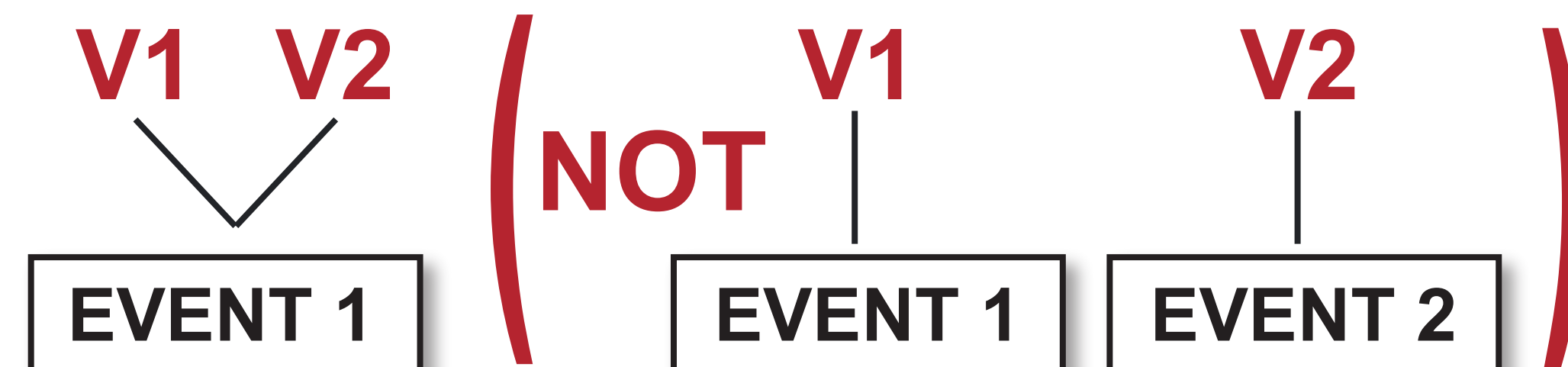


Serial verbs In Croatian? Go figure!

Tomislav Socanac (tomislav.socanac@unive.it) & Brian D. Joseph (joseph.1@osu.edu)

Serial verb constructions (SVC) are sequences of verbs without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort. They typically consist of two verbs but are interpreted as a single event (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006).



SVC ACROSS LANGUAGES

(see Joseph & Zwicky 1990, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, Foley 2010, Haspelmath 2016, and Aikhenvald 2018, a.o.)

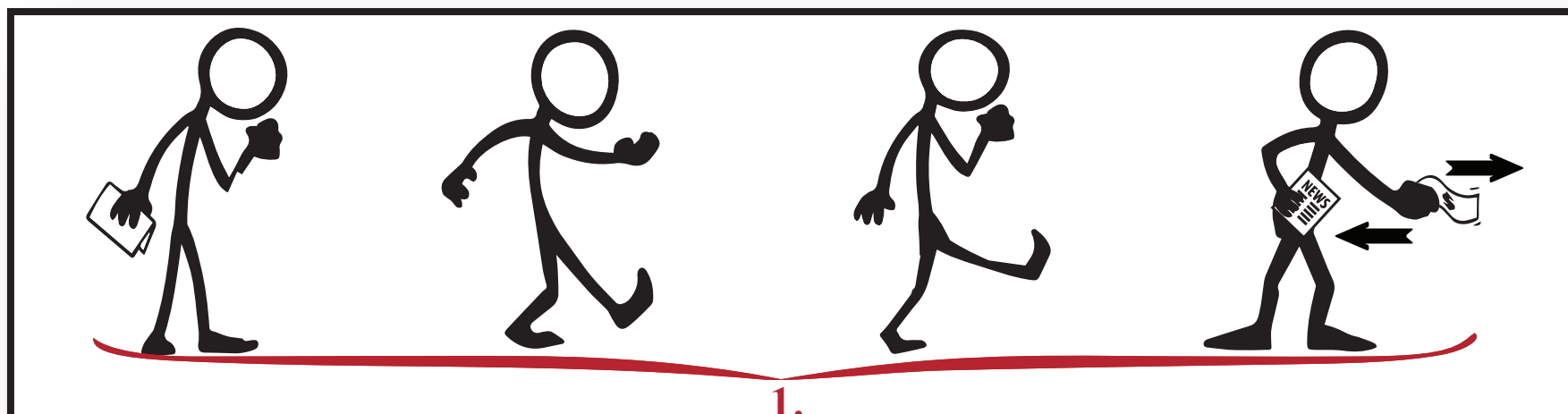
- (1) *Go get me a drink.*
- (2) *Ela des afto* (Modern Greek)
come2.sg.imp see2.sg.imp
- (3) *Dodi vidi ovu sliku* (Croatian)
come2.sg.imp see2.sg.imp this picture
- (4) *Tuda bola mai* (Tetun Dili)
throw ball come
'Throw the ball over here' (lit. throw come)
(Hajek 2006: 243)

