

BRILL'S STUDIES IN THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF THE AMERICAS

Multi-verb Constructions

A View from the Americas

Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
& Pieter C. Muysken

BRILL

Multi-verb Constructions

Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

Series Editors

David Beck, University of Alberta
Mily Crevels, Radboud University Nijmegen
Hein van der Voort, Radboud University Nijmegen
Roberto Zavala, CIESAS-Sureste

Editorial Board

Peter Bakker, Aarhus University
Nora England, University of Texas, Austin
Ana Fernández Garay, Universidad Nacional de La Pampa
Michael Fortescue, University of Copenhagen
Victor Golla, Humboldt State University
Pieter Muysken, Radboud University Nijmegen
Enrique Palancar, University of Surrey
Keren Rice, University of Toronto
Frank Seifart, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology
Leo Wetzels, CNRS/Sorbonne-Nouvelle, VU Amsterdam

VOLUME 3

Multi-verb Constructions

A View from the Americas

Edited by

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter C. Muysken
with the assistance of Joshua Birchall



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2011

Cover Illustration: (c) iStockphoto.com/TomML

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Multi-verb constructions a view from the Americas / edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Pieter C. Muysken with the assistance of Joshua Birchall.

p. cm. — (Brill's studies in the indigenous languages of the Americas; 3)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-90-04-19452-6 (alk. paper)

1. Grammar, Comparative and general—Verb. 2. Indians of South America—Languages—Grammar. 3. Indians of North America—Languages—Grammar. 4. Indians of South America—Languages. 5. Indians of North America—Languages. 6. Grammar, Comparative and general—Coordinate constructions. I. Aikhenval'd, A. IU. (Aleksandra IU'r'evna) II. Muysken, Pieter. III. Birchall, Joshua. IV. Title. V. Series.

PM5008.M85 2011

497—dc22

2010042550

ISSN 1876-5580

ISBN 978 90 04 19452 6

Copyright 2011 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.



Mixed Sources

Product group from well-managed forests
and other controlled sources
www.fsc.org Cert no. SGS-COC-006767
©1996 Forest Stewardship Council

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Language Map	ix
List of Abbreviations	xi
About the Contributors	xvii
1. Multi-verb Constructions: Setting the Scene	1
<i>Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald</i>	
2. Dimensions of Northern Paiute Multi-verb Constructions ...	27
<i>Tim Thornes</i>	
3. Lexical, quasi-inflectional, and inflectional compounding in Upper Necaxa Totonac	63
<i>David Beck</i>	
4. The Grammar of Teribe Verb Serialization in a Cross-Chibchan Perspective	107
<i>J. Diego Quesada</i>	
5. Multi-verb Constructions in Ecuadorian Quechua	133
<i>Pieter Muysken</i>	
6. Desiderative Verb Sequences in Uchumataqu	157
<i>Katja Hannß</i>	
7. Multi-verb Predicates and Transitivity Harmony in Shipibo-Konibo	185
<i>Pilar M. Valenzuela</i>	
8. ‘Derivational Verbs’ and Other Multi-verb Constructions in Awetí and Tupí-Guaraní	213
<i>Sebastian Drude</i>	
9. Multi-verb Constructions in Yurakaré	255
<i>Rik van Gijn</i>	

10. Movima Phasal Verbs	283
<i>Katharina Haude</i>	
Author Index	307
Language Index	309
Subject Index	311

PREFACE

In many languages of the world, two or three verbs combine to form one predicate. The verbs vary in their form, and the resulting constructions vary in their functions and their meanings. Multi-verb constructions include serial verbs in their varied guises, predicates with an auxiliary verb or a converb, and many more kinds. Each of these describe what can be conceptualized as one event. One kind can develop out of another, and each represent a specific way of cognitive packaging of information. The multiplicity of constructions including more than one verb can be presented as a multidimensional continuum, reflecting a minute classification of event types. Their occurrence interrelates with typological properties of languages, linguistic areas and language families. Multi-verb constructions have been in the focus of linguistic analysis for a long time. They have been widely recognised as a prominent phenomenon in languages of the Americas. This volume is the first attempt to draw together in-depth studies on this phenomenon in the Americas, so as to create an inductive basis for further generalizations.

