in the bare form. Third, the bondedness between the constituents in, at least, some resultative SVCs has increased, resulting in the formation of resultative V-V compounds. Fourth, evidence of incorporation of V_2 into V_1 was presented, as V_2 loses its valency and does not exhibit selectional restrictions. Fifth, the process of coalescence shows that the boundary between some resultative verb compounds is weakened, but still V_1 and V_2 constitute independent grammatical words. However, two examples were found in which the boundary between the constituents has been completely lost, i.e. *tiramata* and *dalpega* (see Ratzlaff 1992: 257, 45). Since these are the only examples that have been attested, no conclusions can be drawn regarding the boundary loss or agglutination of V_2 into V_1 within Pp resultative V-V compounds. Lastly, cases of lexicalization, nominalization and idiomaticization of resultative verb compounds were provided.

I argue that the loss of verb properties of V_2 exhibited in the fact that it is not acceptable for this verb constituent to be predicate clefted and inflected for past participle, together with the frequency with which the verb constituents of, at least, some resultative SVCs are used in combination in Pp brought about the coalescence of V_2 with V_1, constituting V-V compounds.[53] Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 149) claims that a grammaticalizing element needs to exhibit a grammatical relation with the linguistic unit with which it coalesces. The frequency with which some verb combinations surface

[52] Note also the variable position of particles in English transitive phrasal verbs:

(i) a. The child blew the candle out.
b. The child blew out the candle.
(ii) a. I turned the light off.
b. I turned off the light.

Akimoto (1999: 224f.) claims that while pronoun objects always surface between the verb and the particle, noun objects can be placed either before or after the postverbal particle. However, the pattern *V + NP + particle* increased during the 19th century and appears to be more common and frequent in current English. Thus, English has undergone the opposite development than Pp. See Bolinger (1971) for more details on English phrasal verbs.

[53] Remember that Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 148, 1985: 308) uses the term *coalescence* to refer to the process that increases the level of bondedness between linguistic items. By contrast, Heine and Reh (1984: 25) use the term *compounding* when the linguistic items that come closer are root words (see 2.1.4).

in Pp expressing an action-result semantic relation, e.g. *tira mata* "shoot kill", *dal mata* "beat kill", *kai kibra* "fall break", constitutes a relevant factor for the increase in syntagmatic cohesion or bondedness between the verb components (see the importance of frequency in grammaticalization in 2.1.2). Furthermore, the frequent use of the verb combinations has an effect on the lexicalization of resultative V-V compounds. Some combinations are included in Pp dictionaries and others have nominalized and acquired an idiomatic meaning. The compounding that some resultative SVCs have undergone could also be explained to be the result of syntactic reanalysis, i.e. the resegmentation of two independent verbs as a single lexeme (see Langacker 1977, see also Hopper and Traugott 1993: 40, 49). However, I take the compounding to be the result of a grammaticalization process due to its gradualness.

Resultative V-V compounds were shown to coexist with resultative SVCs in current Pp. The synchronic coexistence of two alternative syntactic structures is a common phenomenon attested in grammaticalization. The original or source structure (the resultative SVC) does not disappear once the new structure (the resultative V-V compound) emerges. Instead, both syntactic structures coexist in the language as variants. The syntagmatic variability found in some of the examples above indicate a period of *positional adjustment* (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 159) or *fixation* (Lehmann 1985: 308).

Both syntactic structures are available in Pp. In some cases, the constructions were used by one and the same speaker: "An idiolect is of necessity a hybrid from various idiolectal inputs" (Mufwene 2008: 120). However, the resultative V-V construction does not seem to have become fixed in Pp or to be spread across speakers for two reasons. First, speakers rejected this syntactic structure and opted for the SVC, i.e. they placed the shared object between V_1 and V_2. Second, all the examples of resultative V-V compounds provided were found in local newspapers, where they can appear as a variant of resultative SVCs within the same text. Hence, the resultative verb compounds appear to be a strategy used exclusively in the journalistic sociolect. Further research is definitely needed in this field. In any case, the V-V compounds attested do not fulfill any pragmatic strategy aimed at eliminating the distance between the main verb and the grammaticalizing item when there is a complex object NP, as is proposed in regard to the formation of verb compounds in Edo (see Agheyisi 1986: 279f.).

The objections raised by the informants regarding the unacceptability of resultative V-V compounds in Pp can be related to the *constant tension* between creative and normative/prescriptive aspects that occurs in the speakers, as is proposed by Lehmann (1985: 314f.). The author explains the typical synchronic variation in cases of grammaticalization to be the result of an internal conflict between speakers' creativity and the pressure to conform to the grammatical rules of their language. The tension may, thus, lead to the concurrent existence of resultative SVCs and V-V compounds in Pp. The conflict around abiding by grammatical norms may have guided the participants to object to the new structure. While the informants favoured resultative SVCs, the resultative V-V compounds were only found in the press as a stylistic variant of resultative SVCs.

Finally, the data provided by the press articles show that both structures can be used interchangeably. This indicates that resultative SVCs and resultative V-V compounds may possibly be *allostructures*.

Processes involved in the grammaticalization of resultative serial verbs

According to Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 148), there are four stages to the process of coalescence or compounding. In the first stage, the grammaticalizing item juxtaposes with the linguistic unit with which it shares a grammatical relation. This process is attested in the examples in which V_2 occupies the position immediately after V_1. Thus, V_1 and V_2 lie contiguously, e.g. *tira mata un persona*. In the second stage, the grammaticalizing unit cliticizes, i.e. there is "subordination of the grammaticalized item under an adjacent accent" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 148). Heine and Reh (1984: 32) define cliticization as "a process by which a full word becomes syntactically – and frequently also phonologically – dependent on other words." I am aware that diverse tests are applied in the literature to analyse a grammaticalizing item as a clitic. I take the loss of valency and selectional restrictions exhibited by V_2 in some examples, e.g. *tira mata riba un persona*, as evidence for the subordination of V_2 into the main V_1. The fact that the grammaticalizing V_2 *mata* does not subcategorize for the PP in *tira mata riba un persona* indicates the dependency of V_2 within the scope of V_1. Note that V_2 loses its morphosyntactic verb properties but does not undergo desemanticization at this point, as it retains its lexical meaning. In the third step, the grammaticalizing item becomes an affix via agglutination. Since only two instances of this process were found (*dalpega* and *tiramata*, Ratzlaff 1992: 45, 257), this stage should be regarded to be marginal or (almost) non-existent. Lastly, the grammaticalized form merges with the adjacent constituent and becomes an integral part of it. Heine and Reh (1984: 43f.) define *merger* as the process whereby "the meaning or function of two linguistic units merges into one new meaning/function which is different from that of the combined units." Heine and Reh indicate that merger corresponds to compounding at the morphosyntactic level and that the latter frequently leads to the former, i.e. compounding tends to bring about a merger. This process is present in the above cases of lexicalization, especially when the resultative V-V compounds have undergone nominalization and developed a separate idiomatic meaning. Thus, merger is at work "when it is no longer possible to treat each component as a lexical unit of its own but rather to consider the relevant sequence as a separate lexical entry" (Heine and Reh 1984: 45).

Processes involved in the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in resultative constructions	**Examples**
1. Juxtaposition	*tira mata* un persona (shoot kill a person)
2. Cliticization	*tira mata* riba un persona (shoot kill at a person)
3. Agglutination	*tiramata* (marginal or almost absent) (shootkill)

4. Merger	Cases of lexicalization, e.g. *kai kibra*, *tira mata*, nominalization, e.g. *wega di tira mata* and nominalization with idiomaticization, e.g. *choka mata* 'far away place', *dal ranka* "stew", *dal pega* "type of thistle"

Table 33. Processes involved in the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in resultative constructions following Lehmann (1995) and Heine and Reh (1984)
(see Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 148 and Heine and Reh 1984: 43-45).

Up until now, the coalescence or compounding of V_2 with V_1 in resultative SVCs has been explained as a language-internal process. However, the process may also have been influenced by an external factor, namely language contact. The increase in syntagmatic cohesion between the constituents of the resultative SVCs may replicate an equivalent structure found in English-language newspapers. The coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in Pp resultative SVCs parallels the coalescence of the adjective with the verb in English secondary predication. The parallel structure addresses a topic that has already been dealt with in the literature: the similarities between SVCs in serializing languages and secondary predication in Germanic languages.

Internal process: Grammaticalization of V_2 in resultative SVCs in Pp 1) Loss of verb properties: no predicate cleft, marginal inflection for past participle 2) Increase in bondedness: coalescence of V_2 with V_1 → V-V compound 3) Incorporation of V_2 into V_1: V_2 loses selectional restrictions and valency 4) Boundary loss? 5) Merger: lexicalization, nominalization and idiomaticization
Possible external influence: Language contact Transfer of the coalescence of the second constituent in English secondary predication with the first component

Table 34. Grammaticalization of resultative verbs (V_2) in Papiamentu/o and possible external influence

To conclude, the data show that there is variation in the status of V_2 in resultative SVCs.[54] On the one hand, the (marginal) inflection of V_2 for past participle points to the verbal status of this constituent and, hence, the analysis of the verb cluster as an SVC. On the other hand, the unacceptability of V_2 being predicated-clefted and inflected for past participle, as well as the coalescence and incorporation of V_2 into V_1 indicate the defective status of V_2. This constituent is, thus, best analysed as a verb that has entered the grammaticalization cline from full lexical verb to derivational affix. Therefore, the analysis of the structure ranges from the original resultative SVC, in which the two constituents are full-fledged verbs, to a V-V compound, in which V_2 has lost its morphosyntactic verb properties but retained its semantic/lexical content. V_2 modifies V_1 in a verb compound by indicating the result of the verb it accompanies. In cases of idiomaticization, V_2 loses its original verbal meaning. However, the fact that V-V compounds were only found in the journalistic sociolect and were not accepted by the informants suggests that the grammaticalization of V_2 into an affix is at an incipient

[54] Note that Muller (1989: 368f.) regards both constituents of resultative SVCs to be verbs.

stage or it is still an ongoing process that has not reached the whole community of speakers:

> [C]hanges are usually initiated by individuals. They spread to the communal level only after they have been copied by other speakers (not necessarily all of them), although the spread is determined by various aspects of the population structure, such as profession, level of education, age, gender, and socio-economic class.
>
> (Mufwene 2008: 67)

6.3 *Dal* "hit" and *kai*/*cay* "fall" (V1) as light verbs

It was shown in the previous section that initial verbs (V_1) in resultative SVCs function as main verbs, while the final verbs (V_2) have the tendency to enter the grammaticalization cline from verb to affix. Thus, V_2s become defective, coalesce with and incorporate into the head V_1. However, there is evidence that, at least, two types of V_1s that are commonly used in Pp resultative SVCs do not behave like main verbs in combination with other lexemes but modify the V_2 they accompany. Some verb combinations with *dal* "hit" and *kai/cay* "fall" in V_1 position, which resemble SVCs on the surface, are best analysed as V+V LVCs because the V_1 modifies the V_2. This section parallels the information provided in 5.5, where *bula* "fly, jump" and *kore*/*core* "run" (two common V_1s in intransitive directional SVCs) were shown to function as light verbs modifying a V_2 in some contexts.

This section presents cases in which *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as V_1 do not function as heads of resultative SVCs or their grammaticalized versions, i.e. resultative V-V compounds, where they display full lexical meaning. Instead, they act as light verbs modifying the V_2 in the predicate. *Dal* and *kai*/*cay* constitute V+V LVCs with the main verbs (V_2) they accompany in the complex predicates. Moreover, *dal* can also be followed by nouns and form V+N LVCs.

6.3.1 Light verb uses of *dal* and *kai*/*cay*

In this section, examples will be provided in which the lexemes *dal* and *kai*/*cay* exhibit adverbial or aspectual meaning modifying the V_2 they accompany in the predicate.

Dal was shown to display full lexical meaning in all previous examples. The lexeme further exhibits lexical meaning in combination with *sera*/*cera* "close" and *habri* "open", provided that the context encourages this semantics. Example (25) is a clear instance in which the agent can be argued to have actually hit the drawer and, therefore, *dal* displays full lexical meaning:

(25) Ku un sla duru Frits a dal e lachi sera. (Debrot 2008: 49)
with INDF hit strong F. PFV hit DEF drawer close
"With a strong beat Frits slammed the drawer shut."

However, in the absence of any context based on which *dal* can be interpreted with its full lexical meaning, there are a range of possible interpretations, from full lexical

meaning to various adverbial semantics. According to my informants, depending on the context, *dal* can convey the meaning that the action expressed by V_2 is performed forcefully, involving a noise or suddenly.[55] The interpretation may be ambiguous.

(26) a. Blek manera morto el a dal e porta sera bèk. (Debrot 2008: 34)
pale like death 3SG PFV hit DEF door close back
a. "As pale as death he slammed the door closed back/closed the door forcefully."
b. "As pale as death he closed the door back making a noise."
c. "As pale as death he suddenly closed the door back."

b. El a dal e buki sera atrobe. (Debrot 2008: 24)
3SG PFV hit DEF book close again
a. "He slammed the book closed again/closed the book forcefully."
b. "He closed the book making a noise again."
c. "He suddenly closed the book again."

Dal adds information to the predicate regarding the manner in which the action in V_2 was performed.[56] This contrasts with sentence (27), where the adverbial modification is absent:

(27) El a sera e porta. (Debrot 2008: 52)
3SG PFV close DEF door
"He closed the door."

Sentences (25) and (26) display an explicit agent in subject position and an object located between *dal* (V_1) and *sera*/*cera* or *habri* (V_2). However, no explicit agent is involved in sentences (28) and (29) below, nor is there an object. In these sentences, *dal* is directly juxtaposed with the V_2 and can only have adverbial meaning, i.e. the action of V_2 takes place involving force, a noise or suddenly. Interpreting (28) is not straightforward, as it could involve a loud sound – a trace of the meaning of *dal* as a main verb – or a sudden action:

(28) e porta-nan di outo a dal sera su tras. (Debrot 2008: 28)
DEF door-PL of car PFV strike close 3SG.POSS behind
a. "The car doors closed behind him making a loud noise."[57]
b. "The car doors closed all of a sudden behind him."

[55] No examples of the structure *dal sera NP* (see *dal sera e porta* in Bendix 1972: 54) were found in my corpus. All my informants placed the NP between *dal* and *sera*, i.e. *dal NP sera*. According to my data and the participants, the only context in which *dal* can be contiguous with *sera*/*cera* and *habri* is in an intransitive predicate with no explicit agent, e.g. *e porta a dal habri*.

[56] Other verbs can be found in position V_1 in resultative SVCs:

(i) El a hala e lachi di mesa habri brutu. (Debrot 2008: 42)
3SG PFV pull DEF drawer of table open rough
"S/he pulled the drawer of the table open in a rough manner."

(ii) E administradó a pusha e hèki sera... (Debrot 2008: 27-28)
DEF administrator PFV push DEF fence close
"The administrator pushed the fence closed…"

[57] This interpretation may also be possible due to the presence of *sera* as V_2. *Sera* may involve a noise, which is not customary with *habri* (see (29)) for extralinguistic reasons.

The sudden occurrence of the action in V_2 is assigned to *dal* in both sentences in (29):

(29) a. Porta di truck pas-ando den Schoolstraat a dal habri…
door of truck pass-GER LOC S. PFV strike open
"Door of truck passing by Schoolstraat suddenly opened…"
(awe24.com, 26th Jan. 2015)[58]

b. Simon su kurason a dal sera ora el a mira e
S. 3SG.POSS heart PFV hit close when 3SG PFV see DEF
pistol. (Lauffer 2013: 55)
pistol
"Simon's heart startled when he saw the pistol."

It is important to note that the participants pointed to the non-lexical meaning of *dal* when it surfaces contiguously to *sera*/*cera* and *habri*, as in sentences (28) and (29). Accordingly, *dal* conveys the suddenness or abruptness of the action in V_2[59] (see also Bendix 1972: 54) or involves force of a noise. The two last readings may reflect a trace of the full lexical meaning displayed by *dal* as a main verb. In any case, *dal* has a purely adverbial meaning in this position.

In some cases, what *dal* contributes to the predicate seems to be redundant, as is the case in the following example of a headline in a newspaper:

(30) Ciclista A Bay Dal Den Porta Di Auto Cu Diripiente A Dal Habri
cyclist PFV go hit LOC door of car REL suddenly PFV hit open
"Cyclist crashes against car door that suddenly opens" (headline)
(diario.aw, 14th Jan. 2010)[60]

The presence of *dal* juxtaposed with *habri* and the use of the adverb *diripiente* appear to involve a semantic redundancy because both *dal* and *diripiente* seem to modify *habri* doubly. The fact that *dal* modifies *habri* in (30), indicating that the action took place suddenly (and not involving force or a noise) is acknowledged in the body of the news:[61]

(31) diripiente un alumno a bay habri porta di auto pa asina
suddenly INDF student PFV go open door of car COMPL therefore
baha y bay school, y e ciclista a yega y dal duro
get.out and go school and DEF cyclist PFV arrive and hit hard
den e porta. (diario.aw, 14.01.2010)
LOC DEF door

[58] http://www.awe24.com/r206731
[59] Note that *blow*, a synonym of *hit*, involves a sudden stroke in English. Similarly, the Spanish adverbial phrase *de golpe* (lit. of stroke) refers to an action that has occurred suddenly, all at once, as in French *d'un coup* (lit. of a stroke) and in German *auf einen Schlag* (lit. on a stroke).
[60] http://www.diario.aw/2010/01/ciclista-a-bay-dal-den-porta-di-auto-cu-diripiente-a-dal-habri/
[61] Note also that *dal habri* does not have an explicit agent in the headline in (30). However, it becomes clear in the body of the news (31) that an agent was indeed involved in the action, i.e. *un alumno*, but it was simply not specified in the headline for pragmatic reasons.

"suddenly a student opened the car door in order to get out and go to school, and the cyclist arrived and collided with the door."

In other cases, *dal* does not seem to contribute to the meaning of the predicate. J. Kramer (2013: 34) translates *dal habri* in his dictionary as simply "to open", without any further information.

Kai/*cay* conveys an adverbial function in combination with some verbs, e.g. *kai sinta* (lit. fall sit) "sit down" and *kai drumi* (lit. fall sleep) "lay down" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93, Bouscholte 1978: 240).[62] In these examples, *kai* displays an adverbial meaning that is related to the direction involved in its full lexical meaning. Our knowledge of the world and of physics indicates that *fall* can only entail a downward direction. This adverbial interpretation is present in the following sentences:

(32) a. Mi boka a kai habri pa dal un gritu muda
1SG mouth PFV fall open COMPL give INDF shout mute
di desesperashon. (de Haseth 1988: 62)
of despair
"My mouth opened down in order to give a silent shout of despair."

b. Masha kalmu el a kai sinta den un stul... (Lauffer 2013: 64)
very calm 3SG PFV fall sit LOC INDF chair
"Calmly he sat down in a chair…"

c. M' a kai sinta lenchi lenchi den un stul... (Lauffer 2013: 71)
1SG PFV fall sit slow REDUP LOC INDF chair
"I sat down very slowly on a chair…"

Lenz (1927: 171f.) interprets *kai* in the verb cluster *kai sinta* as conveying an adverbial meaning involving the action expressed by V_2 taking place in a brusque, rough manner:

(33) E baron a kai sinta. (Lenz 1927: 171f.)
DEF man PFV fall sit
"The man sat down in a brusque manner."

Note that Lenz's interpretation is not possible in examples (32b) and (32c) because it would contradict the information conveyed by the adverbials *masha kalmu* and *lenchi lenchi*. In fact, Wood (1971a: 62) objects to the translation provided by Lenz, indicating that *kai* "has no content implying violent or precipitate action".

Furthermore, as was the case with *dal* in (30), where the presence of *dal* and the adverb *diripente* suggests an apparent semantic redundancy because the meaning "suddenly" is conveyed twice, a parallel example is found with *cay* in the sentence below:

[62] Remember that Valeriano Salazar (1974) includes these combinations in her Subclass 1 where one of the verbs lacks lexical meaning (see 4.1).

(34) Persona can-ando canto di caminda ta collapse y cay muri
person walk-GER side of road TA collapse and fall die
"Person walking alongside the road collapses and dies" (headline)
(24ora.com, 5th Sep. 2009)[63]

The use of the verbs *collapse* and *cay* may appear to be redundant at first sight. However, in other cases *kai* does not seem to modify *muri* or contribute any additional information to the cluster *kai muri* (lit. fall die), as Valeriano Salazar (1974: 93) translates it merely as "die".

Apart from the adverbial interpretation, *kai*/*cay* is also assigned an inceptive or inchoative aspectual meaning in Wood (1971a: 62) and Luidens et al. (2015: 110). According to the latter, *cay* in *cay drumi* indicates the beginning of the action expressed by V_2 (see 4.3.4). Following Luidens et al. (2015: 110), *cay* can be interpreted as an aspectual marker indicating the start of V_2 in sentence (34). Hence, the initial apparent redundancy is unfounded because *cay* conveys the beginning of an action and points to a change of state. *Kai*/*cay* in the verb cluster *kai*/*cay muri* may, thus, exhibit two different meanings: full lexical meaning as in (15c, d) and aspectual information as in (34). *Kai* in (32) may possibly have an inchoative meaning, suggesting the beginning of V_2 and a change in position.

