Monte Desann

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Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa

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List of Abbreviations

A Movement	Argument Movement
A' Movement	A-bar/Wh-movement
AC	Asyndetic Coordination
AGR	Agreement
ASP	Aspect
ATB	Across The Board
AUX	Auxiliary
CED	Constraint on Extraction Domains
C	Complementizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
D	Determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
DS	Deep Structure
GB	Government and Binding
iff	if and only if
IOC	Indian Ocean Creoles
IP	Inflection Phrase
IDF	Isle de France Creoles
KS	Kreol Seselwa
LBH	Language Bioprogram Hypothesis
LF	Logical Form
LS	Likert Scale
MC	Mauritian Creole
MOD	Mood
MP	Minimalist Program
MTC	Movement Theory of Control
NEG	Negation
NOC	Non-obligatory Control
OC	Obligatory Control
P&P	Principles and Parameters
PF	Phonetic Form
PL	Plural
PLD	Primary Linguistic Data
PM	Predicate Marker
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PRN	Pronoun
RC	Reunion Creole
ROC	Rodrigues Creole

SG	Singular
SS	Surface Structure
SUB	Subordinator
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TMA	Tense Mood Aspect
TNS	Tense
UG	Universal Grammar
$V_{1\ldots n}$	1^{st} Verb, 2^{nd} Verb, ..., n^{th} Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

1. Introduction

The present thesis describes, analyzes and discusses the syntactic phenomenon of so-called Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Kreol Seselwa (KS), a Creole language spoken on the Seychelles. Five main research questions were investigated with the help of data gathered during two research trips to Mahé, the main island of the Seychelles, in 2014 and 2015:

1. **Can Serial Verb Constructions be found in Kreol Seselwa based on the definition and criteria of SVCs proposed in the literature?**
2. **Which Types of SVCs that have been identified in the literature can be discerned in KS?**
3. **What is their distribution and frequency with respect to different data and types?**
4. **Can variation in the use of SVCs be detected concerning categories such as age, education or origin of the speakers?**
5. **How can SVCs in KS be analyzed concerning their syntactic makeup? How can argument sharing, particularly with regards to external arguments, be accounted for?**

SVCs, also called serial verbs or serials, can be minimally defined as structures that contain two or more verbs[1]. These verbs exhibit the same tense, mood and aspect configuration and are not connected to each other by subordinators or coordinators, such as *and*, *or*, *because*, or other conjunctions. Hence, SVCs are monoclausal structures which contain more than one verb and express one event or connected sub-events (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). Two examples of SVCs from Saramaccan, a Creole language spoken in Suriname, are given below, taken from Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 244/248):

(1) A kúle gó
3SG run go
'He ran away.'

(2) Me téi dí búku butá alá
1SG=NEG take D book put there
'I didn't take the book and put it there.'

SVCs are present in numerous languages throughout the world, yet they typically cannot be found in European languages (Aikhenvald 2006). As can be seen from the examples above, the sentences are either translated into English with the help of a preposition or a coordinating conjunction since English does not exhibit SVCs. Though

[1] In the following, the term 'the 2nd verb' or 'V_2' will be used as a cover term that also includes the occurrence of the 3rd or the nth verb in an SVC.

SVCs have been noted as early as 1875 (Christaller 1875), only in the past 50 years have they been investigated more thoroughly in different languages with different approaches (Haspelmath 2016). Because of this, definitions of SVCs abound and oftentimes are not congruent. Hence, depending on the definition adopted, a narrow or a broader classification of SVCs can be observed.

KS, also called Seychelles Creole, is spoken on the Seychelles, an island state located in the Indian Ocean (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a). Apart from KS, other Creole languages are also present in the Indian Ocean and, hence, they all are grouped together under the term Indian Ocean Creoles (IOCs). The other IOCs are the following: Mauritian Creole (MC), also called Morisyen, Reunion Creole (RC), also called Kreol Renyone or Réunionnaise, and Rodrigues Creole (ROC) (Adone 2012). Since MC and KS exhibit a closer relationship to each other than to RC, they are sometimes also combined and called Isle de France Creoles (IDF) (Baker and Corne 1982).