This volume evolved out of a one-day workshop titled 'Multi-verb constructions: a view from the Americas', conducted by the editors on 20 October 2008, and sponsored jointly by MPI Nijmegen and Radboud University. This built on the editors' areas of expertise which are largely complimentary: Muysken's work centres on the languages of the Andes, while Aikhenvald's focuses on those of Amazonia and the Pacific, with both having experience in cross-linguistic analysis of multi-verb structures. A short 'Call for papers' detailing the major parameters of variation for multi-verb constructions was announced. An earlier version of Chapter 1 was then circulated among participants of the workshop, so as to ensure that the contributions be cast in terms of a common set of typological parameters.

Following the discussion at the workshop, the editors decided to expand the original set of languages and areas within the Americas, casting it in a wider perspective and going beyond just South America.

All the studies in this volume are based on first-hand intensive fieldwork and meticulous analysis of the existing sources. Each paper

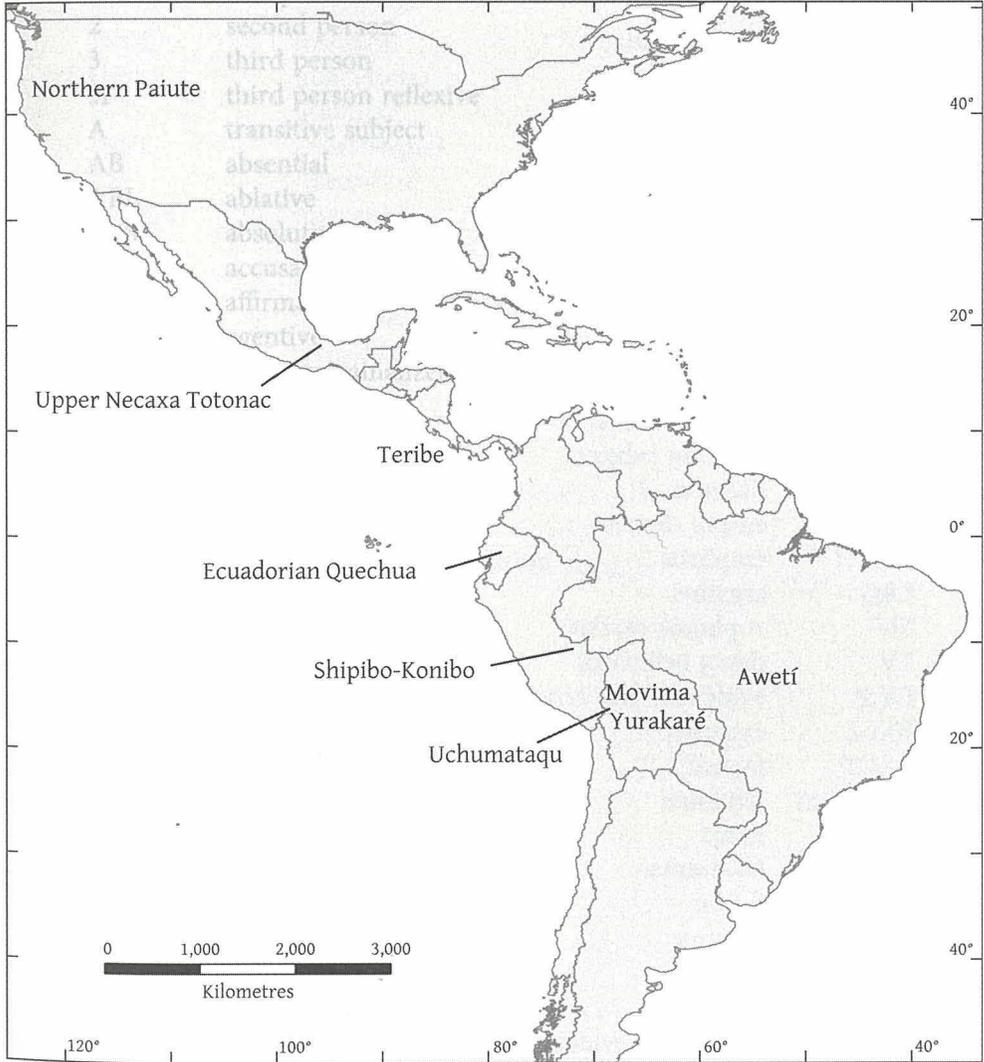
formulates typological generalizations, and addresses historical comparative issues and problems of areal diffusion of forms and of functions. All this contributes to the reliability and comparability of the inductive generalizations within this volume.