It could be argued that the lexical and aspectual meaning of *kai*/*cay* depends, on the one hand, on the V_2 in the predicate. For example, *kai*/*cay* can only exhibit aspectual meaning in combination with *drumi*. On the other hand, the extralinguistic context and the information the speaker wishes to convey also play a role in correctly interpreting the lexeme. For instance, *kai*/*cay* can exhibit both lexical and aspectual meaning in combination with *muri*.

To conclude, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* display multiple meanings and functions. The lexemes exhibit full lexical meaning when used as the only verbs in a VP, as well as within resultative SVCs or their grammaticalized versions as V-V compounds. However, they display adverbial and/or aspectual meaning modifying the V_2 in the predicate when they function as light verbs. Sometimes the verb in position V_2 helps to assign the right interpretation to *dal* and *kai*/*cay*. In other cases, the position in which the lexemes surface in the syntax and the contextual information play a relevant role in their interpretation.

6.3.2 Lexicalization

Instances of lexicalization, nominalization and idiomaticization involving *dal* and *kai*/*cay* will be presented in the following.

Dal habri (lit. hit open) appears under the lemma *dal* in two of the dictionaries consulted. It is translated as "to swing open" in Mansur (1991: 61), while J. Kramer (2013: 34) translates it simply as "to open", which suggests that *dal* does not contribute to the meaning of the construction. Furthermore, *dal* has lexicalized in combination with *bai*/*bay*, i.e. *dal bai*, with the meaning "go ahead, continue" (J. Kramer 2013: 34,

[63] http://www.24ora.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=11741&Itemid=28

van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 84). The combination may have been listed in the lexicon due to its idiomatic meaning, as is the case with other verb compounds whose meaning does not reflect the addition of the separate constituents. Interestingly, *dalbai* – as one lexeme – has an independent lexical entry like *dalpega* (lit. hit stick) "get stuck" (already mentioned in 6.2.1) and *dalranka* (lit. hit pull/start) "jerk/pull suddenly" in Ratzlaff's (1992: 45) dictionary.

There are some cases of nominalization and idiomaticization of lexicalized verb compounds with *dal*, e.g. *dalbai* (lit. hit-go) refers to a kind of bread in the Aruban variety, *dalpega* (lit. hit-stick) is a kind of thistle (already mentioned in 5.2.1) and *dalbira* (lit. hit-turn) refers to a gambling game (see van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 85). *Dal ranka* has also undergone nominalization and idiomaticization, as shown in the following example:

(35) e dal-ranka ku b' a stoba ta buta asta hòmber grandi bai leu.
the hit take-away that you T/A cook T/A make even man big go down
"the stew that you made was so rich that even a big man couldn't stand it"
(Dijkhoff 1993: 66)

Dal has been shown to have undergone lexicalization in combination with another verb. In some cases, the verb compounds have also undergone nominalization and idiomaticization. However, *dal* not only constitutes V+V complex predicates but also V+N LVCs. *Dal* functions as a light verb in combination with different nouns, e.g. *dal un gritu* "give[64] a shout" (see van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 85), *dal un boca* "take a bite", *dal un baño* "take a bath", *dal un stap* "take a step", *dal un salto* "take a jump" (J. Kramer 2013: 34), *dal un bofta* "slap someone's face", *dal un buelta* "go for a ride" (Mansur 1991: 61), *dal un kant'i man* "give someone a slap", *dal un wanta* "give someone a whack", *dal un beter* "have a shot (of whiskey or other type of liquor)" (see Ratzlaff 1992: 44), or *dal un biter* (see Mansur 1991: 61), *dal un keiru* "take a drive, go for a walk" (Ratzlaff 1992: 126).

Note the use of *dal un bista* in (36) as "take a look". The same meaning can be expressed using the light verb *tira*, i.e. *tira un bista*. Note also that the lexemes *dalakochi* and *tirakochi* mean "grasshopper".

(36) Mi ta konsehá bo pa bo bai dal un bista un
1SG TA advise 2SG COMP 2SG go give INDF look INDF
biaha na un kasino… (Baselmans 2010:115)
travel LOC INDF casino
"I advise you to go take a look at a casino once…"

Dal also functions as a light verb in combination with the noun *rosea* "breath". *Dal un rosea* could also be expressed with the verb *rosea* "to breathe":

[64] *Dal* originates from the Portuguese/Spanish verb *dar* (J. Kramer 2013: 34). The lexeme displays polysemy in Spanish, where it can mean, e.g., "hit" and "give". However, *dal* only means "hit" in Pp. The uses of *dal* as a light verb in Spanish and Portuguese, involving the meaning "give", are also present in Pp.

(37) Simon a dal un rosea di alivio… (Lauffer 2013: 55)
S. PFV give INDF breath of relief
"Simon gave a sigh of relief…"

K*ai*/*cay* appears in the dictionary in combination with several verbs: *cay muri* (lit. fall die) "to die", *cay sinta* (lit fall sit) "to sit", *laga cay* (lit. let fall) "go away" (Mansur 1991: 42), *kai pèrdè* "not to be seen anymore" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 195). J. Kramer (2013: 28) and van Putte-de Windt and van Putte (2005: 195) translate *kai*/*cay sinta* as "sit down". Note that *kai*/*cay* does not seem to contribute any information to the meaning of the verb clusters *cay muri* and *cay sinta* in Mansur (1991: 42), as they are translated simply as "to die" and "to sit", respectively. Lastly, *laga cay* has developed the idiomatic meaning "go away".[65]

It could be argued that these verb combinations have been included in the lexicon due to the unpredictability of their meaning, i.e. the meaning of the verb clusters cannot be derived from the meaning of their constituents in isolation. Some authors looking at verb compounds have reported the convenience of listing those combinations whose meanings are unpredictable in the lexicon (see Thompson 1973, Lord 1975).

6.3.3 Discussion: Analysis of *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as light verbs

The fact that *dal* and *kai*/*cay* can display adverbial and aspectual functions in Pp has already been acknowledged in the literature (see Wood 1971a: 62, Bendix 1972: 54, Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93, Bouscholte 1978: 240, Lenz 1927: 171f., 179, Maureen et al. 2015: 110, see 4.3.4. for details). These lexemes exhibiting non-lexical meaning have been analysed as auxiliaries and as regular main verbs. However, in this section, I will argue that *dal* and *kai*/*cay* best fit into the syntactic category of light verbs.

First, in terms of the morphosyntactic properties, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as light verbs are always marked for tense and aspect and can also undergo predicate cleft in the same way as their full lexical counterparts. The predicate cleft test and marking for tense/aspect prove evidence that *dal* and *kai*/*cay* exhibit morphosyntactic verbal features. Thus, the lexemes are, structurally, full-fledged verbs. However, marking for tense and aspect does not necessarily prove diagnostic when it comes to classifying a lexeme as a light verb, as indicated by Butt (2010: 52).

Second, as regards semantic properties, light verbs, unlike main verbs or serial verbs, do not contribute an event or subevent of their own to the complex predicate, they merely modify the event conveyed by the main verb (V_2) they accompany (see Butt and Lahiri 2013). *Dal* and *kai*/*cay* as light verbs have been shown to modify[66] the other verb

[65] Note that *sera*/*cera* as V_2 was used as a main verb in combination with *dal* as V_1. However, *sera*/*cera* can also be used in V_1 position in the lexicalized verb compound *sera konosé*/*cera conoce* (lit. close know) "meet" (van Putte-de Windt and van Putte 2005: 406), where *sera*/*cera* does not exhibit its full lexical meaning "close".

[66] Evidence that *dal* does not act as a main verb but as a modifying verb modulating the head of the complex predicate is presented by Dijkhoff (1993: 101f., 100ff., 155ff), who shows that most N N compounds in Pp are left-headed, i.e. the head of the compound is situated on the left and the constituent located on the right is the modifier. These complex nouns are endocentric compounds, e.g. *angel guardadó* <angel guardian> "guardian angel" (p. 100), *ruman muhé* <sibiling female> "sister", *ruman*

in the complex predicate in various ways. Based on the semantics displayed by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* when they do not function as main verbs in a predicate, I argue that the lexemes are best analysed as light verbs and not as auxiliaries. *Dal* and *kai*/*cay* modify the V_2 in an adverbial manner, which is customary for light verbs (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 355), i.e. they indicate the manner in which the action of the main verb is performed. *Kai*/cay specifies a movement downwards of the action expressed by V_2, whereas *dal* designates that the action expressed by V_2 involves force or a noise and, in other cases, it refers to the suddenness or abruptness of the action in V_2. Note that the expression of suddenness is among the meanings listed in e.g. Butt (2010: 72) and Butt and Lahiri (2013: 33):

> [Light verbs] are also likely to provide that extra bit of semantic predication which is the hallmark of light verbs, namely the information whether a given action is sudden… (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33)

The fact that *dal* lacks full lexical meaning and instead exhibits adverbial meaning is closely related to its inability to inflect for past participle in a passive construction:

(38)	*E	porta	a	wòrdu	ge-	dal/i-dal	sera	(pa	e	mucha)
	DEF	door	PFV	AUX.PASS	PTCP	hit	close	by	DEF	child

One of my informants who objected to the above sentence claimed that *dal* cannot inflect for past participle because there is no actual *dalmentu*/*o* "hit" in the active voice counterpart. Thus, *dal* was not interpreted as displaying lexical meaning or contributing any subevent of its own. The fact that *dal* cannot inflect for past participle in (38) contrasts with the fact that it can inflect for this form in (11), where *dal* exhibits full lexical meaning and adds a subevent of its own to the predicate. Although inflecting *dal* for past participle to build passive voice in sentences such as (38) was mostly judged to be unacceptable, it is worth mentioning that one speaker accepted the sentence, which suggests that *dal* was interpreted as displaying full lexical semantics.[67]

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hòmber <sibiling male> "brother" (p. 160). However, Dijkhoff provides some counter examples in which the head of the compound is located on the right while the modifier is the constituent on the left, i.e. right-headed N N compounds or exocentric compounds. Interestingly, there is a V Adv and a V V complex nominal containing the lexeme *dal* as first constituent among the counter examples. Thus, *dal* functions as a non-headed or modifying word:
Dal abou: throw down – type of firework
Dal pega: hit stick – mentzelia aspera (plant) (Dijkhoff 1993: 102).
Dal pega/*dalpega* was already mentioned in 6.2.1., where *dal* functions as the main verb. However, *dal* can also act as a modifying verb in other contexts.

[67] The informant claimed that such a sentence would be rarely used owing to the presence of a passive structure. Many speakers objected to using the passive voice in Pp and preferred to resort to the active voice with the arbitrary subject *nan* "they" or an arbitrary null subject, as in the sentence below:

(i) Ø	A	dal	e	porta	sera/cera.
	PFV	hit	DEF	door	close

"Somebody slammed the door shut."

Furthermore, light verbs can convey aspectual information[68] denoting the inception and completion of an action (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 336, Butt and Lahiri 2002: 7): "The interaction of the lexical content of the light verb with the event semantics of the main verb is what gives rise to all such effects as the specification of inception" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 336). *Kai*/*cay* can display inceptive aspect as a light verb, expressing the beginning of the event conveyed by V_2.

In some cases, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* may appear to contribute hardly any information to the predicate. The light verb's contribution to the complex predicate has been described as "not necessarily transparent" (Butt 2010: 72) or "extremely difficult to identify" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 324) in some cases. In other cases, light verbs have been claimed to "modify the main predication in some (usually subtle) manner" (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 31) and even in an apparently redundant way:

> [T]he modification expressed by light verbs can be very weak, and at times it seems almost redundant. In principle, this would not seem problematic, since redundancy does not block the use of modifiers in other cases (for instance, there is no less redundancy in adverbial cases like *He rushed quickly to the door*).
>
> (Butt and Geuder 2001: 357)

Examples (30) and (34) provide evidence of the non-transparency or difficulty in identifying the semantics of *dal* and *kai*/*cay* in their light verb uses. Even though the lexemes may be perceived as semantically empty or redundant at first glance, they do add information to the complex predicate, even if it is a little. On no account can light verbs be analysed as "meaningless" (Brugman 2001: 552), though. Based on this information, *dal* has not ceased to modify *habri* in (30) nor has the adverb *diripienti* been used in the sentence to fill the semantic void.[69]

The translation of some Pp LVCs provided in the literature further shows how difficult it is to interpret the meaning or function of light verbs. J. Kramer (2013: 34) includes *dal habri* in his etymologic dictionary under the entry *dal*. According to the author, the main meaning of the lexeme is "hit", but in combination with *habri* it becomes "open" without further reference to the adverbial interpretation indicated above. Thus, according to J. Kramer, *dal* does not seem to contribute any information to the complex predicate. J. Kramer's translation of *dal habri* as merely "open" points to the opacity of the meaning of *dal*. In a similar way, Valeriano Salazar (1974: 93) translates *kai muri* as simply "die" without further mention being made of the inceptive aspect conveyed by *kai*. Note also the different interpretation assigned to the LVC *kai drumi* as "lay down" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93, Bouscholte 1978: 240) and the inceptive aspectual interpretation provided by Luidens et al. (2015: 110), as well as the

[68] However, remember from 3.2.4 that "it is not aspect in the temporal sense, in the sense of locating an event relative to the reference time of the clause… Rather, what is involved is some type of lexcially [sic.] specified content which interacts with the semantics of the main verb" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 336).

[69] A similar analysis was proposed as regards the insertion of prepositions after intransitive directional SVCs in 5.3.2. Since *bai*/*bay* has lost its directional semantics in the verb compound with a motion verb, the prepositions *na* or *pa* must be used to fill the semantic gap. However, *dal habri* does not form a V-V compound, which is the product of grammaticalization. Thus, the fact that *dal* in (30) apparently adds nothing to the predicate is not related to a process of semantic bleaching but to its nature as a light verb.

interpretation assigned to *kai sinta* as "sit down" (Valeriano Salazar 1974: 93) and as "sit down in a brusque manner" (Lenz 1927: 171f.).

The reason why the meaning or function displayed by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* is not straightforward relates to the semantic flexibility of light verbs because their semantic contribution is contextually dependent (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 356f.):

> [W]e cannot always isolate a distinct meaning of the light verb apart from the construction that it heads… In other words, it is only in construction with specific arguments that the contribution of the light verb can be determined. This should no longer suggest that there is no meaning to be discerned. (Brugman 2001: 574)

The meaning of *dal* and *kai*/*cay* varies depending on the interpretation of these lexemes either as heavy or as light verbs in the syntactic environment in which they surface and the V_2 they accompany in the complex predicate. The context and the information that the speaker wishes to convey also play a role in the right interpretation of *dal* and *kai*/*cay*.

Kai/*cay* displays full lexical meaning when it is the only verb in a predicate or when it functions as the main verb of a verbal cluster, i.e. within a resultative SVC or V-V compound. However, it exhibits adverbial meaning or inceptive aspect when it surfaces in a V+V LVC. The lexeme contributes to the complex predicate by modifying the main verb. *Kai*/*cay* can convey full lexical meaning or aspectual meaning in combination with *muri*. Thus, the same verb cluster, i.e. *kai*/*cay muri*, can give rise to a resultative SVC/V-V compound or a V+V LVC, depending on whether *kai*/*cay* is interpreted as a heavy or light verb. However, it can only function as a light verb and, thus, convey adverbial information followed by the lexemes *sinta* and *drumi*.

Dal parallels *kai*/*cay* in that it displays full lexical meaning when it is the only verb in a predicate as well as when it acts as the head in resultative SVCs or V-V compounds. *Dal* within the surface structure *dal NP sera/cera* and *dal NP habri* – with an explicit agent and an object – can be interpreted as exhibiting full lexical meaning, but it can also display adverbial semantics, i.e. the action of V_2 is performed involving force, a noise or suddenly. However, *dal* can only convey adverbial meaning when it is directly contiguous to the V_2, i.e. in the LVC *dal sera/cera* and *dal habri*, as well as in combination with other lexemes, e.g. *dal para*.

I follow Butt and Lahiri's schema (2013: 32, see 3.2.3) to account for the multiple meanings or functions displayed by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* in Pp, i.e. lexical, adverbial and aspectual. I argue that *dal* and *kai*/*cay* each have a single underlying lexical entry that binds the uses displayed by the light verb variants and their main or heavy counterparts. The multi-semantics or multi-functionality exhibited by *dal* in Pp is explained as follows:

(39) *Dal* → Main verb: full lexical meaning "hit"

→ Light verb: adverbial meaning "forcefully", "making a noise", "suddenly", "abruptly"

Dal has a single underlying lexical entry in Pp that binds the full lexical meaning "hit" when it surfaces in the syntax as a main verb, and the adverbial meanings when it acts as a light verb. The lexeme is not only polysemous that takes into account the combination of heavy and light verb uses, it is also polysemous in regard to its light verb uses. *Dal* can modify the main verb in the complex predicate by indicating that the action is performed involving force or a noise, as well as that the action took place suddenly or abruptly. The differences in meaning between the first two light verb uses are subtle.

The lexical entry for *kai*/*cay* also gives rise to two different uses. The lexeme exhibits the full lexical meaning "fall" when it acts as the heavy variant or main verb of a predicate, but it displays adverbial and aspectual semantics when it surfaces as the light verb variant. *Kai*/*cay* is polysemous as a light verb because it can specify a downward movement as well as the beginning of the action expressed by the main verb of the predicate:

(40) *Kai*/*cay* → Main verb: full lexical meaning "fall"
→ Light verb:
- Adverbial meaning "down"[70]
- Inceptive aspect

The adverbial uses of *dal*, i.e. "using force", "implying a loud sound", "suddenly" and "abruptly", closely relate to the meaning of the main verb counterpart. Similarly, the adverbial use of *kai*/*cay* expressing a downward direction is connected to the meaning of the heavy verb variant. Our knowledge of the world says that the action of falling can only imply a downward direction:

> [T]he underlying entry is also associated with information that is usually associated more with world knowledge. That is, what a falling event usually entails, namely that is involitional, that it is sudden, that it is downward. (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33)

The right interpretation of the underlying lexical entry as a full lexical verb or as a light verb depends on the syntactic status that has been assigned to the lexeme, either as the main or the light verb in the predicate (see Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33).

In both cases, one might get the impression that the concrete meaning of the main verb variant is weakened in the light verb uses, i.e. there is an increase in abstractness, and that a trace of the meaning of the heavy verb variant is maintained in its use as a light verb. However, this analysis would involve the derivation of the light verb semantics via metaphor or generalization, as is the case in grammaticalization (see 2.1). Instead, the semantic dimension gained by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as light verbs is due to the fact that the full lexical meaning and the more abstract meaning can interact in the same construction, as is the case with other light verbs (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 343).

[70] Remember that Lenz (1927: 171f.) interprets *kai* in the verb cluster *kai sinta* with the adverbial meaning "in a brusque manner". Wood (1971a: 62) objects to this meaning. Moreover, none of my informants interpreted this adverbial meaning.

While the semantic differences between full verbs and auxiliaries have been explained via a process of semantic bleaching, i.e. grammaticalization, the relation between light and heavy verb uses has been accounted for in the literature via lexical polysemy (see Brugman 2001, Butt and Geuder 2001).

As regards the two first properties of *dal* and *kai*/*cay*, it can be concluded that they are structurally verbal when they function as light verbs, i.e. they always carry tense/aspect marking and can be predicate clefted. However, they are semantically defective because they do not exhibit full lexical meaning and, furthermore, the systematic semantic contribution of these lexemes to the complex predicate is sometimes difficult to identify. These properties give *dal* and *kai*/*cay* a semi-lexical status, as is assigned to light verbs (see Butt and Geuder 2001). The light verb uses of these lexemes are distinguishable from the main verb senses due to the semantic properties because the morphosyntactic properties exhibited by heavy and light verbs are alike. However, note that it is unacceptable for *dal* to inflect for past participle in (38). This unacceptability may be related to the adverbial semantics assigned to *dal* in that sentence.

Third, *dal* and *kai/cay* as light verbs are form identical with their full lexical verb counterparts in terms of their phonological structure. The lexemes have remained stable over the years and have not undergone any process of phonetic erosion, i.e. grammaticalization, which is one of the main features that differentiates light verbs from auxiliaries (see, e.g., Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013, Butt 2010: 53). The only change *dal* and *kai/cay* have undergone is lexicalization and idiomaticization in some verb combinations. This point leads us to the following paragraph.

Fourth, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* were shown to combine with a variety of lexemes: only with verbs in the case of *kai*/*cay*, but with verbs and nouns in the case of *dal*, i.e. *dal* not only constitutes V+V LVCs but also V+N LVCs. Some combinations have lexicalized and, in some cases, the lexicalized expression displays idiomatic meaning. The only change, thus, that *dal* and *kai/cay* have undergone is lexicalization, nominalization and even idiomaticization in some verb combinations. Note that lexicalization and idiomaticization are the only historical changes that light verbs can undergo (see Butt 2010: 72).

Last, the different meanings and functions displayed by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* render the semantics of the lexemes underspecified and largely dependent on the context in which they surface. Because both lexemes – especially *dal* – can be used in different contexts with different functions and meanings, they can be considered to be verbal *passepartouts* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013). Moreover, the lexemes for "hit" and "fall" are regarded as light verbs cross-linguistically (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 34).

6.4 Interim conclusion

In the previous two subsections, I have argued, on the one hand, for the grammaticalization of V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs and the existence, on the other hand, of V+V headed by two verbs (*dal* and *kai*/*cay*) that usually occupy V_1 position in resultative constructions. In some cases, the very same surface structure can be analysed

as a resultative SVC/V-V compound or as an LVC, depending on the interpretation assigned to *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as a light or a heavy verb.