KS most likely developed out of MC subsequent to people from Mauritius and Reunion settling in the Seychelles in 1770 (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a). Nowadays, KS is the native language of approximately 99% of the population of the Seychelles (Fleischmann 2008), it has official language status together with English and French (*Constitution of the Seychelles* 1993), and is used in various formal and informal domains such as in education, in media, politics and, of course, at home. However, studies such as Fleischmann (2008) and Hoareau (2010) as well as the present thesis show that, even though there is a very positive attitude towards KS, English is the more prestigious language and preferred in written and in formal contexts in particular. The origin of KS, its sociolinguistic history as well as its current sociolinguistic situation are important in light of the present focus on SVCs in this thesis.

Many scholars, for instance Seuren (1990) as well as Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996) and others have denied the existence of SVCs in KS. This is due to the assumption that neither the European language (i.e. French) nor the African languages that were present during the formation of MC/KS exhibit SVCs. Bickerton (1989), in contrast, argued that SVCs can be found in KS and, since no other source can be assumed, this phenomenon has to be explained by an innate grammar, captured within his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH)[2]. More recent studies and overviews (e.g. Adone (2012), Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b) and Syea (2013a)) also list SVCs as an existing phenomenon in KS, though this study (similar to Adone (2012)) will show that they are neither particularly frequent nor productive. This can possibly be traced back to the strong and continuing influence of English that does not exhibit this type of structure.

Before giving an overview of the content as well as the structure of the thesis at hand, some introductory remarks about the theoretical background for this thesis are in order. First, a short introduction into the field of Creole Languages, their genesis and structure will be given. After this a brief description of the Generative Framework

[2]The LBH will be described in section (1.1) below.

will be provided, as the syntactic analysis of SVCs in this thesis is mainly based on the Minimalist Program (MP) as proposed by Chomsky (1995) and developed further by others.

1.1 Creole Languages

Creole Languages are fully-fledged languages that arise out of multilingual contact situations. They have native speakers and can be used for any and all purposes in which language is involved (communication, thinking etc.) (Velupillai 2015: 43). Creoles can be found all over the world e.g. in the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean as well as in Africa, Australia, the Americas and Asia (Bakker 2017), and are often the result of processes such as migration, colonization and slavery (Velupillai 2015: 99). They usually derive most of their lexicon from the European language or the language with the highest prestige, i.e. the so-called superstrate language (Bakker 2017: 8). The language that provides the lexicon is also called the lexifier (Velupillai 2015: 55) and, hence, Creoles can be classified according to their lexifier, e.g. French-based, English-based or Portuguese-based Creoles to name only a few. Other languages that are present during the formation process of Creole languages but are of lesser prestige than the superstrate language are called substrate languages (Bakker 2017: 9).

Several different types of Creole languages can be discerned. Velupillai (2015) distinguishes exogeneous and endogeneous Creoles. Exogenous Creoles arise in situations where "none of the groups involved were indigenous to that area" (Velupillai 2015: 48). Within this type, one can distinguish between Plantation Creoles and Maroon Creoles. Plantation Creoles are languages that developed on a plantation within the linguistically heterogenous workforce, usually slaves and indentured laborers (Velupillai 2015: 48). Maroon Creoles are Creole languages that evolved in a community of escaped slaves that settled together. In contrast to exogenous Creoles, the formation of endogenous Creoles involves one of the groups being indigenous to the area. Typically, these are Creoles that developed in a trading or military base and are thus also called Fort Creoles (Velupillai 2015: 51).

In recent years, it has been discussed whether Creoles should be treated as a distinct class in contrast to other languages. The first position argues that Creole language can indeed be classified as one group based on structural similarities and, hence, they constitute a distinct typological class, e.g. Bakker et al. (2011) and Daval-Markussen and Bakker (2017) among others[3]. Others, such as DeGraff (2005) or Mufwene (2000), assume that Creoles are not distinct from other languages from a structural point of view and that there is no such thing as the so-called "creole exceptionalism" (DeGraff 2005). What is evident is that Creoles, in contrast to other languages, come into being

[3]Daval-Markussen (2013) argues that, even though Creoles exhibit high degrees of variation among each other, they nevertheless have to be seen as structurally distinct from superstrate as well as substrate languages.

at one point in time under certain specific sociocultural and sociohistoric circumstances, as described above and also in Arends (1994b). Furthermore, Creoles can be described as "relatively 'young' languages, and are not established given their recent genesis" (Adone 2012: 4). Hence, the present thesis assumes that Creole languages can indeed be seen as a distinct group of languages due to their emergence at a specific point in time. However, as Creole languages are fully fledged, natural languages used for any and all purposes, they are not in any way inferior or superior to other languages and, hence, are not viewed as 'exceptional' languages but rather as 'distinctive' languages following the terminology proposed by Bakker (2014).