It is our hope that the volume will provide a consolidated conceptual, factual and analytic framework covering the major parameters for multi-verb constructions in their varied guises. It lays the foundation for further work on hitherto undescribed or poorly known languages in the Americas, and beyond.

We thank the authors for taking part in the workshop, and then submitting and revising their papers. Special thanks go to Joshua Birchall, without whose painstaking work as Assistant Editor this volume would not have been possible. We would also like to thank Adella Edwards from James Cook University for drawing the map. We owe a debt of gratitude to our native speaker teachers of languages of the Americas who opened the treasure chest of multi-verb constructions to us, field-linguists.

Research for this volume was supported by the ERC Grant ‘Traces of contact’ for Muysken and Birchall, and the Australian Research Council Discovery Project ‘Are some languages better than others?’ for Aikhenvald. We are grateful to the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for initial support with the workshop.

LANGUAGE MAP



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3r	third person reflexive
A	transitive subject
AB	absential
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
AF	affirmative
AG	agentive
AN	action nominalizer
AND	andative
AO	A-oriented
APPL	applicative
APPR	apprehensive Future
ART	article
ASP	aspectual
AUX	auxiliary
BDP	bodily process
BEN	benefactive, purposive
BR	bound root
CAUS	causative
CE	conjunct event
CIRCNR	nominalizer of circumstance
CIS	cislocative
CL, CLF	classifier
CL.1/3	clitic for first / third person
CMPL	completive aspect
CNTRST	contrastive
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
CONN	connective, linker
CONT	continuous
CONV	converbal suffix

CTP	complement-taking predicate
D	dummy
DCS	deceased
DECAUS	decausative
DE	disjunct event
DEC	declarative
DEM	demonstrative
DEPREC	deprecative
DES	desiderative
DIR	directional
DISC	discontinuous
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DL	dual
DR	direct
DR2	direct 2 (incorporation)
DISC	discontinuous
DM	demonstrative
DS	different subject
DUR	durative
EE	empty element
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EU	euphonic marker
EV	direct evidential
EV.P	evidential past tense
EXCL	exclusive
FACT	factual
FEM, fem	feminine
FOC	focus
FRUST	frustrative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HAB	habitual
HSY	reportative evidential
HSY2	short reportative evidential
IDEO	ideophone
IDF	indefinite voice
IM	imperative

IMM	immediate past
IMP	imperfect
IMPERFV	imperfective
IN	in-group marker
INC	incompletive aspect
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
INT	intentional
INTEN	intensifier
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse
IP	instrumental prefix
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
ITR	intransitive
LIG	ligature
LN	linking nasal
LOC	locative
LOGO	logophoric possession
LV	linking vowel
MAL	malefactive
MASC	masculine
MID	middle
MLT	multiple event
MNS	means
MOD	modal
N	noun
NEG	negation
NF, NONFEM	nonfeminine
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case
non-SG	non-singular
NREL	non-relational
NSTD	nonstanding
NTR	neutral
NUM	numeral
O=S/A	dependent object coreferential with matrix subject

OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OBV	obviative
ONOM	onomatopoeic
OO	object-oriented
OPT	optative
ORGN	origin
P	previous event
PATNR	patient nominalizer
PAUS	pausal
pers	person
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PH	phasal suffix
PL, pl	plural
PNC	punctual aspect
PO	possessor
POSIT	positional verb
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PP1	present/incompletive participle
PP2	past/completive participle
PRC	process
PRED	predicative'
PRES	present
PRO	free pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROPR	propriative
PTG	Proto-Tupí-Guaraní
PTL	particle
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
R/R	reflexive/reciprocal
RE	repetition
REASS	reassured future
REC.PAST	recent past
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
REM.PAST	remote past
REM.P.REP	remote past reported