In 6.2, evidence was presented that the V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs has grammaticalized. As a grammaticalized item, V_2 cannot undergo predicate clefting and marginally inflects for past participle. The morphosyntactic defectiveness exhibited by V_2 has an effect on the coalescence of V_2 with V_1, which creates verb compounds. The coalescence can be linked to the existing cause-effect semantic relation between the verb constituents in resultative SVCs, e.g. *tira mata* "shoot kill", *dal mata* "hit kill", *kai kibra* "fall break", and the frequency with which these verbs appear in combination:

> One might consider that the elementary necessary precondition for coalescence is that the grammaticalized item has some **grammatical relation** to the element with which it is to coalesce… Collocations which come about only occasionally cannot coalesce; they are not amenable to grammaticalization at all. (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 149)

During the process of coalescence, the grammaticalizing item juxtaposes with the linguistic unit with which it shares the grammatical relation. The increase in bondedness can be clearly attested in those cases where both constituents are transitive verbs because the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 results in the adjacency of both verbs, relegating the internal argument of both verbs to the position after the verb compound. The syntagmatic variability or apparent positional freedom of V_2 reflects a *positional adjustment* (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 159) or period of *fixation* (Lehmann 1985: 308). According to the participants who were asked about this aspect, the verb clusters *dal sera* "strike close", *tira mata* "shoot kill", *dal mata* "strike kill", etc. followed by an NP are unacceptable in Pp. For the construction to be acceptable, the NP acting as object of both verbs must be inserted between the two constituents of the construction. However, several examples of V-V compounds taken from local newspaper articles were provided. As regards the existing syntactic variation between resultative SVCs and V-V compounds, it was shown that the presence of resultative V-V compounds seems to be limited to the journalistic sociolect, where the construction appears to be a stylistic variant of resultative SVCs. Furthermore, some instances of the incorporation of V_2 into V_1 were proposed, which supports the grammaticalization of V_2. Moreover, some cases of lexicalization of resultative V-V compounds were provided, as well as instances of nominalization and idiomaticization of the compounds.

It was proposed that an internal and an external factor have influenced the compounding of resultative SVCs in Pp. On the one hand, the syntactic representation of resultative SVCs as V-V compounds in processes related to NP-movement may have favoured the compounding of the verb constituents. As speakers grow familiar with the juxtaposition of the transitive verbs in those cases where the object is extracted, the verb constituents may also start surfacing contiguously in cases where no object extraction is involved. On the other hand, the adjacency of the particle to the verb in some cases of English secondary predication in the journalistic sociolect may have accelerated the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 in Pp resultative SVCs.

In 6.3, I argued that some verb clusters with *dal* "hit" and *kai*/*cay* "fall" in V_1 position that may look like resultative SVCs on the surface are best analysed as V+V

LVCs. In these constructions, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* act as light verbs modifying the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate.

Dal displays different meanings in Pp depending on which verbs it is combined with and the context in which it surfaces. The semantics ranges from full lexical meaning, as was acknowledged in 6.2, to several adverbial semantics that may be subtly different, as seen in 6.3. Moreover, *dal* can also make up LVCs together with nouns, i.e. V+N LVCs. As regards *kai*/*cay*, the lexeme also displays different meanings depending on the verb it accompanies in the predicate and on the context. As a light verb, *kai*/*cay* modifies the main verb adverbially, but it can also indicate the beginning of the action expressed by the heavy verb in the complex predicate. The fact that *dal* and *kai*/*cay* can surface in various contexts displaying different meanings/functions makes them qualify as *verbal passepartouts* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013). Furthermore, the multi-functionality exhibited by *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as main and light verbs gives the lexemes a non-transparent meaning that can only be interpreted in context.

To conclude, although the surface structure of resultative SVCs and V+V LVCs may be similar and even identical in some cases, e.g. *kai*/*cay muri*, *dal sera*/*cera*, the constructions differ in terms of the interpretation given to the verb constituents. While V_1 functions as the main verb in resultative SVCs and V_2 is subject to grammaticalization, V_1 is analysed as a light verb modifying the main verb (V_2) in LVCs. In the latter case, V_2 displays full lexical meaning, whereas the light verb (V_1) exhibits an adverbial or aspectual meaning.

6.5 Other ways of expressing action-result in Papiamentu/o

6.5.1 Covert and overt coordination

An action-result semantic relation can not only be conveyed in Pp by means of resultative SVCs and V-V compounds, but also via covert[71] (47) and overt (48) coordination:

(47) E outo a dal e kabritu$_i$ mat' e$_i$.
DEF car PFV hit DEF goat kill- 3SG
"The car struck the goat and killed it."

(48) E outo a dal e kabritu$_i$ i (a) mat' é$_i$.
DEF car PFV hit DEF goat and (PFV) kill- 3SG
"The car struck the goat and killed it."

Sentence (47) is an example of covert coordination, where no overt conjunction is realised, a prosodic break between the VPs is possible and there is no object sharing. Instead, the object of V_1 is repeated as an anaphoric pronoun after V_2. Sentence (48) is an example of overt coordination, where a conjunction is expressed overtly. In both

[71] Several authors have indicated the differences between SVCs and covert coordination, e.g. Sebba (1987), Baker (1989: 546ff. see also references therein), Stewart (2001).

sentences, the pronominal object of the second verb co-refers to the object NP of the first verb. The difference between the two structures lies in the overt realization of the copulative coordinating conjunction *i*/*y* "and" in (48).

6.5.2 Variation in the expression of action-result in Papiamentu/o

Resultative SVCs are used along with overt coordination to express an action-result semantic relation in Pp, as can be seen in (49):

(49) Chauffeur di vehiculo a **dal** un cabrito **mata**...
driver of car PFV strike INDF goat kill
vehiculo 4×4 bin- iendo for di pabou a **dal** un cabrito chikito
car com- GER from of down PFV strike INDF goat small
basta duro **y** **mat-** e. (diario.aw, 31st Dec. 2015)[72]
very hard and kill 3SG
"Car driver strikes a goat dead... (headline) a vehicle 4x4 coming down the street struck a small goat very hard and killed it."

In example (49), taken from a newspaper article, a resultative SVC was used in the headline, i.e. *dal un cabrito mata*, while an overt coordination was employed in the body of the news, i.e. *dal un cabrito… y mate*. The object sharing of the SVC is substituted in the overt coordination by repeating the object with a referential pronoun. This example shows the variation in Pp regarding the expression of action-result. The two structures appear to be semantically interchangeable owing to the fact that they are used to describe the same event. However, pragmatic and stylistic differences will be proposed in 6.7.1.

In other cases of overt and covert coordination, the objects of the verbs can be different, as is the case in (50):

(50) el a drai e yabi sera Maria su porta. (Debrot 2008: 51)
3SG PFV turn DEF key close M. 3SG.POSS door
"he turned the key and closed Maria's door."

Apart from resultative SVCs, covert and overt coordination, a further syntactic structure is available to express action-result in Pp, namely resultative verb compounds. As was presented in 6.2, V-V compounds can also be used in Pp to express this semantic relation. Verb compounds were explained as a consequence of the grammaticalization of V_2 in resultative SVCs. Due to the loss of morphosyntactic properties, V_2 coalesces and further incorporates into V_1. Examples (13) and (14) above illustrate the synchronic coexistence of resultative V-V compounds with resultative SVCs in Pp. The two structures appear to be interchangeable at the semantic level because they were used to describe the same event. Note that resultative V-V compounds were only attested in newspaper articles and none of the speakers who were consulted accepted this syntactic structure. Hence, the structure seems to be strictly restricted to the journalistic sociolect.

[72] http://www.diario.aw/2015/12/chauffeur-di-vehiculo-a-dal-un-cabrito-mata-manera-nada-un-pasa/

However, one informant admitted that sentences like those in (51) are grammatical, provided that a pause is introduced between the verbs:[73]

(51) a. Un outo a dal, mata un kabritu.
INDF car PFV hit kill INDF goat
"A car struck, killed a goat."

b. E outo a dal, kibra e pal'i lus.
DEF car PFV hit break DEF stick-of light
"The car struck, broke the lamppost."

Inserting a break between the verb constituents means there is no longer a serial or compound construction (see Givón 1990, 1991) but a covert coordination. My informant stated that the copulative conjunction *i*/*y* "and" can occupy the position of the comma in the examples in (51). The covert coordination thus leads to overt coordination with object sharing in (52a) and with a co-referential personal pronoun after V_2 in (52b):

(52) a. Un outo a dal i (a) mata un kabritu.
INDF car PFV hit and PFV kill INDF goat
"A car struck and killed a goat."

b. Un outo a dal un kabritu i (a) mat' e.
INDF car PFV hit INDF goat and PFV kill- 3SG
"A car struck a goat and killed it."

Quantitative data provided below illustrate the tendency for participants to express an action-result semantic relation in Pp.

6.6 Quantitative data regarding the expression of action-result in Papiamentu/o

This chapter presented four syntactic structures that are available in Pp to express an action-result semantic relation: resultative SVCs, V-V compounds, and covert as well as overt coordination. This section presents an overview of speakers' preferences when it comes to conveying the cause and the consequence of an action in Pp. The quantitative data obtained using the GJT serves to illustrate the speakers' preferences.

Two sentences were included in the GJT to test whether participants accept the use of overt coordination to express a cause-result semantic relation in Pp. If they did not accept it, participants had to correct the items. Sentence (48), repeated here for convenience, was one of the items that appeared in the GJT:

(48) E outo a dal e kabritu$_i$ i (a) mat' é$_i$.
DEF car PFV hit DEF goat and (PFV) kill- 3SG
"The car struck the goat and killed it."

[73] Sebba (1987: 111) shows that coordinate serial structures in Sranan allow for a slight pause between the participating verbs or VPs.

The general result shows that most informants (47%) accepted overt coordination, closely followed by those who favoured the resultative SVC (38%). A few speakers (9%) opted for covert coordination. Another 3% may possibly be added to the SVC because three informants objected to the acceptability of the overt coordination, but unfortunately did not improve/correct the item.[74] Interestingly, none of the participants chose to use the resultative V-V compound *dal mata* (lit. hit kill) followed by the object. This fact corroborates the apparent marginality of this construction in current Pp. Its use seems to be restricted to the journalistic sociolect.

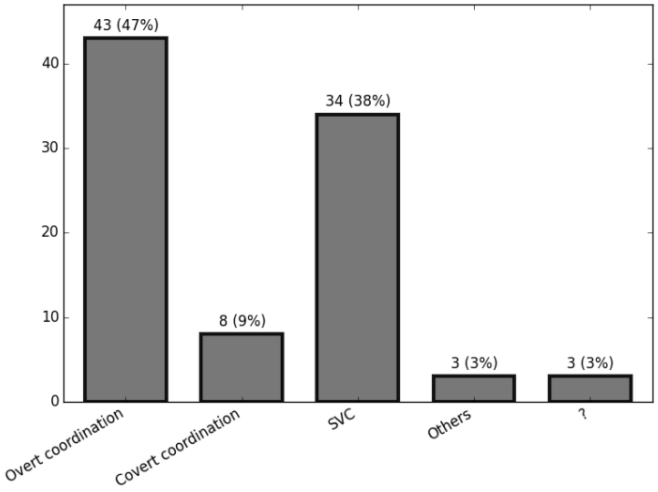

Figure 5. Sentence 48: General result

As regards age, most informants in the 18–30 age group accepted the overt coordination in (48). Acceptability of this structure gradually drops among the other age groups. Conversely, speakers in the 70+ age group tended to choose a resultative SVC; this preference drops considerably among the other age groups. Therefore, it can be claimed that age is definitely a relevant social factor that has an impact on whether overt coordination is accepted or rejected when it comes to expressing cause-result in Pp.

Sentence 48 (age)	**<18**	**18–30**	**31–50**	**51–70**	**>70**
Overt coordination	1	24 (63%)	8 (44,4%)	6 (32%)	4 (31%)
Covert coordination	0	2 (5%)	2 (11,2%)	4 (21%)	0
SVC	1	6 (16%)	8 (44,4%)	9 (47%)	9 (69%)
Others	0	3 (8%)	0	0	0
?	1	3 (8%)	0	0	0
Total	**3**	**38**	**18**	**19**	**13**

Table 35. Sentence 48: Result by age group

[74] It is important to note that three of the speakers improved the sentence by inserting a pronominal subject in front of the second verb. One of the speakers used a pronominal subject co-referential with the lexical subject in front of the first verb, i.e. *e outo*$_{i}$ *a dal e kabritu i* ***el***$_{i}$ *a mat'e* "the car struck the goat and it (the car) killed it (the goat)". The other two used a subject pronoun co-referential with the object of the first verb, i.e. *e outo a dal e kabritu*$_{i}$ *i* ***el***$_{i}$ *a muri* "the car struck the goat and it (the goat) died".

According to the data, gender does not seem to play a relevant role in the variation concerning the expression of a cause-result semantic relation in Pp:

Sentence 48 (gender)	**Male**	**Female**
Overt coordination	23 (50%)	20 (44,4%)
Covert coordination	2 (4 %)	6 (13%)
SVC	18 (40%)	16 (36%)
Others	2 (4 %)	1 (2,2%)
?	1 (2%)	2 (4,4%)
Total	**46**	**45**

Table 36. Sentence 48: Result by gender

Finally, the diatopic variation appears to play a significant role in whether the (c)overt coordination is accepted or rejected when it comes to expressing cause-result in Pp. According to the data from the GJT, most Curaçaoan but mainly the Aruban informants accepted the (c)overt coordination, whereas most Bonairean speakers objected to this construction and clearly opted for a resultative SVC. If we assume that the resultative SVC is the conservative structure and the overt coordination the innovative construction, then the Bonairean dialect would appear to be more conservative than the other two, whereas the Aruban dialect would appear to be the most innovative when it comes to this syntactic aspect:

Sentence 48 (island)	**Curaçao**	**Aruba**	**Bonaire**
Overt coordination	17 (44%)	21 (70%)	5 (23%)
Covert coordination	4 (10%)	3 (10%)	1 (4,5%)
SVC	14 (36%)	6 (20%)	14 (63,5%)
Others	1 (2,5%)	0	2 (9%)
?	3 (7,5%)	0	0
Total	**39**	**30**	**22**

Table 37. Sentence 48: Result by island

To conclude, the diastratic factor age and the diatopic variety seem to influence the preference for either a resultative SVC or (c)overt coordination to express the cause and result of an event. While age and the dialect spoken on each island seem to play an important role, gender does not appear to be relevant.

The second item in the GJT that tested the acceptability of a resultative overt coordination was (53):

(53) E glas a kai i a kibra.
DEF glass PFV fall and PFV break
"The glass fell and broke."

The general result reveals that most participants (63%) did not accept the overt coordination and substituted it for the resultative SVC *kai kibra*. Thirty-four per cent of the speakers accepted the structure provided in the questionnaire. Three of the

informants who accepted the overt coordination preferred to insert a subject pronoun in front of V_2 co-referring to the subject of V_1.[75]

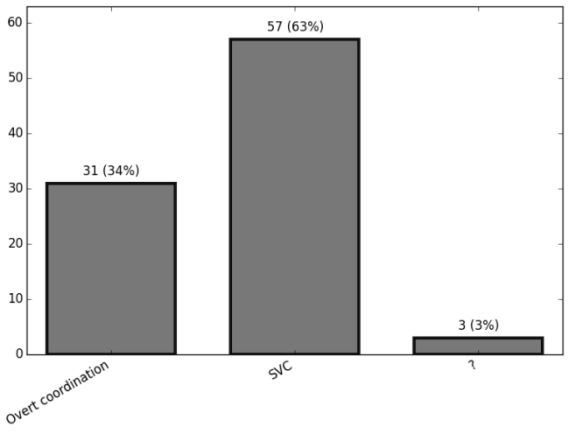

Figure 6. Sentence 53: General result

Compared to sentence (48), where slightly more speakers (47%) opted for the overt coordination, more informants (63%) chose a resultative SVC in (53). In the latter case, a further 3% could possibly be added because three speakers refused to accept the item provided in the GJT, but unfortunately did not provide a better version. The difference in the outcomes between (48) and (53) may be due to the fact that the action-result semantic relation in (53) might be more obvious than in (48) due to our knowledge of the world. See 6.7 for the speakers' interpretation/explicit knowledge.

As regards age, most of the informants in all the age groups rejected the overt coordination in sentence (53) and opted for a resultative SVC instead. Speakers in the 18–30 age group preferred a SVC (52%). The three speakers in this group (8%) who objected to the overt coordination but did not provide a better version could possibly be added to the 52% who opted for a resultative SVC. However, 40% of the informants in the 18-30 age group accepted the overt coordination (37% + 3% with pronominal referential subject on V_2). Most speakers in the 31-50 and 51-70 age groups (78% and 74% respectively) used a resultative SVC. As for the speakers in the 70+ age group, 46% accepted the overt coordination, whereas 54% chose a SVC.

Sentence 53 (age)	**<18**	**18-30**	**31-50**	**51-70**	**>70**
Overt coordination	1	15 (40%)	4 (22%)	5 (26%)	6 (46%)
SVC	2	20 (52%)	14 (78%)	14 (74%)	7 (54%)
?	0	3 (8%)	0	0	0
Total	**3**	**38**	**18**	**19**	**13**

Table 38. Sentence 53: Result by age group

[75] (i) E glas a kai i el a kibra.
DEF glass PFV fall and 3SG PFV break
"The glass fell and it broke."

Unlike in sentence (48), where most participants in the 18–30 age group accepted the overt coordination and acceptability of this structure gradually dropped among the other age groups that clearly preferred a resultative SVC, this tendency does not exist in (53). Instead, most speakers in the four age groups preferred a resultative SVC in (53).

Looking at speakers' gender, both male and female participants preferred a resultative SVC. However, the overt coordination was more accepted among male participants than among females. Therefore, it could be claimed that the female participants appear to be more conservative, whereas the male speakers more innovative:

Sentence 53 (gender)	**Male**	**Female**
Overt coordination	20 (43%)	11 (24%)
SVC	25 (54%)	32 (71%)
?	1 (3%)	2 (5%)
Total	**46**	**45**

Table 39. Sentence 53: Result by gender

In terms of the diatopic varieties, the Bonairean participants clearly opted for a resultative SVC. The informants from Curaçao also showed a preference for the SVC, whereas the Aruban speakers opted equally for the overt coordination and the SVC. According to the data, Bonairean speakers appear to be the most conservative ones, while Arubans the most innovative ones:

Sentence 53 (island)	**Cuaraçao**	**Aruba**	**Bonaire**
Overt coordination	13 (33%)	15 (50%)	3 (14%)
SVC	23 (59%)	15 (50%)	19 (86%)
?	3 (8%)	0	0
Total	**39**	**30**	**22**

Table 40. Sentence 53: Result by island

To sum up, the outcomes for the items (48) and (53) were shown to be different. On the one hand, most speakers opted for the overt coordination in (48). Most of them belonged to the 18-30 age group, while the other age groups preferred a resultative SVC. On the other hand, most participants opted for the SVC in (53). In terms of genderlect, no significant differences appeared in (48). However, more female speakers opted for a resultative SVC in (53) than male informants did. Finally, as regards diatopic differences, speakers of the Bonairean dialect clearly preferred a resultative SVC in both sentences, whereas speakers of the Aruban variety significantly tended to prefer the overt coordination in (48), but showed equal preference for a resultative SVC and a conjoined structure in (53). Speakers of the Curaçaoan variety also showed a preference for a coordinative structure in (48) but for a resultative SVC in (53). Hence, the Bonairean dialect appears to be the most conservative one.

To conclude, resultative SVCs are indeed used by Pp speakers, mainly by those belonging to the 31-50, 51-70 and 70+ age groups in the case of sentence (48), as well as by the Bonaireans. The coordinative structure, with its covert and overt variants, was

widely accepted among the 18-30 age group and also among the Curaçaoan, but mainly the Aruban speakers in the case of sentence (48).

However, although (c)overt coordinating structures and resultative SVCs may be semantically equivalent, as was attested in (49) and in the interpretation by a group of informants, some speakers indicated semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences between the two types of structures. The interpretations offered by the participants are presented in the next subsection.

6.7 Informants' interpretation of the various possibilities for expressing action-result in Papiamentu/o

As has been shown in this chapter, Pp speakers can resort to four syntactic structures to express an action-result semantic relation: resultative SVCs, resultative V-V compounds, and covert as well as overt coordination. In this section, I provide information gathered during my fieldwork regarding the way the participants interpreted these structures, their (un)acceptability and the differences they perceived between the constructions.

6.7.1 Resultative serial verb constructions vs. (c)overt coordination

Some speakers claimed that both structures could be used interchangeably, the only difference being that the overt coordination is unnecessarily long and, therefore, resultative SVCs are preferable in everyday, spoken language. However, other speakers acknowledged semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences between the constructions. These differences are presented below.

As for the semantic differences, some speakers claimed that only resultative SVCs convey a clear cause-effect relation between the actions involved in the structure. Thus, the resultative SVC *e outo a dal e kabritu mata* "the car struck the goat dead" emphasizes the fact that the goat died as a direct consequence of the accident. The parataxis in the sentence provided in the GJT *e outo a dal e kabritu i a mat'e* "the car struck the goat and killed it" implies a vague cause-result relation, i.e. the goat could have died due to another reason that was unrelated to the car accident or the goat did not die as a direct consequence of the accident.