Imperative-type SVCs (1-4)

- (5) *Eri ogidi aki-ni indi pei-mi* (Ijo)
he machete take-fish cut
'He cut a fish with a machete' (lit. take cut)
(McWhorter 1997:48)
- (6) *o ti-gbu-ru nwoke ahu* (Igbo)
he beat-kill-tense man that
'He beat that man to death' (lit. beat kill)

SVC vs COORDINATE CLAUSES (CC) IN CROATIAN (Cr)

- (7) *Odi kupi mi novine.* [SVC]
go2.sg.imp. buy2.sg.imp. me newspapers



- (8) *Odi i kupi mi novine.* [SVC]
go2.sg.imp. buy2.sg.imp. me newspapers



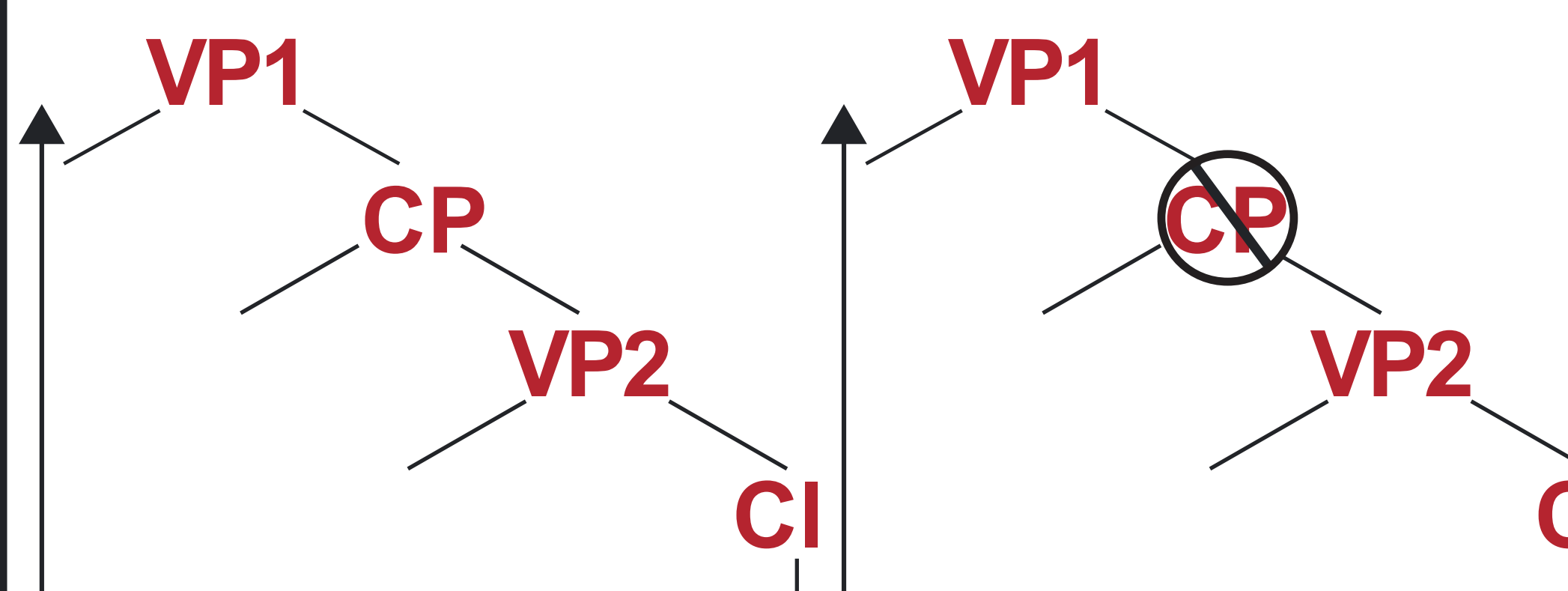
Syntactically, CCs are bi-clausal constructions, while SVCs are mono-clausal.