REP	reportative
RES	resultative
RNDM	random motion
S	intransitive subject
sby	somebody
SEQ	sequential
SG, sg	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIM.EVENT	simultaneous event
SIML	simulative
SJ	subject
SO	S-oriented
SPK	nearby speaker
SPL	suppletive form
STAT	stative
STD	standing
sth	something
SUB	subordinate
SUBJ	subjunctive
SVC.MARKER	marker of a serial verb construction
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
TEMP	temporal
TER	terminative
TNS	tense
TO	topic
TR	transitive
TRNSL	translocative
TRNZ	transitivizer
VBZ	verbalizer
VC	voluntary comitative
VEN	venitive
VPL	verbal plural
VTT	vitative
YEST.PAST	yesterday part

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD is Professor and Research Leader (People and Societies of the Tropics) at the Cairns Institute, James Cook University, Australia. She has worked on descriptive and historical aspects of Berber languages and has published, in Russian, a grammar of Modern Hebrew (1990; second edition 2009). She is a major authority on languages of the Arawak family, from northwest Amazonia, and has written grammars of Bare (1995, based on work with the last speaker who has since died) and Warekena (1998), plus *A Grammar of Tariana*, from northwest Amazonia (Cambridge University Press, 2003, paperback 2006), in addition to essays on various typological and areal features of South American languages. Her grammar, *The Manambu Language from East Sepik, Papua New Guinea*, was published by OUP in 2008. Other books include *Classifiers: a Typology of Noun Categorization Devices* (2000, paperback 2003), *Language Contact in Amazonia* (2002, paperback 2010), *Evidentiality* (2004, paperback 2006), *Imperatives and commands* (2010), all published by OUP. She is co-editor with R. M. W. Dixon of the OUP series *Explorations in Linguistic Typology*, and, with R. M. W. Dixon and N. J. Enfield, of the series *Brill Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture*.

Address: The Cairns Institute, James Cook University, PO Box 6811, Cairns, Qld 4870, Australia; e-mail: alexandra.aikhenvald@jcu.edu.au

TIM THORNES is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Writing at the University of Central Arkansas. He began fieldwork on Northern Paiute in 1994 with the last speaker of the Yahooskin dialect and, since 1997, has continued his study of the language with speakers of the Wadateka'a (Burns, Oregon) and other area dialects of eastern Oregon and northern Nevada. He is currently working with the Burns Paiute community toward publishing a body of oral narratives and is also planning a major revision of his 2003 doctoral thesis "A Northern Paiute Grammar with Texts." His main interests lie at the intersection of language documentation and linguistic typology, with a special focus on verb derivational processes and complex syntax.

Address: Department of Writing, University of Central Arkansas, 201 Donaghey Avenue, Conway, AR 72035, USA; email: tthornes@uca.edu

DAVID BECK is Associate Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Alberta. He received his PhD from the University of Toronto in 1999 where his dissertation *The typology of parts of speech systems* (Routledge 2002) was awarded the Governor General's Gold Medal. His research interests include the dynamics of grammatical diffusion and language contact in the Pacific Northwest of North America, and cross-linguistic variation in systems of grammatical relations and valency-incrementing morphology. He is currently working on a corpus-based grammar of the Salishan language Lushootseed and continues his fieldwork, begun in 1998, with the Upper Necaxa Totonac people of Mexico. He is currently a member of the editorial boards of the Northwest Journal of Linguistics, the Canadian Journal of Linguistics, and the Journal of Mesoamerican Linguistics, as well the North American Editor for the Brill Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas book series.

Address: University of Alberta, Dept. of Linguistics, Edmonton, AB T6E 2G7 Canada; email: dbeck@ualberta.ca

J. DIEGO QUESADA is Professor of Linguistics at Universidad Nacional (UNA), Costa Rica. He got his Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Bielefeld, Germany, in 1994. He has conducted extensive field research on various Chibchan languages, among them Teribe (Costa Rica and Panama), Barí (Venezuela), Buglere (Costa Rica and Panama). His publications include *A Grammar of Teribe* (2000), *The Chibchan Languages* (2007) and the forthcoming *Gramática del buglere*, in addition to several articles in important journals such as *International Journal of American Linguistics*, and *Linguistic Typology*. He is in charge of the research program "Indigenous Languages of Central America", at UNA and is currently engaged in the documentation of Garifuna, an Arawak language of Honduras.