Furthermore, some informants pointed to the eventhood and temporal contrast as a central difference between resultative SVCs and (c)overt coordinating sentences. While a resultative SVC implies a single action, a covert and an overt coordination indicate two (independent) actions (see Bendix 1972: 22ff.). Coming back to the above examples, the resultative SVC would denote that the goat died immediately after the accident, whereas the coordinate structure would imply that the goat died later on. However, the temporal difference between resultative SVCs and overt coordinating sentences noted by some informants does not seem to apply in some cases. For example, in (1d), repeated here for convenience, the resultative SVC found in the headline of a newspaper article should imply that the child died immediately after his falling from a bouncing castle, i.e. one event:

(1d) MUCHA A KAI MURI FOR SPRINGKUSSEN (extra.cw, 12th Jan. 2016)[76]
boy PFV fall die from bouncing.castle
"A boy falls from a bouncing castle and dies"

However, in the body of the newspaper article we read that the fatal consequence of the incident occurred a week after the action of V_1, i.e. the cause, had taken place:

(54) E mucha a kai malu riba su kabes i malamente
DEF child PFV fall bad LOC 3SG.POSS head and badly
heridá Ø a transport' é pa hospital. El a keda
injure.PTCP PFV transport 3SG to hospital 3SG PFV stay
un siman den koma i despues a muri a konsekuensia
INDF week LOC coma and after PFV die to consequence
di su herida-nan. (extra.cw, 12th Jan. 2016)[77]
of 3SG.POSS injury-PL
"The child fell down badly on his/her head and badly injured they took him/her to hospital. S/he lay in a coma for one week and later died as a consequence of the injuries."

In (54), it is clear that there is a cause-result semantic relation. However, the result did not occur right after the cause had taken place, but both actions were separated by a period of time.

Conversely, the action-result semantic relation in (55) is conveyed via a resultative overt coordination, which should entail a temporal interruption between the actions expressed by the two verbs (see Bendix 1972, his Class 3), and that there is no clear action-result connection, as discussed above. However, our knowledge of the world indicates that it is rather unlikely for a vase to fall down and break into pieces later on, or that the vase broke due to another reason:

(55) E vas... a kai i a kibra na pida pida.
DEF vase PFV fall and PFV break LOC piece REDUP
"The vase fell and broke into pieces." (extra.cw, 28th Jan. 2014)[78]

Hence, it becomes clear from the examples above that the semantics does not necessarily distinguish resultative SVCs from the overt coordination.

As regards pragmatic differences, some informants noted that more drama is conveyed using resultative SVCs than (c)overt coordination. Some speakers even noted that an overt coordinating structure weakens the negative consequence that results from the action expressed by V_1. For example, the overt coordination in (48) diminishes the fact that the car actually killed the goat. Thus, it reduces the fact that the car was responsible for the result expressed by V_2. It seems as if the conjoined syntactic structure took away the responsibility from the agent. This closely relates to the semantic difference mentioned above where the use of an overt coordination does not

[76] http://extra.cw/news/2016-01-12/Hulanda/MUCHA_A_KAI_MURI_FOR_SPRINGKUSSEN.html
[77] http://extra.cw/news/2016-01-12/Hulanda/MUCHA_A_KAI_MURI_FOR_SPRINGKUSSEN.html
[78] http://extra.cw/news/2014-01-28/Hulanda/BSHITANTE_A_KIBRA_VAS_PRESIOSO.html

establish a clear cause-effect semantic relation. Since the cause-effect connection is vague, the perpetrator of the action can escape responsibility.

One informant came up with another example to illustrate the pragmatic difference that can be conveyed using a resultative SVC (56) or an overt coordination (57):

(56) Un hòmber a tira un kachó mata.
INDF man PFV shoot INDF dog kill
"A man shot a dog dead."

(57) Un hòmber a tira un kachó i a matʾ é.
INDF man PFV shoot INDF dog and PFV kill- 3SG
"A man shot a dog and killed it."

According to the speaker, the difference between (56) and (57) is the fact that the second sentence does not imply intention. Thus, while the dog was shot dead unintentionally in (57), the action in (56) is perceived to be intentional. Hence, the resultative SVC in the following sentence expresses a deliberate action that was not completed:

(63) Kasi nan a kap un di nan mata (de Haseth 1988: 20)
almost 3PL PFV cut INDF of 3PL kill
"They almost cut one of them dead"

In the examples below, there is clear deliberateness set in the future:

(64) a. Laga tira algun di nan mata... (de Haseth 1988: 21)
let shoot some of 3SG kill
"Let's shoot some of them dead…"

b. Diferente be el a sinti gana di dal e barbulète mata
different time 3SG PFV feel willingness of hit DEF butterfly kill
ku sapatu... (Lauffer 2013: 53f)
with shoe
"Several times he felt like hitting the butterfly dead with the shoe…"

The intention is also made clear in the nominal compound *weganan di tira mata* (lit. games of shoot kill) "shooting games".[79] *Mata* expresses the target that is intended after the execution of V_1. Thus, *mata* is the consequence or the result aimed at once the action in V_1 has been performed.

However, resultative SVCs can also be used when there is no intention, as in the following sentence taken from the headline of a newspaper article:

(65) Tata ta accidentalmente tira su yiu mata den campo di tiro
father TA accidentally shoot 3SG.POSS son kill LOC field of shot

[79] This nominal compound was mentioned in 6.2.1 as an instance of the nominalization of the V-V compound *tira mata*.

"Father accidentally shoots his son dead in a firing range"
(bondia24.com, 5th July 2016)[80]

The reason for the use of a resultative SVC in the previous example seems to be connected to a stylistic aspect that was pointed out by various informants, namely the expressivity[81] that is conveyed via SVCs and multi-verb constructions in Pp. According to these informants, a series of verbs expresses an action in a much livelier way than an overt coordination. One of the informants was a writer of children's stories and admitted to using series of verbs (such as SVCs and multi-verb constructions/covert coordination) in order to attract the children's attention and so that they can easily and colourfully imagine the actions together with their subevents. As regards newspaper articles, the resultative SVC in (65) seems to have been used for expressive reasons to attract readers' attention. Furthermore, some instances were attested in which a resultative SVC is used in the headline – probably to attract readers' attention – while an overt coordination is used in the body of the newspaper article. Example (49) is repeated here for convenience:

(49) Chauffeur di vehiculo a **dal** un cabrito **mata**... (headline)
driver of car PFV strike INDF goat kill
vehiculo 4×4 bin- iendo for di pabou a **dal** un cabrito chikito
car com- GER from of down PFV strike INDF goat small
basta duro **y** **mat-** e. (diario.aw, 31.12.2015)[82]
very hard and kill 3SG
"Car driver strikes a goat dead... (headline) a vehicle 4x4 coming down the street struck a small goat very hard and killed it."

This fact could relate to the information provided by the author of children's stories who took part in the fieldwork. Journalists may use resultative SVCs in headlines to attract readers' attention, and coordinating structures in the body of the text for the stylistic reasons that are presented below. Note that van Putte and van Putte-de Windt (2014: 248) also refer to the expressivity that is conveyed by SVCs in Pp.

A further stylistic difference between resultative SVCs and overt coordination is related to the fact that, according to some informants, the latter is mainly used in a formal (written) register, whereas the former is characteristic of a colloquial (spoken) context. The overt coordination was reported to convey the message in a clearer (see also van Putte and can Putte-de Windt 2014: 247f.) and even a more academic way than an SVC. The resultative SVC was viewed as a variant that is used in everyday conversations for economic reasons. As a matter of fact, speakers tend to remove the copulative conjunction *i/y* "and" in the spoken language in order to be able to speak faster. A few speakers also mentioned that resultative SVCs were perceived as slang.

[80] http://www.bondia24.com/?q=article/tata-ta-accidentalmente-tira-su-yiu-mata-den-campo-di-tiro
[81] Evidence was provided in 6.2 to show that the V_2 in resultative SVCs has grammaticalized. However, the expressivity assigned to these structures presents a counterargument due to the fact that grammaticalization entails *demotivation*, i.e. loss of expressivity, emphasis and transparency (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 130).
[82] http://www.diario.aw/2015/12/chauffeur-di-vehiculo-a-dal-un-cabrito-mata-manera-nada-un-pasa/

Therefore, in addition to the diastratic and diatopic variation pointed out in 6.6, a diaphasic variation should also be included, as register (formal/informal) appears to play a role when choosing between an overt coordination and an SVC to express action-result in Pp. The influence that the Indo-European contact languages on the ABC islands may have exerted on the diaphasic variation will be discussed in 7.5.2.

To sum up, although some informants stated that they did not perceive any difference between resultative SVCs and coordinating structures, others pointed out semantic, pragmatic as well as stylistic differences.

6.7.2 Resultative serial verb constructions vs. verb compounds

The participants unanimously rejected resultative V-V constructions such as example (66):

(66) a. * Un outo a dal mata un kabritu.
INDF car PFV hit kill INDF goat
b. * Polis a tira mata un hòmber.
police PFV shoot kill INDF man
c. * Un hòmber a dal sera e porta.[83]
INDF man PFV hit close DEF door

The informants considered this type of structure to be unacceptable, and systematically modified it by placing the object between the two transitive verbs:[84]

(67) a. Un outo a dal un kabritu mata.
INDF car PFV hit INDF goat kill
"A car struck a goat dead."
b. Polis a tira un hòmber mata.
police PFV shoot INDF man kill
"The police shot a man dead."
c. Un hòmber a dal e porta sera.
INDF man PFV hit DEF door close
"A man slammed the door shut."

The negative opinions expressed in regard to (66) go hand in hand with the fact that no speaker improved the item (48) in the GJT in 6.6 by using a resultative V-V compound. Thus, the participants who did not accept the overt coordination in (48) systematically improved the sentence by resorting to a resultative SVC but not a resultative V-V compound. However, the fact that participants did not accept this structure contrasts with the examples presented in section 6.2.1. According to my data, resultative V-V compounds were only found in newspaper articles, where they seem to function as a

[83] Remember that Bendix (1972: 54) proposed this sentence as an example of what he referred to as *serial-like strings*. The author gave *dal* an adverbial interpretation in this sentence.
[84] Remember that one speaker stated that the V V pattern is possible if a prosodic break is inserted between the verbs (see examples in (51)).

stylistic variant of resultative SVCs in the journalistic sociolect. Since my informants did not accept the V-V constructions, it was not possible to test whether there are semantic or pragmatic differences between these structures and the resultative SVCs. However, the fact that both structures can alternate within the same newspaper article, describing the same event, suggests that the constructions convey the same meaning. Further research will clarify whether these syntactic structures are semantically equivalent, and whether they entail pragmatic differences.

To sum up, the negative opinions expressed by the speakers who were consulted as regards whether resultative V-V compounds are acceptable in Pp contrast with the presence of these compounds in the journalistic sociolect as stylistic variants of resultative SVCs. The question which arises at this point is why this structure seems to be present only in the journalistic sociolect. Further research is needed regarding this aspect.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, evidence was provided that the V_2 in Pp resultative SVCs has grammaticalized, giving rise to V-V compounds (6.2). Other constructions that, at first glance, may resemble resultative SVCs using the lexemes *dal* "hit" and *kai*/*cay* "fall" in V_1 position were analysed as V+V LVCs (6.3). Furthermore, it was argued that an action-result semantic relation can be expressed in Pp by means of four syntactic structures: resultative SVCs, resultative V-V compounds as well as covert and overt coordination (6.5). Quantitative data was provided to illustrate the preference among the speakers for using an SVC or a non-serial syntactic structure to express an action-result semantic relation in Pp (6.6). Diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic differences were perceived by the participants between these syntactic structures. Of the four available structures, resultative verb compounds seem to have a marginal status, as they were merely attested in newspaper articles as apparent stylistic variants of the much more widespread resultative SVCs. It was not possible to test the (possible) equivalence of or difference between resultative SVCs and V-V compounds in Pp because all my informants objected to the latter. The speakers' interpretation of the different structures that are available in Pp to express action-result was presented in 6.7. Semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences were proposed between resultative SVCs and the (c)overt coordination, suggesting that these constructions should not be considered to be equivalents in all contexts.

Section 6.1 gave an overview of the structure of resultative SVCs in Pp. Section 6.4 provided an interim conclusion of the data presented in 6.2 and 6.3.

7. Summary and final discussion

This dissertation's contribution to the study of resultative and intransitive directional SVCs in Pp is three-fold.

First, it has been shown that the second verb constituents of Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs undergo grammaticalization. Thus, verbs that usually occupy V_2 position in these constructions tend to evolve from full lexical verbs into functional elements. As regards the grammaticalization of the directional serial verbs *bai*/*bay* "go" and *bin*(*i*) "come", the process brings about the evolution of intransitive directional SVCs into two different syntactic structures, namely PPs and verb compounds. However, the emergence of PPs and verb compounds does not involve the disintegration of this type of SVC in Pp. Due to the gradualness of grammaticalization, both serial verbs and their grammaticalized syntactic counterparts coexist synchronically in Pp. The directional verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) were also shown to display multi-functionality, as they can function as future, aspectual, assertative/purposive and adverbial markers. As regards the grammaticalization of V_2 in resultative SVCs, the evolution gives rise to resultative verb compounds.

Second, Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs resemble another type of complex predicate on the surface, namely V+V LVCs. In some cases, SVCs and LVCs may even share the same verb constituents in V_1 and V_2 position. However, the syntactic structure and the semantics of the constructions are quite different. While V_1 is the head or main verb and V_2 undergoes grammaticalization in SVCs, V_2 acts as the main verb and V_1 displays a grammatical function in LVCs. Pp light verbs, i.e. the first verb constituents in LVCs, modify the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate, performing mainly adverbial as well as aspectual functions.

Third, direction and action-result can not only be conveyed in Pp by means of SVCs and the grammaticalized versions of these structures, they can also be expressed via non-serial structures, namely prepositions and (c)overt coordination. Although SVCs and the alternative non-serial structures appear to be interchangeable, sometimes without any difference in meaning, several speakers perceived semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences between the structures, as well as distinctions that involve the perception of identity. In any case, despite the availability of non-serial alternatives to convey direction and action-result, and notwithstanding the possible pressure to use these structures on account of language contact, SVCs are widely used by Pp speakers.

I will address the two first points in more detail in the subsections 7.1 and 7.2. I then suggest in 7.3 that the variation caused by the grammaticalization of serial verbs and the inclusion of serial-like constructions such as LVCs under the label of SVCs may be one of the reasons why verb serialization exhibits diversity cross-linguistically and is viewed as a non-unified phenomenon in the literature. In 7.4, I will briefly discuss the phenomenon of multi-functionality that some Pp verbs display. I subsequently present evidence in 7.5 that SVCs coexist with non-serial alternatives to express direction and action-result in other serializing languages. Finally, in 7.6, I will account for the syntactic variation concerning Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, and the

expression of direction and action-result via non-serial syntactic alternatives as a consequence of a language-internal process and a language-external factor.

7.1 Grammaticalization of serial verbs in Papiamentu/o

SVCs were shown to be unstable structures cross-linguistically due to the tendency of serial verbs to be affected by grammaticalization processes. As a consequence of the grammaticalization of serial verbs, SVCs disintegrate, and the grammaticalized verb constituent sets out to form other syntactic structures (see 3.1.4).

In chapters 5 and 6, Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs were shown to follow a similar pattern of grammaticalization. In both cases, it is the second verb constituent in the construction that undergoes grammaticalization, while the first verb component remains as a full-fledged verb and, hence, acts as the head of the predicate. The difference between the two SVCs lies in the grammaticalization clines followed by the grammaticalizing members. On the one hand, the directional verb *bai*/*bay* in intransitive directional SVCs has entered two divergent clines of grammaticalization: from full verb to preposition and from full verb to affix, making up verb compounds. The directional verb *bin*(*i*) was shown to have undergone the first path of grammaticalization, evolving into a preposition, and to a lesser extent the second cline, whereby *bin*(*i*) forms a verb compound with the preceding motion verb. Cases of deverbalization among serial verbs leading to prepositional items and affixes are widespread cross-linguistically, as was shown in 3.1.4. On the other hand, the second verb constituent in resultative SVCs grammaticalizes towards the main verb, becoming bound to it and, consequently, the resultative SVC evolves into a resultative V-V compound. Therefore, following Durie's (1988: 3f.) terminology, the V_2 in intransitive directional SVCs undergoes the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies that are customary among serial verbs, whereas the V_2 in resultative SVCs is only subject to the centripetal force:

V_1 (motion verb) e.g. *bula* "fly", *biaha* "travel", *kore*/*core* "run", *kana*/*cana* "walk", *landa* "swim"	V_2 (directional verb) *bai*/*bay* "go" *bin*(*i*) "come"
Main verb	Two grammaticalization paths: 1. serial verb → coverb → preposition SVC → VP + PP: Centrifugal tendency 2. serial verb → auxiliary → clitic → affix SVC→V-V compound: Centripetal tendency

Table 41. Grammaticalizing centrifugal and centripetal tendencies among directional serial verbs in Papiamentu/o

V_1 (action verb) e.g. *tira* "shoot", *dal* "hit", *kai*/*cay* "fall"	V_2 (resultative verb) e.g. *mata* "kill", *kibra* "break", *muri* "die"
Main verb	One grammaticalization path: serial verb → auxiliary → clitic → affix SVC→V-V compound: Centripetal tendency

Table 42. Grammaticalizing centripetal tendency among resultative serial verbs in Papiamentu/o

Lord (1977: 148) acknowledges the tendency for serial verbs to evolve into grammatical function words like prepositions, whereas the grammaticalizing constituents in V-V compounds develop into affixes. Interestingly, Durie (1988: 3) claims that direction and result are among the possible semantics that affixes typically encode.

I am aware of the difficulty in determining the direction of change without any historical data. The direction of change of any linguistic item or construction should be approached with caution in the absence of diachronic data, as is the case in the present dissertation: "[G]reat caution is required in discussing supposed historical changes when one lacks good historical records of earlier stages of the languages under discussion" (Lightfoot 1979: 216).

The claim that V_2 grammaticalizes in directional and resultative SVCs is based on the gradualness observed in the synchronic data, where all stages from lexical to grammatical word coexist synchronically, and where the boundaries between each stage are hazy rather than clear-cut. The grammaticalized forms and their lexical counterparts are available in the language. The different functions or meanings of the grammaticalizing items overlap, leading to categorial and semantic ambiguity in some cases (see Lichtenberk 1991a, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b, Lehmann 1995 [1982]):

> What appears superficially as a chain of discrete, though overlapping categories, can however equally well be interpreted as representing a *continuum* without any clear-cut internal boundaries. (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 163)

The coexistence and overlap of all these stages indicate the gradual nature of the process that is proper to grammaticalization as opposed to the abruptness that is characteristic of reanalysis (see Haspelmath 1998). However, some scholars working on creole languages have called for caution when relating the multi-functionality of a morpheme to grammaticalization:

> A problem in the literature on creole languages is that grammaticalisation is often not argued for, but simply assumed on the basis of the synchronic multifunctionality of a given lexical item… Authors should be careful not to take arguments of synchronic multifunctionality as arguments for grammaticalisation because, if grammaticalisation always produces multifunctional lexical items, multifunctionality need not be exclusively the product of grammaticalisation… (Lefebvre 2004: 177f.)

Furthermore, some apparent cases of grammaticalization attested in creole languages have been related to the replication of substrate grammaticalization patterns (see

Keesing 1991, Bruyn 1996, 2009, Plag 2002) or to the relexification of a linguistic item with all its functions into a creole language (see Lefebvre 1998, 2009). Thus, some scholars do not consider the synchronic variation in creole languages to be necessarily related to a gradual process of grammaticalization. Plag (2002: 236) termed this phenomenon the *synchrony-diachrony fallacy*. Bruyn (1996: 39ff.) argues that some cases that are claimed to involve grammaticalization are actually examples of what she refers to as *apparent grammaticalization*, i.e. the transfer of a model of grammaticalization that is available in substrate languages. Bruyn bases her hypothesis on the rapid evolution of grammatical functions in creole languages. She concludes that

> a panchronic model as proposed by Heine et al. (1991; cf Lehmann 1985), which comprises a synchronic and a diachronic dimension at the same time and where synchronic patterns are assumed to reflect diachronic developments, is less appropriate in the case of Creole languages. The assessment of grammaticalization by itself does not provide insight into the processes relevant to the formation of Creoles if no account is taken of the actual historical developments. (Bruyn 1996: 43)

Plag (1995: 139, 2002: 236ff.) further claims that some cases of grammaticalization in creole languages actually violate the gradualness and unidirectionality that is characteristic of this language-internal process. According to the author, the development of a grammatical category in creole languages can represent a shortcut from a lexical category. Thus, the evolution is not gradual but entails gaps. However, evidence that all stages of the grammaticalization paths coexist in Pp was provided in chapters 5 and 6. Hence, there are no gaps between the first and the last stages.