Subject Control

- (9) a. *Odi kupi / *kupite novine.* [SVC]
goIMP2.sg. buyIMP2.sg.buy2.pl newspapers
- b. *Odi i kupi / kupite novine.* [CC]
goIMP2.sg.and buyIMP2.sg.buy2.pl newspapers

Clitic Climbing

(only possible in mono-clausal structures)



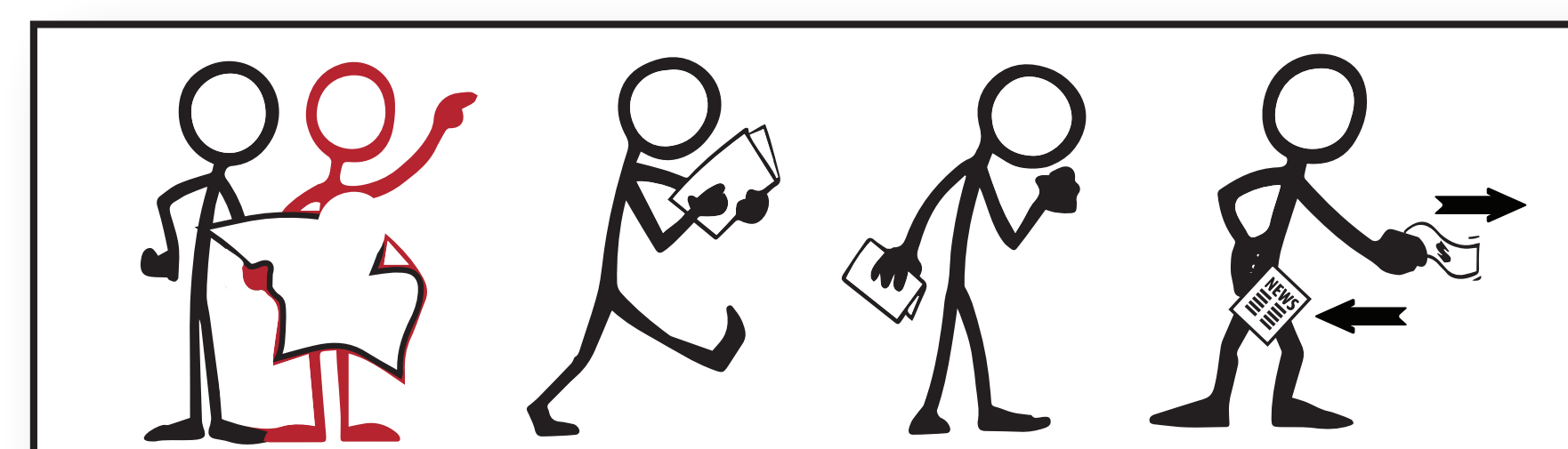
NOT

OK

- (10) a. *Odi mi kupi novine.* [SVC]
go to-me-Cl. buy newspapers
- b. *Odi (*mi) i kupi (mi) novine.* [CC]
go to-me-Cl. and buy to-me-Cl. newspapers

Spatio-Temporal Marking

- (11) a. *Odi tamo i kupi mi novine tu.* [CC]
go there and buy to-me newspapers here
- b. **Odi tamo kupi mi novine tu.* [SVC]
go there buy to-me newspapers here



Separate Modification

- (12) a. **Odi van kupi novine na kiosku.* [SVC]
goIMP2.sg. outside buyIMP2.sg. newspapers at kiosk
- b. *Odi van i kupi novine na kiosku* [CC]
goIMP2.sg. outside and buyIMP2.sg. newspapers at kiosk

Narrow Negation Scope

- (13) a. **Odi ne zadržavaj se.* [SVC]
goIMP2.sg. neg. tarry-aboutIMP2. sg. refl.
- b. *Odi i ne zadržavaj se.* [CC]
goIMP2.sg. and neg. tarry-aboutIMP2.sg. refl.

SVCs IN RELATION TO OTHER ANAPHORIC CLAUSES IN CR AND BALKAN LANGUAGES

Shared Patterns

SVCs pattern with infinitives (INF) and Balkan control subjunctives (CS) with respect to the syntactic tests in (14-16):

Subject Control

- (14) a. *Odi kupi / *kupite novine.* [SVC]
b. *Moraš (*vi) kupiti novine* [INF]
must2.sg. (you2.pl.) buy-inf. newspapers
- c. *Moraš da kupiš / *kupite novine.* [CS]
must2.sg. that buy2.sg. buy2.pl. newspapers

Spatio-Temporal Marking

- (15) a. **Odi danas kupi novine sutra.* [SVC]
go today buy newspapers tomorrow
- b. **Moraš danas kupiti novine sutra.* [INF]
must today buy-inf. newspapers tomorrow
- c. **Moraš danas da kupiš novine sutra.* [CS]
must today that buy newspapers tomorrow

Clitic Climbing

- (16) a. *Odi mi kupi novine.* [SVC]
go to-me-cl. buy newspapers
- b. *Moraš mi kupiti novine.* [INF]
must to-me-cl. buy-inf. Newspapers
- c. *Moraš mi? da kupiš novine.* [CS]
must to-me-cl. that buy newspapers

DISTINCTIVE PATTERNS

Separate Modification

- (17) a. *Moraš obavezno kupiti / da kupiš novine na kiosku.*
must2.sg. obligatorily buyINF SUBJ buy2.sg. newspapers at kiosk
- b. **Odi obavezno kupi novine na kiosku*
goIMP2.sg. obligatorily buyIMP2.sg. newspapers at kiosk