Address: Escuela de Literatura y Ciencias del Lenguaje, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional, 3000 Heredia, Costa Rica; e-mail: jquesad@una.ac.cr

PIETER MUYSKEN is Professor of Linguistics at Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands), having previously taught at Amsterdam and Leiden. He has carried out research and fieldwork in the Andes, Curacao, and the Netherlands. Recent books include (2000) *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-mixing*; (2004) Adelaar with Muysken. *The Languages of the Andes*; (2008) *Functional Categories*; (2009–2010); Crevels and

Muysken. *Lenguas de Bolivia I–IV*. His current research is concentrated in the Languages in Contact group in the Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Address: Radboud University Nijmegen, Dept. of Linguistics, PO Box 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen, the Netherlands; email: p.muysken@let.ru.nl

KATJA HANNß is a lecturer at the Department of Linguistics at Konstanz University. She did her PhD at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, on the description of the now extinct Uchumataqu language of Bolivia. The thesis was published in 2008 in the ILLA series. She is currently creating a digitalised lexicon of the moribund Kallawayaya language. Her research interests include typology, language documentation and description, with a particular focus on Andean languages.

Address: University of Konstanz, Department of Linguistics, 78457 Konstanz, Germany; email: Katja.Hannss@uni-konstanz.de

PILAR VALENZUELA is an Associate Professor in the Department of Languages at Chapman University (Southern California). Her research focuses on the description and documentation of indigenous South American languages and the issues that these raise for theory and typology. Her doctoral dissertation, *Transitivity in Shipibo-Konibo Grammar*, received the 2003 Mary R. Haas Award. Currently, she is working on the documentation of Shiwilu (a.k.a. Jebero), a critically endangered language of the Kawapanan family. Recent publications include: “Ergativity in Shipibo-Konibo, a Panoan language of the Ucayali” (Gildea & Queixalós, 2010), “Ethnic-racial reclassification and language revitalization among the Shiwilu from Peruvian Amazonia” (*IJSL*, 2010), and “Applicative constructions in Shipibo-Konibo (Panoan)” (*IJAL*, 2010). Address: Department of Languages, Chapman University, One University Dr., Orange, CA 92866, USA; e-mail: valenzuela@chapman.edu

SEBASTIAN DRUDE holds a Dilthey Fellowship as research assistant at Goethe University Frankfurt and as visiting researcher at the Museu Goeldi, Belém, Brazil. He has conducted extensive fieldwork among the Awetí in central Brazil, in particular during a project in the DoBeS (Documentation of endangered languages) programme (2001–2005). He specializes in lexicography and language documentation and has interests in language typology and historical-comparative research.

Address: a/c CCH, Museu Goeldi, Av. Perimetral, 1901, 66077-830 Belém—PA, Brazil; e-mail: Sebastian.Drude@gmail.com

RIK VAN GIJN is a post-doctoral researcher at the Radboud University Nijmegen and the Max Planck Institute for psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. He wrote a grammar on the unclassified Bolivian language Yurakaré and is currently working on a full documentation of the same language. He is also currently working on a project in which he compares languages of South America with respect to subordination strategies. Address: Radboud University Nijmegen, Dept. of Linguistics, PO Box 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen, the Netherlands; email: e.vangijn@let.ru.nl

KATHARINA HAUDE is a researcher at the laboratory *Structure et Dynamique des Langues* (CNRS-INALCO) in Villejuif, France. Since 2001 she has regularly been going to Bolivia for field work on Movima. Her doctoral thesis, *A Grammar of Movima*, was defended in 2006 at the Radboud University Nijmegen. She is currently working in a DoBeS documentation project on Movima and in an ESF-EuroBABEL collaborative research project on referential hierarchies in morphosyntax, her individual research concentrating on the Movima direct/inverse system. She has published articles in *Linguistics in the Netherlands* (2004), *International Journal of American Linguistics* (2009), and in several collective volumes. Address: CNRS (SEDYL-CELIA), 7 rue Guy Môquet, 94801 Villejuif, Cedex, France; email: khaude@uni-koeln.de