Although I acknowledge that diachronic work is needed in regard to the variation affecting Pp directional and resultative serial verbs as well as the multi-functionality they display, I take Mufwene's (1996, 2001, 2006) view that creoles should not be treated differently than non-creole languages, as language contact was also present in the development of, e.g., Romance languages and English, where processes of grammaticalization are not questioned:

> Since one cannot rule out *a priori* whether or not contact played a role in the evolution of the relevant languages, there is no particular reason why similar evolutions in creoles should be ruled out *fiat* as "apparent grammaticalization[s]" simply because the model was in the lexifier or in (any of) the substrate languages.
>
> (Mufwene 2006: 28)

I consider the cases presented here to be cases of grammaticalization[1] on account of the synchronic variation, semantic/categorial ambiguity and the coexistence of the different stages of the grammaticalization cline. The clines of grammaticalization do not present gaps that could suggest that the evolution of the functional categories represents the transfer of a substrate grammaticalization pattern: "With grammaticalization, the source item normally continues to be used in its original function alongside the grammaticalized variant at least for some time" (Bruyn 2009: 330). The effects of the

[1] Eckkrammer (2001: 182f.) proposes several cases of grammaticalization in Pp, among others the grammaticalization of the serial verb *kaba*/*caba* "finish".

synchronic variation in the grammaticalization of Pp directional and resultative serial verbs can be clearly acknowledged in the hybridity they display and the coexistence of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs with V-V compounds: "Variability and structural ambiguity are, of course, consistent with the idea that change is in progress" (Crowley 2002: 108).

Furthermore, I have argued that the frequency with which directional verbs as well as, at least, some types of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs are used in Pp has favoured their grammaticalization. Directional verbs have evolved into prepositions expressing allative and venitive directionality, i.e. they specify the direction deictically, and intransitive directional and resultative SVCs have developed into V-V compounds. The compounding of these serial structures is also motivated by the semantic relation that the two verb constituents exhibit. These constituents frequently appear together due to the fact that they convey two subparts of an event that is commonly attested across the world, e.g. *kai kibra* (lit. fall break), *tira mata* (lit. shoot kill): "Collocations which come about only occasionally cannot coalesce; they are not amenable to grammaticalization at all" (Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 149). Note that frequency is considered to be a crucial factor licensing grammaticalization (see, e.g., Traugott and Heine 1991: 9, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 103, Bybee 2003, 2006).

One of the features that characterises SVCs is that their constituents must be full-fledged verbs and able to occur on their own outside SVCs (see, e.g., Haspelmath 2016: 302-304). This feature is half-way fulfilled by Pp serial verbs. On the one hand, all serial verbs included in this study can surface as the sole verb in a sentence, where they display full verbal status. On the other hand, they exhibit a weakened verbal status when they surface as second verb constituents in both types of SVCs. In directional SVCs, directional verbs are most frequently left in the bare form, i.e. they are not marked for tense/aspect. Some authors have suggested that the loss of tense and aspect marking on serial verbs is a sign of grammaticalization (see Migge 1998, Meyerhoff 2001, Hagemeijer 2001). When it comes to resultative SVCs, Pp speakers tend to inflect only V_1 for past participle in passive sentences and leave V_2 in the bare form. Moreover, signs of incorporation of V_2 into V_1, i.e. loss of valency and selectional restrictions on V_2, were attested. In both types of SVCs, only V_1 was shown to be able to undergo predicate cleft, which points to its verbal status, while V_2 cannot occupy the position after the focus marker *ta*, which hints at its decategorialization, i.e. the loss of verbal category.[2]

The consequence of the lack of verbhood of the second verb constituent in both types of SVCs is the emergence of two non-serial syntactic structures. It is important to distinguish SVCs from other kinds of structures in which one of the involved verbs has lost its verb properties:

[2] Bisang (1996: 534, 563-566) indicates that there are six products of grammaticalization affecting verbs in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages. The author points to the grammaticalization of resultative and directional verbs, among others. However, he claims that directional verbs exhibit a higher degree of grammaticalization and together with the main verb constitute what he refers to as a *serial unit*, i.e. "a construction which must be seen as one single constituent" (1996: 564).

> [A] serious issue is the distinction between verbs and functional items such as auxiliaries and adpositions. Many authors writing on serial verbs include constructions where one of the verbs has a grammatical meaning and thus looks more like an auxiliary or an adposition. (Haspelmath 2016: 302)

The grammaticalization of V_2 in directional and resultative SVCs yields PPs and V-V compounds. However, SVCs have not dissolved in Pp (cf. Endruschat 2005: 186). Rather SVCs in which V_2 displays verbal status coexist alongside constructions with a more or less grammaticalized directional or resultative serial verb.

Following Durie's (1997: 301-307) and Aikhenvald's (2006: 37-39) parameters regarding the contiguity of the verb constituents and the wordhood of the members of SVCs, Pp is, on the surface, both a non-contiguous and a contiguous multi-word sequencing language when it comes to expressing direction and an action-result semantic relation. Following Foley and van Vallin (1984) and Foley and Olson (1985), Pp displays both nuclear and core-juncture serialization. However, I argue that those cases in which the second verb constituent has lost its verbal status should not count as SVCs. Therefore, verb compounding in Pp should not be regarded as an instance of verb serialization.

As a consequence, direction can be expressed in Pp via contiguous multi-word SVCs in which V_2 has verbal status, as well as via the grammaticalized counterpart, i.e. V-V compounds in which V_2 exhibits signs of grammaticalization. Non-contiguous SVCs can also be used to express direction. However, the insertion of adverbial phrases between motion and directional verbs can be regarded as a sign of boundary increase in the process from full verb to preposition, i.e. the directional serial verb leaves the scope of the SVC and sets out to constitute a PP. Like intransitive directional SVCs, action-result can be expressed via non-contiguous and contiguous multi-word SVCs in which V_2 maintains its verb status, as well as via V-V compounds in which V_2 has coalesced and even incorporated into V_1. The boundary between SVCs and their non-serial counterpart constructions that are the product of grammaticalization is sometimes difficult to demarcate on account of the gradualness of grammaticalization:

Expression of direction	Expression of result
1. Contiguous multi-word SVCs: *E ta bula ta bai Miami* *E ta bula bai Miami* 2. Non-contiguous multi-word SVCs: *E ta bula lihé lihé bai Miami* (The directional serial verb can exhibit grammaticalization)	1.Contiguous multi-word SVCs: *E mucha a kai muri* 2. Non-contiguous multi-word SVCs: *E ta tira e hòben mata*
V-V compounds: *E ta bula bai Miami* *E ta bula bai pa Miami*	V-V compounds: *El a tira mata (riba) e hòben* *E mucha a kai muri for di bentana*

Table 43. Expressing direction and result in Papiamentu/o using SVCs and verb compounds

Analysing Pp transitive resultative V-V compounds as such and not as contiguous SVCs supports Baker's (1989: 521) view that the verbs constituents of SVCs must share the same object, which must be located between the verbs, i.e. V_1 NP V_2.

The grammaticalization of V_2 in Pp directional and resultative SVCs was shown to be due to a language-internal process. However, two possible external factors connected to language contact were suggested to have acted as *accelerating forces* (see Heine and Kuteva 2010: 94-97) for the grammaticalization of these kinds of serial verbs. On the one hand, the evolution of directional serial verbs into prepositions may have been reinforced by language identity (see 5.2.6). On the other hand, since the compounding of resultative SVCs was only attested in newspaper articles, the journalistic sociolect may have been influenced by the strategy that can be attested in English-language newspapers where the particle in secondary predication juxtaposes with the main verb (see 6.2.2). Further research is definitely needed to clarify the possible influence that language contact and the preservation of identity may have exerted on the grammaticalization of V_2 in both types of SVCs.

Moreover, some intransitive directional and resultative SVCs were shown to have undergone lexicalization because the verb constituents are treated as single lexemes and have entered the Pp lexicon. Furthermore, there are some cases of nominalization and idiomaticization of Pp resultative SVCs. Durie (1988: 3) claims that the centripetal tendency of grammaticalization often entails "strong lexicalization". Aikhenvald (2006: 22, 34) proposes that SVCs expressing a cause-effect semantic relation – among other symmetrical SVCs – are prone to lexicalize and develop an idiomatic meaning, whereas minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs, such as *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in Pp intransitive directional SVCs, have the tendency to grammaticalize (2006: 22, 31f.). However, *bai*/*bay* in intransitive directional SVCs like *bula bai*/*bay* "fly go" and *kore bai*/*bay* "run go" not only undergoes grammaticalization, some types of directional SVCs are also affected by lexicalization. Hence, intransitive directional SVCs (a type of asymmetrical SVC) are also able to undergo lexicalization, but to a lesser extent than resultative SVCs (a type of symmetrical SVC). In any case, both grammaticalizing and lexicalizing processes involved in SVCs can lead to the dissolution of this construction (Aikhenvald 2006: 34).

7.1.1 Grammaticalization of V_2 in Papiamentu/o intransitive directional serial verb constructions

7.1.1.1 From full verb to preposition

Building on Bendix's (1972: 49), Endruschat's (2005: 186, 2007: 162f.) and Jacobs's (2015: 70) claim for the reinterpretation of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as prepositions, I presented morphosyntactic evidence that directional serial verbs have evolved into prepositions via a process of grammaticalization from full verb to preposition. The gradualness of the development from verbal to prepositional category is attested in the fact that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) exhibit properties of the original and the new form synchronically, which makes them function as *hybrid* or *amphibious* words and in some

cases leads to semantic and categorial ambiguity. Thus, the verbal and prepositional categories cannot be easily differentiated in some examples because the lexical item coexists synchronically with the grammaticalized form (see 3.1.4.1 for details on the evolution of serial verbs into adpositions):

> [T]here is always a period of overlap between older and newer forms and/or functions of a morpheme, the cline should not be thought of as a line in which everything is in sequence… (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 105)

The evolution of Pp directional serial verbs into prepositions brings about the formation of PPs in which the grammaticalized morphemes *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) act as heads.[3] It may seem that the morphemes have attained full-fledged prepositional status in Pp, as they can be part of the correlative prepositions (*for*) *di…bai*/*bay* and (*for*) *di… bin*(*i*) "from...to". Since they do not follow a motion verb in the correlative PP, they no longer act as serial verbs. Hence, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) behave like prepositions outside the scope of intransitive directional SVCs. However, they exhibit some verbal properties, as acknowledged in the negative result in the extraction tests. The fact that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) cannot be pied-piped in relative clauses, wh-fronting and topicalization indicates their verbal status. Moreover, both morphemes preserve the deictic specification of the original verb lexeme (see *persistence* in Hopper 1991 and *semantic retention* in Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). This fact shows that a lexical item synchronically exhibits new semantic and formal properties during a process grammaticalization, but retains certain properties of the source lexical form in the output function. This represents a vestige of its previous categorial status and proof of the gradualness of the process.

As a consequence of the process of grammaticalization, *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) are polysemous words that can act as full-fledged verbs and as prepositions. However, the morphemes have not attained full-fledged prepositional status, as is shown in the negative result obtained in the extraction tests. The evolution of directional verbs into prepositions indicates that concrete lexical meaning has developed into grammatical abstract semantics (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a, b). Thus, content items are used to convey abstract functions.

The ambiguity in regard to interpreting *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in some cases is indicative of the debate on the categorial status of serial verbs in diverse serializing languages (see Bamgboṣe 1973, 1974, Awobuluyi 1973, Schachter 1974 a, b and Stahlke 1974). The debate and the ambiguity can be explained by taking into account the grammaticalization chains. The verbal category and its corresponding preposition coexist in the language together with the intermediate stages:

> There is always a stage where the preceding and the following structure co-exist side by side as optional variants, before the former gives way to the latter… In cases of overlapping the categorial status of the items involved is difficult to describe. (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991b: 173)

[3] Following Foley and Olson (1985), there is a shift from a nuclear or core layer juncture (i.e. motion and directional verbs can lie adjacently or be separated by an adverbial phrase) into a peripheral layer juncture where the directional verb leaves the scope of the SVC and forms a PP.

To conclude, I argue for the grammaticalization of the directional serial verbs *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) into prepositions in the synchronic sense proposed by Lehmann (1995 [1982]) or as a case of *ordinary grammaticalization*, i.e. a gradual, language-internal process, as put forward by Bruyn (1996). I take the layering, the semantic/categorial ambiguity when interpreting *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) in some cases and the fact that the morphemes have not yet attained full-fledged prepositional status[4] as evidence of the gradual development and against the claim that "creoles develop much faster than non-creoles" (Plag 2002: 239). Moreover, the non-existence of gaps in the grammaticalization cline and the overlap of all stages argue against the replication of a polysemy pattern (see *polysemy copying* or *grammatical calquing* in Heine and Kuteva 2003: 555ff.), where only the initial and the final stage of a grammaticalization process are copied into the target language without the intermediate stages, i.e. speakers took a shortcut. Note that the presence of gaps has been proposed as an argument against the existence of grammaticalization processes in creole languages (see Plag 1995: 139, 2002: 236ff.).

Still, one can cast doubt on the grammaticalization of directional serial verbs in Pp and hypothesize that the properties of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) may replicate those of the corresponding lexical items in the substrate languages that participated in the creolization process. Thus, the creators of Pp may have transferred the grammaticalization pattern available in their language(s) (see *replica grammaticalization* in Heine and Kuteva 2003). Following this hypothesis, the multi-functionality of the morphemes must have been present in Pp ever since. However, as Bruyn observes (2009: 326), the cases of replica grammaticalization presented by Heine and Kuteva (2003) involve long-term contact and large-scale bilingualism, two factors that are unlikely to have been available during the creolization of Pp. In any case, only work with diachronic and comparative data can elucidate this aspect. However, the small number of old written records available in Pp may make this task difficult.

In any case, the evolution of directional serial verbs into prepositions in Pp brings the structure of this creole language closer to the structure of the Indo-European languages with which Pp is in contact on the ABC islands. Bickerton (1981) also points to the development of Sranan

> from an original state in which presumably all serial verbs were full verbs in tensed sentences to a stage in which these verbs are beginning to be reduced to mere prepositions. Note that this process serves to bring Sranan structurally closer to the high-prestige language, Dutch, with which it has been in continuous contact for over three centuries. (Bickerton 1981: 130)

7.1.1.2 From intransitive directional serial verb construction to directional verb compound

[4] However, McWhorter claims (2002: 27) "a strong tendency for creoles to incorporate grammaticalized usages of a given form to a less abstracted degree than its equivalent in the source language."

Some linguists have claimed that intransitive directional SVCs such as *bula bai* "fly go" have compounded and lexicalized on account of the frequency with which they are used in Pp (see Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995:215, Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995: 326, Muysken 2001: 407, Jacobs 2015: 63). Continuing this line of research, I propose that the directional V_2 has grammaticalized, taking into account Hopper and Traugott's (1993: 108*) verb-to-affix-cline* and Durie's (1988: 3) *centripetal tendency* of serial verbs. The consequence of the grammaticalization process whereby a serial verb evolves into an affix within an SVC is the emergence of a verb compound. Note Durie's (1988: 3) observation that serial verbs that develop into affixes often convey direction. Furthermore, the compounding or coalescence of Pp intransitive directional SVCs can be related to the semantic relation shared by the verbs, e.g. *bula bai/bay* "fly go", and the high frequency with which the constituents appear together in the creole language (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 149). See 3.1.4.2 for details on the evolution of SVCs into V-V compounds.

The grammaticalizing directional serial verbs can be claimed to modify the main verb (V_1), i.e. the motion verb, they accompany in the verb compound by specifying the direction of the initial action. In addition, I suggest the further grammaticalization of *bai*/*bay*, and to a much lesser extent of *bin*(*i*), in the verb compound to account for those cases in which the prepositions *pa* and *na* have been inserted after intransitive directional V-V compounds. I establish a link between the insertion of these prepositions and the desemanticization of the directional serial verbs, mainly *bai*/bay, in at least some directional verb compounds. The frequent and conventionalized use of some intransitive directional SVCs may have led to the semantic erosion of the non-head or grammaticalizing V_2. As a consequence of the semantic depletion, *bai*/*bay* ceased to mark direction, and speakers started needing to insert a directional preposition after the verbal compound to fill the semantic void. Thus, the directional serial verb underwent desemanticization once it was part of the verb compound and only retained the deictic specification.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that the insertion of prepositions to indicate direction after intransitive directional SVCs could be related to a language-external factor, i.e. language contact. Since the three languages with which Pp is in contact on the ABC islands – English, Dutch and Spanish – use prepositions after motion and directional verbs, this strategy may have been transferred from these Indo-European languages into Pp. The convergence of grammaticalization and language contact, i.e. contact-induced grammaticalization (see Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005, see also 2.3), may possibly also be held responsible for the use of prepositions to indicate direction after intransitive directional SVCs. Further research is required to assess the role of language contact in this regard.

7.1.2 Grammaticalization of V_2 in Papiamentu/o resultative serial verb constructions

I argued, in the previous section, that some types of intransitive directional SVCs have evolved into verb compounds in Pp due to the frequency with which they are used in the

language and the semantic bleaching of V_2. Similarly, I here argue that at least some resultative SVCs have undergone a similar development into V-V compounds. However, contrary to the apparent semantic depletion that the directional verb *bai*/*bay* has undergone in directional V-V compounds, V_2s in resultative V-V compounds retain their lexical meaning. The grammaticalization is evidenced by the loss of their verb properties.

To my knowledge, only Sebba (1987: 201) has made reference to the compounding of Pp resultative SVCs. The author briefly regards Pp SVCs including *mata* "kill", *habri* "open" and *kibra* "break" in V_2 position as lexical idioms or compounds. In this study, I provide examples of resultative V-V compounds in Pp and relate the emergence of this structure to a process of grammaticalization. Following Lehmann's (1995 [1982]: 148, 1985: 308) process of coalescence, Hopper and Traugott's (1993: 108) *verb-to-affix-cline* and Durie's (1988: 3) *centripetal tendency* of serial verbs, I propose that resultative serial verbs have grammaticalized within resultative SVCs. Durie (1988: 3) remarks that serial verbs in the process of evolving into affixes often convey a type of result. See 3.1.4.2 for more details on the evolution of SVCs into V-V compounds.

Evidence was provided in 6.2 to show that Pp resultative serial verbs have grammaticalized. The fact that V_2 cannot be predicate clefted, the preference for V_2 being left in its bare form and not inflected for past participle in passive constructions, the coalescence of V_2 with V_1 to form verb compounds and the signs of incorporation of V_2 into V_1 point to the loss of verb properties of V_2 in resultative SVCs. Thus, a verb such as *mata* functions as a full-fledged verb when it is used as the only verb in a predicate, but it acts as a grammaticalizing item when it surfaces in V_2 position in resultative SVCs/V-V compounds. In such constructions, it modifies the main verb (V_1) it accompanies, specifying the result of the initial action.[5] However, although V_2 modifies V_1 in resultative constructions, there is no semantic depletion. It could be claimed that the morphosyntactic dimension of Pp resultative serial verbs has undergone more grammaticalization than its semantics.

Pp grammaticalizing resultative serial verbs retain their verb status as independent words, i.e. they can surface as the only verb in a sentence. This aspect differs from other languages with V-V compounds, e.g. Mandarin Chinese and Igbo, where some final constituents of the verb compounds are suffixes that are probably historically derived from verbs but which cannot surface synchronically as the only verb in a predicate (see Thompson 1973, Lord 1975).

The increasing bondedness between the grammaticalizing resultative verb (V_2) with the main verb (V_1) leads to synchronic variation, i.e. resultative SVCs coexist with resultative V-V compounds. The syntagmatic variability acknowledged in the frame of resultative SVCs can be related to a time span of *positional adjustment* (see Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 159) or *fixation* (see Lehmann 1985: 308). The grammaticalizing V_2

[5] Lord (1975: 45), following Carrell (1970), proposes the idea that V-V compounds in Igbo are the result of the combination of stem plus MMS (meaning modifying suffix). Hence, *gbú* "kill" can be an independent verb or a MMS when it is the second constituent of a V-V compound. Lu (1977) distinguishes four groups of V-V compounds in Chinese, two of them have V_1 as main verb and V_2 as complement or modifying device.

constituent gradually loses its verb properties and becomes a defective verb. The loss of morphological verbal features has consequences at the syntactic level in that the defective verb coalesces with the main verb, forming a verb compound. In the process of boundary decrease there is an intermediate stage in which the old structure (the SVC) and the new structure (the V-V compound) coexist side by side:

> Although it is true that, given enough time, one structure may completely replace another, it is also true that one commonly finds the old and the new structure coexisting, often for a considerable period of time. Sometimes the two are in free variation everywhere; sometimes they are in free variation in some environments but not in others… Variation is a necessary consequence of the gradualness of language change. (Lichtenberk 1991a: 37)

Due to the gradualness of grammaticalization, Pp has both resultative SVCs and resultative V-V compounds. Thus, while Igbo and Chinese use V-V compounds to express a cause-effect semantic relation, and languages like Yoruba make use of SVCs for this purpose (Lord 1977), both structures are available in Pp to express cause-effect. The grammaticalization of the second verb constituent is more easily attested when it is a transitive verb such as *mata* "kill" due to the fact that the resultative SVC shifts its syntactic structure from NP_1 V_1 NP_2 V_2 to NP_1 V_1 V_2 NP_2:

Transitive resultative SVCs (non-contiguous constituents)	Coalescence of V_2 into V_1	Resultative V-V compounds (contiguous constituents)
V_{1TRANS} NP V_{2TRANS}	→	V_{1TRANS} V_{2TRANS} NP

Table 44. Evolution of transitive resultative SVCs into verb compounds

The grammaticalization of the intransitive verb constituents in V_2 position is less straightforward. Lynch (2004: 158) warns that "[i]n contrasting serialization and compounding in languages generally, it is often difficult to decide whether any case of $Verb_1$ followed by $Verb_2$ is a compound or a serial construction." However, the incorporation of V_2 into V_1 in *kai muri for di* (lit. fall die from), where the preposition *for di* is under the scope of V_1 and not V_2, is evidence that intransitive resultative serial verbs can also undergo grammaticalization.