A second issue that is often addressed within the field of Creole studies is that of the processes and stages involved in the emergence of a Creole. The first to propose a so-called life-cycle of Pidgin or Creole languages was Hall (1962), and others, such as Mühlhäusler (1980), have taken up this idea. The assumption is that two processes are involved in the creation of these kind of languages, the first being a reduction and simplification, the second being an innovation and expansion. The first stage of this life cycle that can be discerned is a 'Jargon', a 'makeshift' communication system that is required in communicative situations in which all participants of this situation do not share a common language. This has been assumed to be the outcome of a simplification/reduction process. It is described by Velupillai (2015: 18f.) as a communicative tool which is subject to high variability and an "individual solution which is not typically passed on to others". This type of communicative tool may develop into a Pidgin. A Pidgin is a stabilized form of communication that exhibits structural norms and has to be learned as a language but usually does not have native speakers and is often only used for a specific purpose, such as trade (Bakker 2008: 137). As soon as this specific purpose ceases to exist, the Pidgin often dies with it (Velupillai 2015: 20). If the Pidgin is continually spoken, is also used for other purposes and develops or expands from a structural point of view, it may develop into an Expanded Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1980: 22), also called a Pidgincreole (Bakker 2008: 132). Finally, if this Pidgincreole becomes the first language of the entire community and is used for all purposes, one speaks of 'creolization' and the result is a Creole language (Bakker 2008: 131).

After the developmental stage, several paths of development of a Pidgin or Creole language have been discerned. DeCamp (1971) suggests that after the genesis, the following four paths are available: first, these languages can remain the same, second, they can become extinct, third, they can evolve into a "normal"[4] language, or fourth, they can decreolize. Likewise, Mühlhäusler (1980) and Bickerton (1980) have focused on the process of Decreolization, i.e. a restructuring dimension that can be described as a Post-Creole/Pidgin Continuum. The process of Decreolization has been defined as an approximation to the lexifier language with the loss of Creole features (Bickerton

[4]DeCamp's terminology.

1980: 109). This results in a continuum from a basilect (most distinct variety to lexifier) to acrolect (closest variety to lexifier). As Gabel and Brandt (2017) have shown, there are some problems with these approaches to developmental paths after Pidgins/Creoles come into existence. For instance, Siegel (2010) and Baptista (2015) argue that the term 'decreolization' as well as 'Creole Continuum' are unclear and that, since a wide variety of aspects are covered by them, they do not exhibit accuracy. Furthermore, Creoles are often in contact with a non-lexifier which is not captured by the standard definition of decreolization (Snow 2000; Bartens 2002; Gabel and Brandt 2017). Finally, internally motivated change is often disregarded when dealing with decreolization (Aceto 1999). Therefore, a multifaceted approach to developmental paths has been proposed by Gabel and Brandt (2017) along the lines of Rickford (1987) as well as LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) that includes several dimensions and several continua in addition to that of the basilectal/acrolectal[5].

The third and final issue mentioned here concerns the genesis and the origin of Creole linguistic aspects such as phonology, morphology and syntax. Several theories have been proposed and only some of them can be named here. Following Arends, Muysken, and Smith (1994), four main approaches can be discerned. First, there are approaches that focus on the European, i.e. the superstrate/lexifier input. They are also called superstrate theories. These theories assume that Creole languages derive from their lexifier or a regional dialect of the lexifier - either as descendants or via the process of (imperfect) second language acquisition (Besten, Muysken, and Smith 1994).