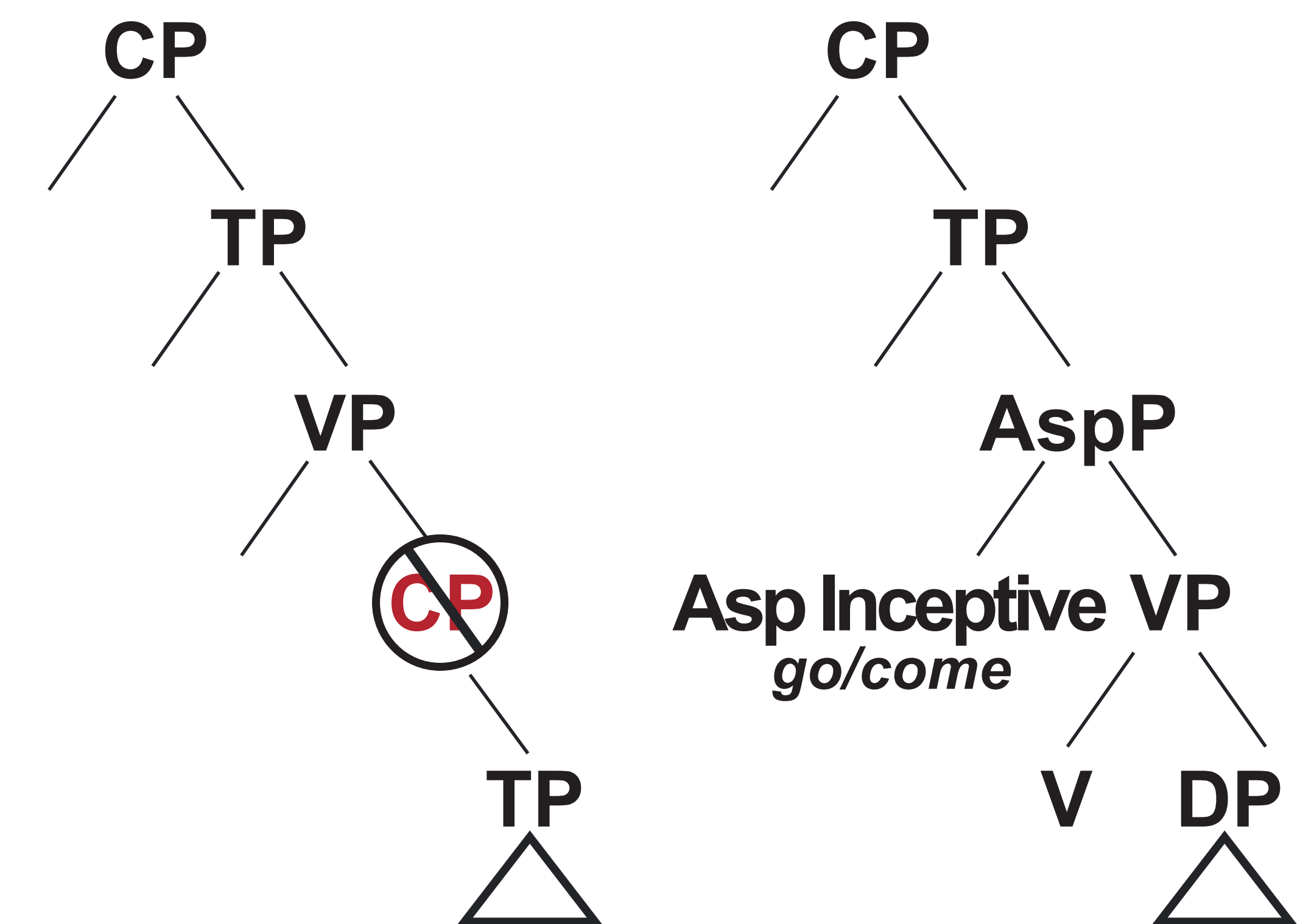
Narrow Negation Scope

- (18) a. *Probaj ne zakasniti / da ne zakasniš.*
tryIMP2.sg. neg. be-lateINF SUBJ neg. be-late2.sg.
- b. **Odi ne zadržavaj se.*
goIMP2.sg. neg. tarry-aboutIMP2.sg. refl.

SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS

C-subjunctives/infinitives

SVC



Both infinitives/subjunctives and SVCs constitute impoverished structures without an embedded CP, resulting in a mono-clausal construction. The difference is that the former derive their mono-clausality via CP truncation during the course of the syntactic derivation, while the latter are mono-clausal from the outset. This explains why infinitives/subjunctives exhibit less anaphoric properties (allowing, in certain cases, for the separate modification of verbs or embedded negation, for instance) than SVCs.

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