In contrast to other languages in which the constituents of resultative constructions form a single grammatical word, the components of Pp resultative V-V compounds appear to retain their morphemic independence. Thus, V_1 is followed immediately by V_2, but they do not constitute a grammatical word, except for two cases attested in Ratzlaff's dictionary (1992: 45, 257), where the verbs *dal* "hit" and *pega* "stick", as well as *tira* "shoot" and *mata* "kill" fuse to constitute a single lexeme, i.e. *dalpega* and *tiramata*. Since these are the only examples that show boundary loss, the agglutination of V_2 with V_1 appears to be rather marginal or almost non-existent in Pp. Nevertheless, even though Pp resultative V-V compounds do not constitute a grammatical word, signs of incorporation of V_2 into V_1 were presented (loss of valency and selectional restrictions) as well as lexicalization, nominalization and idiomaticization, i.e. in some

cases the meaning of the verb compound cannot be deduced from the combination of the individual constituents (see merger in Heine and Reh 1984: 45, see also 6.2.3). Note Durie's (1988: 3) remark that serial verbs undergoing the grammaticalizing centripetal tendency involve "heavy lexicalization".

To my knowledge, the grammaticalization of resultative serial verbs and the existence of resultative V-V compounds in Pp have not been dealt with in the literature so far.[6] In any case, it should be pointed out that all the informants consulted as regards this aspect unanimously rejected the V-V compounds and opted to insert the object between the two verb constituents when the resultative SVCs were transitive. All the examples of verb compounds were without exception found in newspaper articles.

The question which arises now is why resultative V-V compounds were unanimously rejected by the participants and were only found in newspaper articles. This can be related to the "constant tension" that speakers are under to be creative on the one hand and abide by the norms on the other. This tension leads to synchronic variation along the grammaticalization path (see Lehmann 1985: 314f.). Some speakers are more creative or innovative, while others are more prone to comply with the grammatical rules of a language. It is precisely this internal conflict between creativity and the pressure to conform to grammatical rules that may have given rise to the synchronic variation and the coexistence of both syntactic structures: "[C]hanges are initiated by some, can be adopted by some sympathizers or trendy members, but can also be resisted by some conservatives" (Mufwene 2008: 62).

In any case, while there are languages that exclusively use V-V compounds, others only make use of SVCs and some others have both constructions, the data presented in chapter 6 lead me to conclude that both syntactic patterns are synchronically available in Pp to express an action-result semantic relation. Both structures seem to be semantically equivalent, as they were found to be used interchangeably in one and the same newspaper article. It may be that the two syntactic structures differ stylistically, i.e. resultative V-V compounds appear to be stylistic variants of resultative SVCs in the journalistic sociolect.[7] I leave the possible differences at the semantic, pragmatic and stylistic level open to further research.

It could be argued that resultative V-V compounds have an innovative character. They may have evolved in the journalistic register and may still be an incipient development in the language, as the construction seems to be unfamiliar to the speakers who were consulted. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that several speakers

[6] Only Muller (1989: 367f.) has shown that transitive series of verbs expressing result can surface contiguously in cleft constructions in which the object has been extracted (see 6.2.3).

[7] Note that the positional variability of V_2 in Pp transitive resultative SVCs parallels the movability of the postparticle in English phrasal verbs, which can occupy the position immediately after the verb or after the object, e.g. *Alice looked up the information*, *Alice looked the information up*. The particles often carry a resultative meaning, mainly when the particle is located in final position, where it receives focus (Brinton and Akimoto 1999a: 3 and references therein). Idioms and phrasal verbs display colloquial and expressive properties in English (Brinton & Akimoto 1999a: 1, Akimoto 1999: 222) like SVCs in serializing languages (see 7.6).

pointed to the innovative use of language in newspapers written in Pp and the tendency to borrow structures from the contact languages, i.e. Dutch, English and Spanish.[8]

The fact that resultative V-V compounds were not accepted by the participants and were only attested in newspapers may be related to the fact that this stage in the grammaticalization cline is still incipient in nature. However, not only are resultative V-V compounds available in the language but the next stage too. The incorporation of V_2 into V_1, where V_2 loses its valency and selectional restrictions, is also available. Interestingly, both stages were only found in newspapers. More research is required here.

Finally, it could be further hypothesized that resultative V-V compounds arose from resultative SVCs with a heavy object, e.g. including a relative clause. The syntactic structure V-V followed by a heavy object would be more convenient so as to avoid the long distance between the verb constituents. Further, since Pp has an SVO[9] word order (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 35, Maurer 2013: 176), the syntactic structure displayed by the V-V compound can prove more suitable for this typology.[10] I leave these hypotheses to further research.

7.2 Light verbs and light verb constructions in Papiamentu/o

Some verbs that commonly participate as V_1 in Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, i.e. *bula* "fly, jump", *kore*/*core* "run", *dal* "hit" and *kai*/*cay* "fall", can combine with other verbs and form a type of construction that may look like an SVC on the surface. As was shown in 4.3.4, some scholars have observed that certain verbs in Pp display full lexical meaning in some contexts and adverbial or aspectual meanings in others (see Bendix 1972, Valeriano Salazar 1974, Maurer 1988, Muller 1989, Jacobs 2015). The verbs that display a grammatical function have been analysed as auxiliaries and minor verbs in the literature. Bendix (1972: 54) and Valeriano Salazar (1974: 81f.) do not consider constructions with *bula*, *kore*/*core* and *dal* in V_1 position expressing manner to be SVCs but *serial-like strings* and *manner constructions*, respectively. I agree with the above authors in that these constructions should not be regarded as SVCs. Instead, I propose analysing them as light verb constructions (LVCs).

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[8] However, note that the data presented by Sebba (1987: 93) on Sranan indicate an inverse path of evolution. The author claims that the structure in (i) is still accepted by some informants, but it is regarded as an alternative to (ii) in 19th century Sranan:

(i) Kofi naki kiri Amba.
K. hit kill A.
"Kofi struck Amba dead" (Sebba 1987: 93)

(ii) Kofi naki Amba kiri. (Sebba 1987: 92) Original: Kofi naki Amba [PRO kiri]
K. hit A. kill
"Kofi struck Amba dead"

It appears that the V_1 NP V_2 structure was favoured in Sranan to the detriment of the dated V_1 V_2 NP.

[9] Pp is an SVO language (Huber et al. 2013: 4). However, cases of subject-verb inversion are attested (see Muysken and Law 2001: 54, Maurer 2013: 176).

[10] Evidence is provided in the literature of the shift from SOV (serializing) to SVO (compounding) (see Lord 1977 for Igbo) as well as from SVO (serializing) to SOV (compounding) (see Li and Thompson 1976 for Chinese).

I have argued that *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* are best analysed as light verbs that constitute LVCs with the verbs they accompany. These constructions contrast with SVCs at the syntactic and semantic level. First, while V_1 was shown to be the main verb in intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, this verb constituent behaves like a modifying verb in LVCs. Second, while V_1 retains full lexical meaning in SVCs, it displays an adverbial or aspectual function in LVCs. Thus, the first verb in LVCs is regarded as a light verb and the second verb as the main verb. I argue for the light verb status of *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* when they exhibit an adverbial or aspectual function on the basis of their verbal status, semantic defectiveness, contextually-dependent interpretation, underspecified semantics, the fact that they modify the V_2 adverbially and/or aspectually, their apparent historical stability and the fact that the lexemes for these verbs have been analysed as light verbs cross-linguistically. I will consider these aspects in more detail below.

Bula, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* always take tense and aspect marking as V_1 in LVCs. However, they do not exhibit full lexical meaning in the construction but rather display an adverbial or aspectual meaning or function. Thus, the lexemes are structurally verbal but semantically defective. Furthermore, the lexemes can undergo predicate clefting.

Following Butt and Lahiri (2002, 2013), I argued that *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* each have a single underspecified underlying lexical entry that gives rise to two uses. The lexemes exhibit full lexical meaning when they enter the syntax as main verbs, i.e. when they are the sole verb in a predicate and when they function as the main verb in an SVC. However, the lexemes display an adverbial or aspectual function, modifying the main verb they accompany in the complex predicate, when they act as light verbs:

> When the verb enters the syntax as main verb, it predicates as a full event with a full range of argument participants. When the verb enters the syntax as a light verb, i.e., is slotted into the distributional space for light verbs in a language, then its lexical semantic content must combine with a full event predication. Thus, depending on the syntactic role of the verb, the information contained in it is deployed differently.
>
> (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33)

I claimed that the interpretation of these lexemes is contextually-dependent and I provided examples of the context dependent interpretation. Furthermore, there is also cogent evidence in the literature. For example, Valeriano Salazar (1974: 94) acknowledges the existence of what she analyses as SVCs where "one verb may or may not have semantic value depending on the context or the situation". Furthermore, Jacobs (2015: 63) notes that "[i]t is not always clear which verb modifies which" in some constructions.

Bula was shown to exhibit several heavy uses as a main verb, i.e. it can mean "fly", "jump" and "explode", depending on the context.[11] As a light verb, *bula* modifies the

[11] Some speakers pointed out their tendency to use *biaha bai* (lit. travel go/to), instead of *bula bai* "fly go/to" to indicate direction because *bula* can have different meanings depending on the context.

main verb of the LVC in an adverbial manner, i.e. the lexeme expresses the fact that the action of V_2 was performed suddenly or quickly.

Dal means "hit" when it surfaces as the only verb or as the main verb of a predicate, but it displays several adverbial meanings when it functions as a light verb.[12] *Dal* closely parallels *bula* because it can also convey that the action of the second verb constituent took place suddenly:[13]

> [Light verbs] provide that extra bit of semantic predication which is the hallmark of light verbs, namely the information when a given action is sudden… And since it is information coming out of our world knowledge, it is also defeasible, i.e., not every predication with the light verb 'give', for example, will necessarily always have the same range of semantic connotations. (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 33)

However, in other cases, *dal* can involve the action expressed by V_2 having been performed forcefully[14] or involving a noise.

Kore/*core* displays the lexical meaning "run" as a heavy verb and modifies the accompanying verb adverbially as a light verb, indicating that the action in V_2 occurred rapidly or immediately.[15]

Lastly, *kai*/*cay* can exhibit the full lexical meaning "fall" and can also display adverbial and aspectual functions. On the one hand, *kai*/*cay* can convey the direction downwards, e.g. *kai sinta* (lit. fall sit) "sit down". On the other hand, it can function as an inceptive aspectual marker to indicate the start of the action expressed by V_2 and to indicate a change of state, e.g. *kai drumi* (lit. fall sleep) "fall asleep", *kai muri* (lit. fall die) "die", *kai sinta* (lit. fall sit) "sit down", *kai pèrde* (lit. fall lose) "get lost, disappear".[16]

To sum up, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* can exhibit adverbial and/or aspectual meanings when they function as light verbs in an LVC and, as is customary for light verbs, "the interpretation depends on the kind of event described by the accompanying full verb" (Butt and Geuder 2001: 346). Light verbs have been reported to modify the V_2 they accompany in an adverbial manner and to denote the inception and completion of an event (Butt and Geuder 2001: 335f., 355f.). In any case, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and

[12] Dijkoff (1993: 102, 152, 163) claims that *dal pega*/*dalpega* has lexicalized. The author points out that this VV nominal compound is exocentric, i.e. the head is located on the right of the compound, as opposed to most compounds in Pp that are endocentric, i.e. left-headed. This is evidence of the fact that *dal* functions as the modifying or non-head verb constituent in the compound.

[13] In Principense, Maurer (2009: 109) notes that *da* "give" in V_1 position modifies the action conveyed by V_2, meaning that it took place suddenly and unexpectedly. *Dal* in Pp derives from the Spanish/Portuguese verb *dar* "give, hit" (Kramer 2013: 34). However, *dal* was transferred to Pp with the meaning "hit" and as a light verb in combination with several nouns, e.g. *dal un baño* "take a bath". The verb *duna* from Spanish *donar* is used in Pp to mean "give" (2013: 42).

[14] A sense of forcefulness can be conveyed using the light verb "give" in Urdu (Butt and Geuder 2001: 346).

[15] Bamgbọṣe (1974: 37) includes *sáré* "run" in his list of what he refers to as *modifying verbs* in Yoruba. The lexeme displays two meanings in the language: the full lexical meaning "run" and the modifying meaning "quickly".

[16] *Kai*/*cay* would correspond to the insertion of *–se* in some Spanish verbs to express the beginning of an action: *dormir* "sleep" – *dormirse* "fall asleep"; *morir* "die" – *morirse* "die/be dying"; *estar sentado* "sit" – *sentarse* "sit down"; *perder* "lose' – *perderse* "get lost".

kai/*cay* do not contribute an event of their own as light verbs but rather modify the event represented by the main verb, as has been argued in the case of light verbs (see Butt and Geuder 2001). I take the adverbial modification performed by *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* as an important argument in favour of analysing these lexemes as light verbs and not as auxiliaries. Light verbs, unlike auxiliaries, do not modify the main verb in tense and aspect:

> A light verb does not…situate the main event predication with respect to temporal or aspectual information. That is, it does not have the functionality of a tense or aspect auxiliary, which situates a given event with respect to speech and reference time.
>
> (Butt 2010: 72)

Kai/*cay* exhibits aspectual meaning as a light verb in Pp. However, it does not convey (im)perfectivity as auxiliaries do but the beginning of an action, i.e. it denotes inception.

Furthermore, the lexemes have been shown to display multiple functions and meanings (including their heavy and light verb uses), which gives the lexical entries an underspecified nature. Butt and Lahiri (2013: 34), considering light verbs, argue that "their lexical semantic specifications are so general that they can be used in multitude of contexts, that is, they 'fit' many constellations." It is for this reason that light verbs have been referred to as verbal *passepartouts* (see Butt and Lahiri 2002, 2013).

The relation between the heavy and light meanings in an underlying lexical entry has been regarded as lexical polysemy (see Brugman 2001, Butt and Geuder 2001). However, the relation between a full verb and the grammaticalized use of that verb as a preposition has also been considered to be polysemy (see Heine 1992: 358-360 and Hopper and Traugott 1993: 1, 69-72).[17] As indicated above, linguists like Bendix (1972) regard verbs such as *bula*, *kore*/*core* and *dal* with adverbial meaning as auxiliaries. Bendix (1972: 54) notes that "some of these auxiliaries may be seen and still sensed as metaphorical extensions of the independent verbs". Bendix's observation closely relates to the approach adopted by, e.g., Claudi and Heine (1986), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), who treat grammaticalization as a cognitive process whereby concrete meanings evolve into more general and abstract concepts via metaphor. Brugman (2001) and Butt and Geuder (2001: 343, 352ff.) claim that the extension or abstraction of the meaning of the full verb is the source of the corresponding light verb use. Semantic extension can be attested in the light meaning of *kai*/*cay* as the adverb "down", which implies generalization of the meaning of the full verb counterpart, i.e. "fall". Similarly, the meaning of *kore*/*core* as a main verb, i.e. "run", is extended to "fast" or "immediately". Extending the semantics of *dal* as a main verb, i.e. "hit", gives rise to the adverbial meaning "forcefully" or "making a noise". The light verb uses of *bula* and *dal* as "suddenly" seem to be less predictable. As can be seen, auxiliaries and light verbs resemble one another in that they exhibit semantic extension or abstraction of the meanings of their main verb counterparts. This aspect needs further research.

[17] Previously, it had been thought of as homophony (see, e.g., Lord 1973, 1976, Li and Thompson 1974).

Coming back to the superficial similarities between SVCs and LVCs in some cases, the very same combination of verbs may constitute an SVC or an LVC. For example, *kai*/*cay muri* (lit. fall die) "fall and die" or "die", where *kai*/*cay* functions as an inceptive aspectual marker (there is no literal falling), *kore bai*/*core bay* (lit. run go) "run to" or "go fast/immediately" (but not literally running), *dal sera/cera* (lit. hit close) "slam shut" or "close suddenly". Only the context can disambiguate the meaning of the construction. Thus, two different syntactic analyses of the same surface structure are possible, depending on the interpretation given to one of the verbs as main or light verb (see Butt and Geuder 2001: 328).

In other verb combinations, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* can only function as light verbs that modify the main verb. Interpreting these lexemes as main verbs, i.e. displaying full lexical meaning, would produce a nonsensical sentence in combinations like *kai*/*cay drumi* (lit. fall sleep) and *bula bisa* (lit. jump say).

Butt and Geuder (2001: 324) claim that "[i]n most cases, the systematic semantic contribution of the light verb to the complex predicate is extremely difficult to identify" or "not necessarily transparent" (Butt 2010: 72). In a similar way, light verbs have been reported to "modify the main predication in some (usually subtle) manner" (Butt and Lahiri 2013: 31). The difficulty in interpreting the contribution of light verbs to the complex predicate is acknowledged in the fact that some scholars have translated some Pp LVCs with the meaning of the main verb of the predicate without further reference to the contribution made by the light verb. For example, Valeriano Salazar (1974: 93) plainly translates *kai muri* as "die" where, according to the author, one of the verbs does not seem to display lexical meaning. Kramer (2013: 34) translates *dal habri* as simply "open", and *kai*/*cay* does not appear to contribute any information in *cay muri* and *cay sinta*, as they are translated as merely "to die" and "to sit", respectively, by Mansur (1991: 42).

Lenz (1927: 171f.) also acknowledges the fact that some main verbs in Pp can combine with what he refers to as "auxiliary motion verbs",[18] e.g. *kai sinta*, and notes that "[l]a dificultad del análisis de tales formas verbales está fundada en la imposibilidad de formarnos una idea clara de 'cómo entiende el curazoleño el alcance de cada palabra gramatical'"[19] (Lenz 1927: 172).

The difficulty in interpreting light verbs on some occasions is due to the fact that these lexemes do not contribute the same meaning in all the LVCs they appear in. Rather, their semantic contribution is contextually dependent:

> [W]e cannot always isolate a distinct meaning of the light verb apart from the construction that it heads… In other words, it is only in construction with specific arguments that the contribution of the light verb can be determined. This should no longer suggest that there is no meaning to be discerned. (Brugman 2001: 574)

[18] "Son frecuentes en la lengua de Curazao… las combinaciones de verbos principales con ausiliares [sic.] de movimiento." (Lenz 1927: 171): "The combinations of main verbs with motion auxiliaries are frequent in the language of Curaçao" (translated by LF).

[19] "The difficulty analysing these verb forms results from it not being possible to have a clear idea about 'how a Curaçaoan understands the meaning of each grammatical word'" (translated by LF).

> [L]ight verbs show an enormous flexibility of meaning. The precise semantic interpretation is determined through contextual factors… (Butt and Geuder 2001: 356)

In other cases, their contribution may appear to be redundant (Butt and Geuder 2001: 357). The apparently redundant contribution of some Pp light verbs to the complex predicate was shown in two examples in chapter 6 (see 6.3.1).

A further argument in favour of analysing these lexemes as light verbs and not as auxiliaries is the fact that the lexemes for "hit" and "fall" are considered to be light verbs cross-linguistically because of their underspecified meaning and the variety of contexts in which they can be used (see Butt 2010: 72, Butt and Lahiri 2002: 9). Moreover, Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 153) exclude "hit" as a source concept for grammaticalization despite the fact that it is considered part of the basic vocabulary of a language. Traugott (1980: 55) also excludes the lexeme "jump" as a source of grammaticalization: "What constraints are there on the type of lexical items that will undergo grammaticalization (we do not expect *read*, *dance*, *jump*, or *sing* to grammaticalize easily…)?"

Further evidence that *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* should be analysed as light verbs is their apparent stability in LVCs. While V_2s in intransitive directional and resultative SVCs were shown to undergo processes of grammaticalization (i.e. they evolve into prepositions and/or V-V compounds with a different grade of coalescence and incorporation), light verbs do not seem to have entered a grammaticalization path and remain stable. In my data, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* do not appear to be evolving into adverbs or aspectual markers. Proof of this is that they cannot be used as adverbs or aspectual marker – in the case of *kai*/*cay* – outside the LVC. In chapter 5 it was shown that *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can behave like prepositions outside intransitive directional SVCs due to a process of grammaticalization. Thus, they can surface independently of directional/motion verbs and directional SVCs and can be part of a PP. In a similar way, *kaba*/*caba* "finish" can act as an adverb as a result of grammaticalization (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 215, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007: 312, 322, Eckkrammer 2001: 182f.)[20] and appear as an actual adverb outside an SVC, which indicates that the lexeme has entered the cline of grammaticalization.[21]

However, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* cannot, to my knowledge, function as actual adverbs in Pp. They cannot behave like adverbs outside the LVC because they are structurally verbs with a lexically defective, i.e. grammatical, meaning. Butt and Geuder (2001: 364) claim that

[20] Holm (2000: 186f.) regards the form for "finish" in creole languages as a completive aspectual marker and, therefore, excludes aspectual SVCs from his list of SVCs. Kouwenberg and Muysken (1995: 215) and Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel (2007: 312, 322) consider completive or aspectual SVCs with *kaba*/*caba* to be absent in Pp due to the grammaticalization of *kaba*/*caba* into an adverb. Valeriano Salazar (1974: 77f.) considers the construction with *kaba*/*caba* to be an aspective completive construction and not an SVC.