Second, various theories have been proposed that stress the importance of the substrate influence. The most prominent of these has been proposed by Lefebvre (cf. Lefebvre (2008) and references therein) with the so-called relexification hypothesis which posits that substrate structures are retained while the lexicon is substituted by the superstrate's lexicon. The third theory that has been proposed is the so-called Gradualist Hypothesis, which posits that creolization takes place over an extended period of time, i.e. spanning multiple generations (Arends 1994a: 112) and that "creolization equates to language change" (Adone 2012: 2) in which processes such as grammaticalization are stressed. All three approaches above have in common that they assume that creolization is a process mainly driven by adults.

This is in contrast to the fourth and final approach, the so-called Language Bioprogramm Hypothesis (LBH) proposed by Bickerton (1981, 1984). His assumption is that the input children receive when growing up with a Pidgin is unstructured and insufficient. Hence, they have to fall back on universal, innate structures (Chomsky 1965 and subsequent publications) in order to 'create' a language. Therefore, Creole languages are the result of a first language acquisition process with insufficient input and

[5]Suggestions by Gabel and Brandt (2017) for other continua include: rural-urban, contact-isolation, standardized-non-standardized, old-young, identity-non-identity, vital-non-vital, contact non-lexifier-no contact non-lexifier and finally misc-non-misc as this list is by no means complete.

are mainly expedited by children. In contrast to the Gradualist Approach, the LBH posits that creolization is an instantaneous, rapid process from one generation (Pidgin speakers) to the next generation (Creole innovators/speakers) (Bickerton 1984).

The present thesis does not aim at a discussion of the individual mechanisms involved in Creole formation and, as such, does not constitute a study of the genesis and origin of Creole languages in general and KS in particular. Therefore, it is assumed that all of the above mentioned processes and influences are to varying degrees present in Creole formation and development though in this thesis a preference is given to the presence of universals (also due to the theoretical framework, outlined below in (1.2)). Nevertheless, also other processes, such as superstrate as well as substrate influence, are not excluded and processes of language change are also acknowledged in the present work.

1.2 The Generative Framework

The Generative Framework, coined, proposed and predominantly developed by Chomsky (1957, 1965: and subsequent publications), is a theory of language and language acquisition in general and at the same time a specific approach to grammar and syntax (Cook and Newson 2007: 2). The term 'generative' derives from the assumption that a grammar is able to generate an infinite number of grammatical sentences in a given language with the help of certain rules which are finite in number (Chomsky 1965: 8). However, as Chomsky's approach is based on competence, i.e. language knowledge, rather than on performance, i.e. language use (Chomsky 1965: 4), 'generative' as such does not mean the actual production or physical expression of sentences but rather the knowledge of a grammar of language and the ability to distinguish between licit/grammatical and illicit/ungrammatical sequences in a given language (Chomsky 1965: 9). Hence, language in general and the grammar of a specific language in Chomsky's model is seen as a mental entity that contains a certain state of knowledge of the individual about the language and its explicit rules (Chomsky 1965: 4).

In addition to these assumptions about knowledge of language and a generative grammar in the mind, another key notion in Chomsky's approach is the question how the state of knowledge about a given language is attained in the mind of each individual, i.e. how the aforementioned competence in a language is acquired (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 2). Given that the output of a grammar is potentially infinite but that the child acquiring a language can never encounter all potential sentences during his/her upbringing, the question arises of how the child is able to build a mental, generative grammar. This question has also been called 'Plato's problem', or the 'poverty of stimulus' problem (Chomsky 1986: 7). The so-called primary linguistic data (PLD) that constitute the child's input are finite as well as subject to performance errors in the speech directed to children, i.e. they are impoverished in nature. However, the child's output is not finite, the internal knowledge of the language is not

erroneous, and the ultimate state is a complete, generative grammar of the language acquired (Chomsky 1959). Furthermore, actual language is very complex but nevertheless acquired very quickly in the course of a few years. Hence, Chomsky's assumption is that something innate is present that helps and guides language acquisition. He assumes that a so-called 'Language Faculty' is present in the mind which is "dedicated to language" (Chomsky 1995: 2). Thus, a modular approach to language is proposed. On the one hand, language is seen as a module distinct from other cognitive systems (Chomsky 1995: 2), and on the other hand, the Language Faculty itself is also modular in nature (Chomsky 1995: 27).