[21] In the following sentence the adverb *ya* reinforces *kaba*:

(i) ya kaba su tata tabata dualu den seru-nan... (Debrot 2008: 34)
already finish 3SG.POSS father PST.IPFV wander LOC mountain-PL
"his/her father was already wandering in the mountains…"

> light verbs are syntactically verbs…, but are only licensed in conjunction with a main verb…[A] unified semantic notion of light verbs appears that is characterized by their function to modulate an event description in the way of a modifier...

Furthermore, *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* do not seem to be able to combine with any kind of verb in an LVC, but there appear to be lexical restrictions. The lexeme *bula* normally acts as a light verb in combination with verbs such as *lanta* "get up, stand up" and *bisa* "say"; *kore*/*core* can accompany lexemes like *bai*/*bay* "go", *bisa* "say" and *pasa* "pass"; *dal* is used with, e.g., *habri* "open" and *sera*/*cera* "close"; and *kai*/*cay* usually modifies verbs, e.g., *muri* "die" and *sinta* "sit". It could be argued that some LVCs have lexicalized in Pp due to the frequency with which they are used in the language in such fixed combinations.[22] Note that the only change that LVCs can undergo is lexicalization (see Butt 2010: 72, Butt and Lahiri 2013: 37). The selection of V_2 seems to be lexically constrained. This aspect needs further investigation.

LVCs can be tracked back over thousands of years (Butt 2010: 68). Creole languages such as Pp do not have such a long history and, unfortunately, few historical records are written in Pp. Pp's relatively short history and the little historical evidence available compared to other languages, such as some Asian languages, make it difficult to determine the light verb nature of *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay*. However, these verbs seem to exhibit more historical stability than directional and resultative serial verbs because only the latter have undergone grammaticalization, while the former have remained stable.

To conclude, while V_2s in intransitive directional and resultative SVCs are prone to grammaticalize, verbs that frequently occupy V_1 position in these serial constructions can function as light verbs and display adverbial and/or aspectual functions, modifying the V_2 in LVCs. Light verbs are structurally verbal, i.e. they retain their structural verb properties, but exhibit a non-lexical meaning, i.e. adverbial and aspectual. A parallel pattern of distribution in regard to grammaticalized V_2s and light verbs in V_1 position is found in São-Tomense (see Hagemeijer 2001).[23] Butt and Lahiri (2013: 15) conclude that "light verbs are primarily lexical in nature (rather than functional)."

The difference between the functional items derived from a process of grammaticalization and light verbs may be difficult to explain in some cases due to the similarities between the two categories and the constructions they form with the main verb they accompany and modify. For example, as shown in the above, LVCs convey information about a single event, i.e. light verbs do not contribute an event of their own but modify the action conveyed by the main verb in the complex predicate. In a similar way, coverb or auxiliary constructions also only convey information about an event. This feature distinguishes them from SVCs, which express multi-events (see Baker and

[22] Some LVCs in Sanskrit have their own dictionary entries due to the opaque semantic contribution of the verb in V_1 position to the construction (Butt and Lahiri 2002: 32). This parallels the inclusion of some V-V compounds in the dictionary due to their unpredictable meaning (see Thompson 1973, Lord 1975).

[23] Hagemeijer (2001) argues against the auxiliary status of V_1s in São-Tomense and in favour of their clear categorial status as light verbs, whereas V_2s do not have a clear status due to their hybrid status between verb and preposition. The lexemes in V_1 are semantically unspecified, i.e. they have a semi-lexical or defective semantic status.

Harvey 2010: 34f.). Both light verbs and auxiliaries represent a semantic abstraction of the meaning of their main verb counterparts. Furthermore, Durie (1988: 3) states that the centripetal tendency of serial verbs causes the grammaticalizing verb to encode "manner of action". However, light verbs are also reported to convey the manner in which the action of the main verb is performed. The fact that light verbs and some types of serial verbs undergoing grammaticalization such as auxiliaries present similarities makes it hard to distinguish between these categories in some cases. This makes them qualify as elusive categories.

Further light verbs in Papiamentu/o

Apart from *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay*, other verbs can also be analysed as light verbs in Pp because they can display adverbial and aspectual meaning when they are situated in initial position followed by another verb. First, *grita* "shout" exhibits adverbial meaning as V_1 in some contexts, indicating that the action expressed by V_2 was performed in a loud manner, e.g. *grita bisa* (lit. shout say) "say loud", *grita hari* "laugh loud", *grita yora* "cry loud" (see Muller 1989: 364f., Valeriano Salazar 1974: 81f.).[24] Second, *sinta* "sit" is used to convey the continuity or duration of the action expressed by V_2 (Bendix 1972: 54, Valeriano Salazar 1974: 77, 94, Muller 1989: 383).

(1) a. Mi gusta sinta wak telenovela hopi. (9_C_W_31-50)
1SG like sit watch soap.opera a.lot
"I like watching soap operas a lot." (for quite some time)

b. Un homber ta sinta wak un pato. (13_A_M_51-70)
INDF man TA sit watch INDF duck
"A man watches a duck." (for quite some time)

Bendix (1972) and Valeriano Salazar (1974) do not consider the constructions with *grita* and *sinta* to be SVCs but serial-like strings (see Bendix 1972: 54), a manner construction in the case of *grita* and an aspective construction in the case of *sinta* (see Valeriano Salazar 1974: 76, 81f.).

I suggest analysing *grita* with adverbial meaning as a light verb because it parallels the adverbial uses of *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay*. However, *sinta* does not appear to fulfill the semantic features of light verbs because of its aspectual durative meaning. Butt (2010: 72) states that "[a] light verb does not… situate the main event predication with respect to temporal or aspectual information." The durative semantics of *sinta* parallels the duration conveyed by the auxiliary *bai*/*bay* in V_2 position (see 5.4.2). Note that Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991b: 153) include the lexeme "sit" among the most common concept sources that undergo grammaticalization. Furthermore, Newman (2002: 16f.) shows the evolution of "sit" into a progressive or durative marker in SVCs and Hilpert and Koops (2008) into a pseudo coordination structure in Swedish.

[24] Sebba (1987: 201) considers verb combinations with *grita* "yell, scream" in V_1 position and verbs like *hari* "laugh" and *pidi* "request" in V_2 position to be lexical idioms or compounds, i.e. *grita hari* "laugh out loud" and *grita pidi* "yell for".

However, Butt and Lahiri (2002:9) include “sit” among the common light verbs in Urdu and Bengali. I leave the question of whether *sinta* should be analysed as an auxiliary or a light verb to further research.

7.3 Serial verb constructions and their diversity cross-linguistically

Section 3.1 showed that SVCs are a heterogeneous syntactic phenomenon cross-linguistically on account of the diverse properties they exhibit in different languages worldwide and even within the same language. The heterogeneity of SVCs has raised questions in the literature, leading authors to call for caution when including a particular structure under the label of verb serialization.

In the present dissertation, a distinction was drawn between Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs and, first, their grammaticalized counterparts that give rise to PPs and V-V compounds and, second, another structure that may look alike on the surface, namely LVCs.

As regards the distinction between SVCs and their grammaticalized counterparts, the gradualness of grammaticalization processes may prevent the two types of structures being set apart. The gradual evolution of intransitive directional and resultative SVC into PPs and V-V compounds has been shown to bring about the coexistence of distinct stages in which the directional and the resultative serial verbs display different properties. With regard to the distinction between intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, on the one hand, and LVCs, on the other hand, these structures need to be treated as independent constructions. Despite the fact that both constructions look alike on the surface, they need to be analysed as independent constructions due to the structural and semantic differences they display as well as their distinct origin.

As has been already suggested in the literature, one of the factors that motivates the cross-linguistic heterogeneity attested in regard to SVCs, and the fact that verb serialization is viewed as a non-unified phenomenon is the inclusion of non-serialized structures under the label of SVCs. Taking the syntactic variation attested in Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs into consideration, the diversity of SVCs must be related to the variation that the grammaticalization of serial verbs entails. Thus, the gradualness of the grammaticalization processes affecting serial verbs causes the synchronic coexistence of the different stages of a grammaticalization cline. Furthermore, analysing structures such as LVCs as SVCs due to the similarities the former share with the latter subscribes to the idea that verb serialization becomes an *umbrella term* that points to “any combination of two or more verbal constituents”, as claimed by Zwicky (1990: 2). As a consequence, we run the risk of falling into triviality (see Seuren 1991: 194).

To conclude, SVCs, their grammaticalized non-serial counterpart structures and LVCs have been analysed independently in this dissertation with the aim of contributing to setting verb serialization apart from non-serial syntactic structures that may look similar.

7.4 Multi-functionality in Papiamentu/o

The nature of the multi-functionality of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) differs from that of *bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay*, as has become clear in the above. *Bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) can act as full verbs and as prepositions in Pp. The morphemes have attained prepositional status because they can be used outside directional SVCs. However, they are not full-fledged prepositions, as attested in the negative result of the extraction tests. Further functions of *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) were discussed in 5.4. *Bula*, *kore*/*core*, *dal* and *kai*/*cay* can function as full verbs and as light verbs displaying adverbial and/or aspectual meanings in LVCs. The lexemes cannot be claimed to have an adverbial status because they cannot display adverbial/aspectual meaning outside LVCs. They were shown to be structurally verbal but with an adverbial and/or aspectual meaning.

It was proposed that the multi-functionality exhibited by these morphemes has a different origin: grammaticalization in one case and their use as light verbs in the other. However, this difference does not always seem to be straightforward. Both grammaticalization and the underlying lexical entry that gives rise to main and light verb uses lead to polysemy and underspecification because the various meanings or functions displayed by each linguistic item depend on the context.[25]

7.5 Alternative non-serial structures to express direction and result in Papiamentu/o

Pp speakers can use verb serialization to express direction and an action-result semantic relation. However, non-serial syntactic structures are also available in Pp to convey these meanings, namely PPs and (c)overt coordination, respectively.

Serializing languages tend to diminish the use of SVCs when in contact with high-prestige, non-serializing languages (Bickerton 1981: 119). As Winford (2003: 96) states, "[t]he lack of a functional category in a source language may lead to loss of a similar category in a recipient language". Hajek (2006) provides information about the process of *deserialization* that Tetun Dili[26] has undergone in contact with Portuguese:

> Traditional stories have much higher frequencies of SVCs than do other text genres. They are also marked by a much lower proportion of Portuguese loans. On the other hand, technical and high register show a marked reduction in the use of SVCs. In newspaper reporting, which shows significant Portuguese influence, they are almost completely absent. (Hajek: 2006: 252f.)

The influence of Indo-European languages on local languages in regard to the journalistic sociolect has also been indicated by other scholars. Kanittanan (1979: 55, in Blake 2001: 1024f.) claims that the Thai used by educated speakers, especially those

[25] Similarly, Schiller (1989) points to the syntactic polysemy of some words in Khmer and their underspecification in the lexicon because they can appear in a wide variety of syntactic contexts with different meanings. Schiller (1989: 279) states that Khmer "relies heavily on context to distinguish between various interpretations of an utterance."

[26] Tetun Dili is an Austronesian language spoken in Dili, East Timor.

educated abroad, displays differences to the variety used by other speakers. Kanittanan illustrates the differences by quoting the following remark that is quite common among Thais: "You almost have to be able to speak English to understand this Thai article" (Kanittanan in Blake 2001: 1025). Blake (2001) further proposes that European languages have influenced the borrowing and increasingly frequent use of prepositions and coordinated sentences, among others, claiming that "[t]he effect of this cultural dominance has been to change a vast number of languages in the direction of what we might call 'the European type' or at least to produce a Europeanized register" (Blake 2001: 1014).

As regards Pp, Wood (1971a: 82f., 232-234) acknowledges the Hispanicizing style adopted by a local Curaçaoan newspaper. Eckkrammer (1994: 141-145) underlines the Spanish influence at a lexical and a morphosyntactic level on the Pp used in the local press as well as in the idiolect of those speakers who wish to "destacar su criollo del 'papiamento vulgar'; es decir que desea[n] dar un toque distinguido o sofisticado a la lengua criolla para indicar un major nivel educativo y social"[27] (1994: 143).

In creole languages, the borrowing of structural features from the lexifier into the creole due to the pressure exerted by the former on the latter has traditionally been related to a process of *decreolization* (see Bickerton 1975, 1980). The creole language gradually approaches the structure of the lexifier:

(2) basilect → mesolect → acrolect (lexifier language)

The contact between a creole language and its lexifier results in the emergence of a *post-creole continuum* (DeCamp 1971), where the speech of the creole speakers presents considerable variation. While some speakers may exhibit more creole-like features in their speech, others may reflect more properties from the lexifier due to corrective and acculturative pressures. Some studies have shown the linguistic variation present in creole-speaking communities (e.g. Rickford 1987). Siegel (2010) argues that the term "decreolization" is not accurate and prefers the term *debasilectalization* to describe the tendency of creole speakers to avoid basilectal forms due to their stigmatization. Moreover, he objects to decreolization only covering those cases in which the creole coexists with the lexifier language and evolves into that language. He explains that cases can be found where creoles develop in the direction of a language that is neither the lexifier nor the standard language in the community. Siegel further argues against the conflation of decreolization with creole continuum because creole languages can present a creole continuum without involving decreolization and, vice versa, they can approach the prestige language without a continuum. Note that there is disagreement regarding the fact that Pp has developed a post-creole continuum (Baum 1976 and Busche 1993 argue in favour of this view, but Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978: 128 and Clemensha 1981 against it).

[27] "make their creole stand out from the 'common Papiamentu/o'; that is, they wish to give a distinguished and sophisticated touch to the creole language to indicate a better educational and social level" (translated by LF).

SVCs have been reported to be less frequent in Pp compared to the variety attested in other serializing languages (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1995: 214, Parkvall 2000: 71, see also the introduction to chapter 4). Moreover, some scholars have indicated the general lack of SVCs in Pp.[28] For example, Sebba (1987: 179) claims that:

> Papiamentu…seems to use prepositions in preference to serialising strategies in certain cases where Sranan does the opposite. The obvious reason – "decreolisation" due to long contact with the lexifier language (Spanish).

Furthermore, Endruschat (2007: 163f.) suggests the decreasing use of serial verbs in Pp:[29]

> Los verbos seriales están bien documentados como fenómeno estructural del papiamento... No osbstante, no he podido encontar ningún ejemplo en la prensa más reciente, incluida la electrónica. (Endruschat 2007: 164)[30]

The apparent decrease in the use of SVCs in Pp can be linked to the fact that this type of construction is absent in the Indo-European languages with which Pp is in contact on the ABC islands. Since English, Dutch and Spanish lack verb serialization, bilingual speakers may have a tendency to avoid this syntactic construction to express direction and action-result, and they may resort to prepositions and (c)overt coordination instead. The preference for using the Indo-European non-serial syntactic structures to express direction and result to the detriment of SVCs can be related to a process of decreolization or debasilectalization as a consequence of the pressure exerted by the contact languages.[31] According to supporters of the substratist hypothesis, language contact has been held responsible for the presence of serial verbs in serializing creole languages. However, language contact also seems to bear responsibility for the loss of this structure in contact with prestige non-serializing languages.

The influence of language contact on the apparent decreasing use of SVCs in Pp confirms previous work that has indicated the influence of Indo-European contact languages on the ABC islands on Pp at the phonological, lexicosemantic and morphosyntactic levels (e.g. Navarro Tomas 1953, Wood 1971a, 1971b, 1972b, Andersen 1974, Baum 1976, Bouscholte 1978, Clemensha 1981, Busche 1993, Eckkrammer 1994, Kowallik and Kramer 1994, Kramer 2004: 139-155, Sanchez 2005, 2006, 2008, Rivera and Mather 2015).

Whether intransitive directional and resultative SVCs coexisted with their non-serial syntactic counterparts from the very beginning, whether the non-serial structures were

[28] However, note that Eckkrammer (2001: 182) confirms that SVCs are frequently used in Pp.
[29] Remember that Endruschat (2005) also claimed that Pp serial verbs have converted into prepositions via a language-internal process.
[30] "Serial verbs are well documented as structural phenomenon in Pp... However, I have not been able to find any recent example in the press, including the online press" (translated by LF).
[31] In Belizean creole, verb serialization and serial-like structures, e.g. reduced coordinated structures and the insertion of pleonastic co-referent subjects, are available in the oral discourses of the acrolect despite the pressure of English. The presence of verb serialization or "reflexes of serialization" in the acrolect is evidence that this variety still exhibits structural differences to the superstrate language (Escure 1991).

incorporated later, or whether they are more frequently used nowadays than in the past because of language contact are all questions that must be left to diachronic research.

In any case, there is evidence from other serializing languages – creoles and non-creoles – that variation is also attested in this aspect: Speakers can use serial and non-serial syntactic structures to encode specific meanings. Below, I will refer to the coexistence of directional and resultative SVCs and their non-serial variants in Pp, and the occurrence of the same pattern of coexistence in other serializing languages.

7.5.1 Expressing direction in Papiamentu/o: Intransitive directional serial verb constructions and prepositional phrases

It was shown in chapter 5 that direction can be expressed in Pp by means of verb serialization and its more or less grammaticalized versions as well as via non-serial structures, namely motion and directional verbs followed by a preposition or no preposition. Various syntactic structures are, therefore, available in Pp for encoding direction.

While intransitive directional SVCs like *bula bai*/*bay* "fly go" and motion verbs followed by a PP such as *bula pa* "fly to" were regarded as *allostructures* by some speakers, others acknowledged a difference in terms of the perception of identity. Directional SVCs represent the local identity, while substituting *bai*/*bay* "go" for the preposition *pa* "to" was perceived as a sign of a Hispanicizing variety and, therefore, as a sign of the loss of identity. The threat of losing one's local identity leads to the preference for directional SVCs or their grammaticalized counterparts, and even to opt for the correlative preposition (*for*) *di…bai*/*bay* "from…to" rather than (*for*) *di…pa*. In any case, both intransitive directional SVCs and prepositions are available in Pp for conveying direction.

Speakers of other serializing languages can also use both SVCs and PPs to encode the same function. In the case of creole languages, some prepositions may already have been present in the process of creolization and others may have been borrowed from the high-prestige languages with which creoles are in contact, especially those creoles that have undergone a process of decreolization (Bickerton 1981: 119f.). According to Bickerton, language contact plays an important role in the transfer of prepositions from high-prestige languages into creoles and, hence, "serial verb constructions represent extremely conservative varieties of those creoles in which they are found" (1981: 120). Bickerton shows syntactic variation in the three Surinamese creole languages Ndyuka (DJ), Sranan (SR) and Saramaccan (SA), as the instrumental case can be marked via a PP (3a) and an SVC (3b):

(3) a. DJ: a koti a meti anga nefi
SR: a koti a meti nanga nefi
SA: a koti di gbamba ku faka
"he cut the meat with knife" (Bickerton 1981: 121)

b. DJ: a teke nefi koti a meti
SR: a teki nefi koti a meti
SA: ? a tei faka koti di gbamba
he take knife cut the meat
"he cut the meat with a knife" (Bickerton 1981: 121)

Similarly, Huttar (1981: 301) claims that instrumentality can be encoded in Krio using an instrumental SVC and via the preposition *wit* "with" in the anglicized variety.[32] Maurer (2009: 110) also proposes that *da* "give" and *po* "for" can be used in Principense to mark the benefactor without any difference in meaning. However, some speakers rejected the preposition *po* and preferred *da*.

In the case of non-creole languages, Alleyne (1986: 306) puts forward the argument that some West African languages such as Yoruba can express instrumental, comitative and manner semantics by means of verb serialization and PPs; in Assante-Twi the use of prepositions is even preferred to serialization.[33] Diller in p.c. in Foley and van Vallin (1984: 207) indicates that instrumentality can be expressed in Thai both via verb serialization and with a preposition. However, he explains that while the instrument is out of focus if a preposition is used, i.e. the instrument is of secondary or peripheral importance, it is highlighted and considered of central importance when using an SVC. Schiller (1993: 178) indicates the preference Thai speakers have for using verb serialization to convey instrumentality. The use of the preposition "with" has a pragmatic effect. In a similar way, Hyman (1971: 34) claims that sentences with instrumental/manner *làh* "take" can be paraphrased with the preposition *mà* "with" in Fe$^{?}$Fe$^{?}$. Kölver (1991) shows that directionality can be expressed in Thai using verb serialization, PPs and unmarked constructions, i.e. verbs can mark direction in the absence of prepositions. The author notes that the intrinsically directional prepositions "from" and "to/towards" are "uncolloquial and stylistically restricted" (1991: 507).

In any case, several authors have acknowledged the influence that high-prestige languages exert on verb serialization and prepositions. For example, Sebba (1987: 47) observes a tendency among Sranan younger speakers to use *oyt* "out (of)" (from Dutch *uit)* instead of the generalized locative prepositions *na* and *fu* after the directional serial verb *puru* "remove", and Winford (1993a: 230, fn. 14) indicates that there is a growing tendency to use English prepositions and particles to express direction in Caribbean English creoles.

Note that SVCs have been regarded as marked devices compared to prepositions due to the instability they present cross-linguistically. Languages exhibiting verb serialization often develop prepositions either via an internal process, as was shown in

[32] These are the sentences cited in Huttar (1981: 301):
(i) i tek nɛf čɛčɛ di bif (Krio)
he take knife cut the meat
(ii) i čɛčɛ di bif wit nɛf (Krio)
he cut the meat with knife
"he cut the meat with a knife"
[33] The author further points to the preference for prepositions in Caribbean creoles as well.

3.1.4.1 and 5.2, or by borrowing this category via language contact (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978: 129, Bickerton 1981: 119f.).

7.5.2 Expressing result in Papiamentu/o: Resultative serial verb constructions and coordination

An action-result semantic relation can be expressed in Pp via resultative SVCs and their grammaticalized versions as V-V compounds as well as via covert[34] and overt coordination. The expression of result using a coordinated structure was shown to be an alternative to Pp resultative SVCs. However, semantic, pragmatic and stylistic differences were acknowledged between these syntactic structures in some cases (see 6.7.1).

Bendix (1972) and Valeriano Salazar (1974) already noted semantic and pragmatic differences between SVCs and coordination. The difference can vary considerably between speakers. Bendix (1972: 30f.) distinguished an "older" style illustrated in the work of Elis Juliana from a "modern" style evidenced in the variety that has been influenced by the Indo-European contact languages on the islands:

> In a "modern" style of conjoining sentences, the coordinating conjunction i 'and' appears with or without repetition of the subject noun phrase, pronominalized, and of tense-aspect-mode markers… [In a]n "older style"… i tends to be used very sparingly, with rather more specialized functions, such as conjoining conditional clauses or together with sentence adverbs, e.g. i tox 'and still'. (Bendix 1972: 30)

Differences between resultative SVCs or V-V compounds and (c)overt coordination have also been identified in other languages. For example, Lord (1975: 28) indicates that the action-result semantic relation is only clear via a V-V compound in Igbo, whereas a consecutive construction would cast doubt on whether the action expressed in V_2 is to be regarded as a direct consequence of the action in V_1. Sebba (1987: 109, 160) further acknowledges a temporal difference between resultative SVCs and their corresponding covert coordination in Sranan. While the SVC in (4) describes a single event, the covert coordination in (5) involves several events, i.e. Kofi possibly struck Amba several times:

(4) Kofi naki Amba kiri en
Kofi hit Amba kill him/her
"Kofi struck Amba and killed her" (Sebba 1987: 109)

(5) Kofi naki Amba kiri
"Kofi struck Amba dead" (Sebba 1987: 109)

[34] Note that Ameka (2005) considers covert coordination to be a type of multi-verb construction in West African languages, but Campbell (1996: 116) includes covert coordination as a type of SVCs in Akan. Multi-event constructions have not been regarded as serial constructions because of the coordinate interpretation that is assigned to the coordinate syntactic structure (see Sebba 1987, Valeriano Salazar 1975, Kouwenberg and Ramos-Michel 2007). However, syntactic differences have been acknowledged between multi-event serial constructions and overt coordination in Yoruba (see Déchaine 1993).

Further semantic differences between verb serialization and structures involving coordination have been acknowledged by Crowley (1987: 43-47) and Van Leynseele (1975: 191f.).[35] Stewart (2001) distinguishes real SVCs – resultative and consequential – from covert sequence structures in Èdó. Foley and Olson (1985) explain the semantic differences between SVCs and conjoined sentences as a consequence of the distinct type of juncture they involve. While SVCs are joined at the nuclear or core layer, coordinated clauses are joined at the peripheral level:

> [T]he difference in meaning between structures with conjoined clauses and the corresponding serial verb constructions… established the difference between peripheral and core layer junctures, as conjoined clauses are joined at the peripheral layer, while serial constructions are joined at either the core or nuclear layer.
>
> (Foley and Olson 1985: 47)

However, there are further cases where SVCs and coordinating structures can be used interchangeably without any semantic differences. For example, Alleyne (1980:168) claims that, in Jamaican Creole under the influence of English, the object of V_2 is overtly realized with a pronoun when it is co-referential with the object in V_1. It is also possible to use a conjunction. Corne, Coleman and Curnow (1996: 129) propose that SVCs in French Indian Ocean creoles are in free variation with semantically identical asyndetic coordinated structures. George (1976: 64) proposes that resultative SVCs in Nupe can be paraphrased using coordinate clauses.

The (im)possibility of expressing the same semantic relation using an SVC and a coordinate syntactic structure reflects the debate around the transformational derivation of SVCs from underlying conjoined structures, i.e. the possibility that SVCs can be traced to two or more sentences in the deep structure (see 3.1.1).

7.6 Syntactic variation in Papiamentu/o to express direction and result: Competition and selection or symbiosis?

The synchronic instability of Pp intransitive directional and resultative SVCs was shown to be the result of a language-internal process, i.e. a gradual process of grammaticalization that affects the V_2 constituents, and a language-external factor, i.e. the preference for using non-serial structures under the influence of the Indo-European

[35] Moreover, cases can be found in which serial construction can be interpreted as simple or conjoined sentences. For example, Collins (1997) suggests that the first interpretation of (i) stands for an SVC, whereas the second reading corresponds to a case of covert coordination. Hale (1991) claims that the first interpretation of (ii) corresponds to a coordinate clause chaining, whereas the second points to a single event, hence a real case of verb serialization.

(i) Ekpe fo kɔpo yi xɔ-me. (Ewe)
Rock hit cup go room-in
a. "A rock hit a cup into the room"
b. "A rock hit a cup and then went into the room" (Collins 1997: 465)

(ii) Witin ai pruk-an kauhw-ri. (Miskitu)
a. "He hit me and I fell down"
b. "He knocked me down" (Hale 1991: 26)

languages with which Pp is in contact on the ABC islands.[36] The data presented in this dissertation show considerable variation among Pp speakers and even within one and the same idiolect regarding the grammaticalization of directional and resultative serial verbs, on the one hand, and the expression of direction and result via serial and non-serial structures, on the other hand. Several factors can be proposed as accounting for this syntactic variation.

First, the variation concerning the level of grammaticalization of directional and resultative verbs in Pp can be related to the gradual and overlapping nature of grammaticalization as well as to the *constant tension* between creativity and norms, as acknowledged by Lehmann (1985: 314f.). Some speakers may want to be creative but are under pressure to abide by the grammatical rules of their language. Furthermore, language contact can be hypothesized to have acted as an *accelerating force* (see Heine and Kuteva 2010) in the grammaticalization of directional and resultative serial verbs, as was shown in 5.2.6 and 6.2.2.

Second, some ideas can be put forward regarding the language-external factor that motivates the syntactic variation concerning the use of SVCs or the alternative non-serial structures. The linguistic situation on the ABC islands can be described as a case of pervasive multilingualism due to the intense language contact with Dutch, English and Spanish. Taking a look at the linguistic repertoire of the informants who took part in the fieldwork conducted on the ABC islands, it can be observed that the speakers showed varying degrees of multilingualism. Most of them could speak at least one more language apart from Pp. Only two speakers were close to being monolingual. It is commonly agreed that bilingual speakers bring about structural change in a recipient language by transferring features from a source language (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37, Winford 2003: 62). The influence that English, Dutch and Spanish exert on Pp can be acknowledged in the speakers' preference for the alternative non-serial syntactic structure in general and in specific circumstances.

As indicated above, creole languages exhibit a continuum ranging from basilect (creole features) to acrolect (features from the lexifier or prestige contact language). Speakers' idiolects are located somewhere between these two extremes. Some speakers may incorporate structures from the prestige contact language into their idiolect. However, "while there are pressures in creole continua encouraging movement in the direction of the acrolect or standard language, there are also pressures favouring the basilect or creole language" (Rickford 1980: 177). Thus, speakers may also avoid linguistic structures of the acrolect and may be inclined to use the creole features that are characteristic of the basilect due to their attitude to the linguistic, national or ethnic identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). For example, some speakers were reticent to use motion verbs followed by the preposition *pa* to express direction and conjoined sentences to convey an action-result semantic relation because they regarded these syntactic structures as being influenced by the contact languages on the islands: "[S]trong feelings are generated against persons, whether adults or children, who try to

[36] Washabaugh (1978) and Aceto (1999) also argue that variation and change in creole languages is not only externally but also internally motivated.

use more standard speech than is customary" (Washabaugh 1977: 335).[37] Instead, they preferred to use SVCs, which were related to a "pure" or "good" Pp. Thus, some speakers opted for SVCs in order to maintain their linguistic identity and avoid mixing Pp with the contact languages.[38] According to this view, SVCs are perceived as an in-group identity marker, i.e. as a linguistic feature proper to Pp that distinguishes the local language from the contact languages.[39]

SVCs may be consciously or unconsciously linked to the local identity in a similar way as the preference for using the grammaticalized deverbal prepositions *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) instead of *pa* to express direction, and the absence of prepositions after directional verbs against the tendency to insert them. Following Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 187), the use of the preposition *pa* to express direction and of conjoined sentences to express an action-result semantic relationship can be regarded as "an external threat or any other danger which leads to a sense of common cause". Hence, speakers opt for serial verbs or the deverbal prepositions *bai*/*bay* and *bin*(*i*) as well as for resultative SVCs. However, other speakers had a completely different perception of the use of SVCs and the corresponding non-serial counterparts. This may be due to the fact that they were more influenced by the contact languages or because they did not perceive Pp as an important constituent of the local identity. In any case, the forms marked for prestige or stigma vary depending on the speakers' perception of the local identity and the group they want to be identified with: "One adopts the supposed rules of those groups one perceives to be socially desirable, *to the extent that* one wishes to be identified with them" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 184).

Nevertheless, creole languages not only exhibit *vertical variation* ranging from basilect to acrolect but also *horizontal variation*, which takes into account stylistic differences (Washabaugh 1977). Several informants pointed to the expressivity conveyed via verb serialization in comparison with their non-serial variants.[40] According to them, a series of verbs presents an action in a much livelier way than a conjoined structure. As pointed in 6.7.1, one of the participants, a writer of children's stories, said that she used SVCs to grab the children's attention. In a similar way, SVCs are often used in newspaper headlines to attract readers' attention. Van Putte and van Putte-de Wind (2014: 247f.) also indicate the expressivity conveyed by SVCs in Pp. However, these authors claim that the use of prepositions and conjunctions renders the message more precise than using SVCs:

[37] Some participants mentioned the local population's general negative attitude to those speakers who have modified their Pp when living in the Netherlands to study, for work, etc. A negative attitude is also shown towards the use of the passive voice.

[38] See also the role of assimilation and accommodation in Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977).

[39] M. Kramer (2006) argues that SVCs were transferred from Fongbe into Saramaccan as a stylistic variant at a later stage in the development of the creole language due to political and cultural reasons. The author relates the late transfer and the increase in use as a strategy that speakers use to claim their cultural identity: "If SVCs in Saramaccan were salient enough to cause an increase in the frequency of their use, they may also have been salient enough to be identified as a social property" (2006: 366). M. Kramer points out that Saramaccan has both serial and non-serial constructions, the latter being stylistic variants of the former.

[40] Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 130) also pointed out the expressivity conveyed by serial verbs.

> De betekenis van de relatie tussen de werkwoordgroepen in de bijeenplaatsing in serie is uiteindelijk altijd een kwestie van interpretatie en per definitie minder precies dan wanneer expliciete verbindende elementen worden gebruikt als dat ook een mogelijkheid is. (Van Putte and van Putte-de Wind 2014: 247f.)[41]

Some participants similarly suggested that they would use conjoined structures in a (written) formal context because they sound clearer and more academic than resultative SVCs. However, they would opt for resultative SVCs in daily conversations for economic reasons, i.e. to convey information more quickly. A few speakers regarded resultative SVCs as slang.

The diaphasic variation attested in Pp regarding the preference for SVCs and conjoined clauses in an informal and a formal register, respectively, resembles Washabaugh's (1977) horizontal or stylistic distinction between *bad*/*brawlin talk* and *sweet talk* in Providence Island Creole. It is worth mentioning that Wood (1972b: 858) acknowledges stylistic differences in Pp when he proposes that "Spanish influences have contributed to the creation of a separate literary or written dialect of Papiamentu, distinguishable from that of unsophisticated speakers". Lenz (1927: 262) also distinguishes an "estilo popular o vulgar"[42] from a "lenguaje culto"[43] (1927: 314). However, the author claims that the grammatical structure of both registers is essentially the same, the only difference being the incorporation of educated Spanish terms in the latter register. Note also the Spanish influence on Pp indicated by Eckkrammer (1994: 141-145) above: Spanish influences the Pp used in local newspapers and by those speakers who want to indicate their good and educated social level.

Furthermore, the adoption of a particular structure by the speakers of a linguistic community, or at least by some of them, can also be influenced by social factors like profession and age (e.g. Mufwene 2008: 67). I have shown that young and older participants prefer some variants, as do specific professional groups (i.e. resultative V-V compounds are preferred in the journalistic sector and the omission of the preposition after motion verbs is preferred by flight assistants and the youngest group of participants). Hence, diastratic variation also seems to play a role in the use of specific structures in Pp. Diatopic variation was also shown to exert some influence.

Coming back to the different level of multilingualism exhibited by Pp speakers, the level of bilingualism of the interlocutor is a factor that can restrict the speaker's freedom (Weinreich 1953: 81). Thus, depending on the interlocutor's knowledge of Dutch, English and Spanish, a speaker may avoid certain syntactic structures that may turn out to be unknown or awkward for the interlocutor to understand. However, in most cases speakers are able to understand different lects or varieties of a language and also reproduce them, at least to a certain extent:

[41] "The meaning of the relation among the group of verbs put together in series is, in the end, always a question of interpretation and by definition less precise than when explicit connecting elements are used, as this is also a possibility" (translated by LF).
[42] "common style" (translated by LF).
[43] "educated language" (translated by LF).

> Depending on the particular social ecology in which an individual learns a language, he/she develops an idiolect in which one of the variants is dominant (rarely exclusive) and the other one is available for interpreting other speakers who use it (predominantly) or for cases when it may become handy to make oneself understood by speakers of other varieties. (Mufwene 2008: 115)

In any case, regardless of the nature of the syntactic variation attested in the frame of Pp intransitive directional and the resultative SVCs (a language-internal factor such as grammaticalization or a language-external factor), some speakers may imitate innovative structures and adopt them into their idiolect, while others may show resistance against innovations.

The complex interaction between the internal and external factors that motivate language variation, creative and normative[44] tendencies among speakers as well as attitudinal and contextual factors mean that speakers are exposed to a great variety of inputs (e.g. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, Mufwene 2008). The different models speakers have access to render their idiolects heterogeneous. Thus, alternative syntactic structures are available for the same function or roughly the same function, although there may be some differences between variants and some structures may be preferred more than others. This scenario represents the synchronic *competition* between available syntactic structures and the *selection* of one of them for various reasons, as described below:

> A consequence of this inter-idiolectal variation is that every time a new member joins a community by birth or by immigration, they face choices to make from among the individual models they are exposed to. The choices need not be conscious, but they occur nonetheless, dictated in part by what particular speakers or signers a learner wants to be associated with. (Mufwene 2001: 126)

I propose that the syntactic variation attested in Pp in terms of expressing direction and result as well as the level of grammaticalization of directional and resultative serial verbs is related to the fact that the speakers' idiolects can vary considerably depending on normative, creative, social, contextual and attitudinal factors. The role of individual speakers is determinative for the evolution of a language. In other words, a language does not exist independently of the community and the speakers who use it. On the contrary, speakers ultimately contribute to the pace and the direction of its development:

> [T]he life of a language is also a function of the lives of individual idiolects. It changes because idiolects undergo changes individually, because their speakers have innovated something (even by deviating from the current norm) or have adopted changes innovated by other speakers. (Mufwene 2008: 63)

Bickerton (1975: 16) claims that "linguistic variation is the synchronic aspect of linguistic change, and linguistic change is the diachronic aspect of linguistic variation".

[44] Mufwene (2008: 64) points out the role of academies in preventing the natural course of change in languages. Weinreich (1953: 87f.) points out that education is a factor that limits the creativity of speakers: "The school…checks people's freedom of speech behavior and acts as a deterrent to the 'free' development of the language".

However, the data show that language variation does not necessarily entail change, but different forms with the same meaning/function may coexist in a stable manner (see Rickford 1980). I propose that intransitive directional and resultative SVCs and their more or less grammaticalized versions coexist side by side with their non-serial counterparts in Pp. The data from the GJT, interviews, newspapers and other texts written in Pp confirm this.[45] In some cases, the SVC and the alternative non-serial structure can be regarded as *allostructures*, i.e. my informants acknowledged no differences between the syntactic structures. However, in other cases, semantic, pragmatic and stylistic disparities were proposed as well as differences concerning attitudinal factors.

To conclude, Pp presents syntactic variation regarding the expression of direction and result due to the convergence of both internal and external factors, i.e. the grammaticalization of intransitive directional and resultative SVCs, on the one hand, and language contact, on the other hand. The coexistence of serial and non-serial variants to express direction and result in Pp, even in one and the same speaker, results from the fact that speakers are exposed to diverse types of input. The following quotes very appealingly conclude this dissertation and open up perspectives for future research:

> [I]t is unlikely that a language will maintain two different syntactic combinations of verbs unless the semantic interpretations associated with each syntactic structure are different. (Lord 1975: 39)

> [T]here is no inherent reason why a language may not have two grammatical processes serving the same function… (Li and Thompson 1976: 482)

[45] Although this dissertation does not involve a quantitative study of the frequency with which SVCs appear in literary works compared to newspapers, it seems that SVCs are more frequently used in novels, short stories, etc. than in newspaper articles. However, SVCs are definitely used in the press, too (cf. Endruschat 2007: 164).

8. References

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Annex

Further examples

5.2.2 Stage II: Serial verb

(13)c. Bo ta mira e hòmber **ta** **kore** **pasa** dilanti di e mucha.
2SG TA see DEF man ASP run pass in.front of DEF child
"You see the man running in front of the child." (17_C_M_+70)

d. e mucha a mira nubia-nan **ta** **drif** **bai** pabaou (Lauffer 2013: 13)
DEF child PFV see cloud-PL TA drift go downwards
"the child saw the clouds drifting downwards"

5.4.3 *Bai*/*bay* and *bin* as inceptive aspectual markers

(53) b. E meneer a sali pafo i bin zundra e trahadó. (6_B_W_-18)
DEF sir PFV exit outside and come tell.off DEF worker
"The man went outside and started telling the worker off."

c. Despues na Inglatera mes nan a bin traha na mesun
afterwards LOC England self 3PL PFV come work LOC same
refineria. (19_A_M_+70)
refinery
"Afterwards in England they started working/came to work in the same refinery."

5.7.2 Motion verb + nominal phrase

(71) c.Wel, pa nos sigui bula barata Miami Ø mester bula via
COMP 1PL continue fly cheap M. need fly via
Corsow.... (24ora.com, 19.09.2014)[1]
C.
"Well, for us to continue flying to Miami cheaply, (we) need to fly via Curaçao…"

(72) b. Mescos ta e caso di KLM caminda cu dos siman pasa nan
same.thing COP DEF case of K. where that two week last 3PL
mester a biaha Hulanda. (Awemainta, 09.12.2009, p. 5)[2]
need PFV travel Netherlands
"The same thing is the case with KLM, where two weeks ago they had to travel to the Netherlands."

c. ora un hende ta biaha un pais manera St. Maarten cu
when INDF person TA travel INDF country like S. M. REL
ta presenci-ando un epidemia (arubawe.com)[3]
TA witness- GER INDF epidemic

[1] http://www.24ora.com/local-mainmenu-5/86022-chens-ta-grandi-cu-lo-stop-suriname-airways-bin-aruba-minister-otmar-oduber-cu-ultimatum-pa-gobierno-di-suriname
[2] http://issuu.com/awemainta/docs/09dec09/5
[3] http://arubawe.com/web/te-ainda-ser-raporta-caso-sospechoso-di-chikungunya-na-aruba/

"when a person travels to/in? a country like St. Martin which is witnessing an epidemic"

Example (72c) exhibits semantic ambiguity: *un pais manera St. Maarten* can be interpreted as a locative or a directional complement.

5.7.4 Directional verb + prepositional phrase

(81) d. Mi ke **bai** ku vakansi atrobé **Colombia**. (8_C_M_31-50)
1SG want go with holiday again Colombia
"I want to go on holiday again to Colombia."

e. M' a **bin** bek **Aruba**. (20_A_M_+70)
1SG PFV come back Aruba
"I came back to Aruba."

f. Mi no tatin gana mes di **bin** bek **Kòrsou**.
1SG NEG have.PST.IPFV desire more of come back C.
"I was not looking forward to coming back to Curaçao anymore." (5_C_W_31-50)

g. Aki bo ta **bay** podise **laman**. (18_A__M_+70)
here 2SG TA go maybe see
"Here you go maybe to the sea."

6.2.1 Evidence for the grammaticalization of V_2

(15) d. Desconoci a **cay** **muri** for di Acqua Condominium
unknown PFV fall die out of A. C.
"Unknown falls from Acqua Condominium and dies" (headline)[4]
(24ora.com, 24.06.2015)[5]

6.2.2 Possible internal and external influences in the development of resultative verb compounds

(23) d. enfrente di e porta ku el a **dal** **sera** (Debrot 2008: 42)
in.front of DEF door REL 3SG PFV hit close
"in front of the door that he had slammed shut"

[4] As was the case in sentence (15c), there is evidence in the body of the text that *cay* displays full lexical meaning in (15d):
(i) un homber a cay for di piso 7 y a fayece mesora.
INDF man PFV fall out of floor 7 and PFV pass.away immediately
"a man fell from the 7th floor and passed away immediately."

[5] http://www.24ora.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=96642:desconoci-a-cay-muri-for-di-acqua-condominium&catid=6:policial&Itemid=8