Contained within the Language Faculty is the so-called 'Universal Grammar' (UG). UG is the common core to all languages (thus 'universal') and it is the initial state of language prior to the exposure to PLD and prior to language acquisition (Chomsky 1995: 14). Contained within this UG are "universal principles and a finite array of options as to how they apply (parameters)" (Chomsky 1995: 6). This has been called the Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach to language acquisition, introduced in the 1980s alongside with the Government and Binding (GB) approach (Chomsky 1981). Children are equipped with UG and the contained principles and parameters. Based on PLD, the only task children have to undertake in order to arrive at a final, steady state grammar of the language they grow up with is to set the parameters accordingly[6]. Since the principles and parameters are constrained/restricted and the parameters are binary in nature (on/off), the rapid acquisition based on impoverished input can be explained (Chomsky 1995: 6).

These notions of Generative Grammar, Language Faculty, modularity, UG as well as P&P remain basic assumptions underlying Chomsky's latest approach to syntax and grammar, the so-called Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky 1995). As the name indicates, it has been proposed not as a theory of grammar but rather as a "project" (Hornstein 2009: vii), or a program of "doing minimalism" (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 1). Hence, the program should develop, propose, test, confirm and falsify ideas and thoughts on syntactic structure that (in the best-case scenario) lead to a more minimalist theory. In addition to the aforementioned notions, further basic assumptions of MP are presented by Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann (2005: 7) as 'Big Facts'. First, sentences, which are the basic unit of language, are considered to be made up of smaller units such as phrases, words and morphemes, and combine a certain meaning with a certain sound pattern. Furthermore, phrases have a hierarchical structure and elements can be displaced within a sentence, i.e. they can be moved to a different position. Finally, recursion can be found in languages. This means that similar elements can be 'stacked' and theoretically, there is no upper limit to the length of sentences.

In addition to these 'big facts', MP, as the other half of the name suggests, focusses

[6]Of course, this is an oversimplified description of the process of parameter setting and language acquisition. For a more detailed view, cf. Meisel (1995), Bošković (2013) and references therein.

predominantly on economy principles (Chomsky 1995: 168) and the idea of minimizing the theory of UG. The first notion encompasses the view that syntactic operations are as economical, simple, and as minimal as possible. For example, no movement is better than movement and, if movement is necessary, then shorter movements are preferred to longer ones (Chomsky 1995: 200). This yields the following important notions in MP: 'Procrastinate' – remain in your original position as long as possible, 'Last Resort' – move if and only if (iff) the result would otherwise be ungrammatical, or you would not be satisfied (referred to as 'Greed') and 'Successive Cyclicity' – rather than in one long movement, move one small step at a time until you arrive at your destination.

The second idea concerning Minimalism traces back to what has been called 'Ockam's razor'. Colloquially, this can be described as "more is worse, fewer is better" (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 8) if all things are equal. As such, if two syntactic phenomena can be accounted for with the help of one single explanation, a theory that incorporates this single explanation should be preferred to other theories. This has found application in several domains. For instance, the ideas of combining elements to form larger units and movement have been subsumed under the notion of 'merge' (Chomsky 2004: 110). The former can be called external merge, the latter internal merge, which is seen as a process of 'copy and merge' (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 217). Movement can thus be described as a composite operation of copy, internal merge and a deletion of the original element. This idea of copying an element and internally merging it again with another element is called the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1995: 202).

Furthermore, the architecture of derivation (i.e. the generating of a sentence) has been simplified. In earlier versions of Generative Grammar, e.g. in GB (Chomsky 1981), four levels of grammatical representations were assumed: Deep Structure (DS), Surface Structure (SS), Logical Form (LF) and, finally, Phonetic Form (PF) (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 22f.). The former two emerged based on the observation that sentences may be structurally the same at first glance but are nevertheless interpreted differently. Hence, it seems that sentences may the same surface structure (SS) but differ deep down (in DS). LF and PF are external interface levels at which the derivation is 'sent' to the phonetic component and the logic/semantic component. Syntax can hence be seen as a system that links sound and meaning (Cook and Newson 2007: 5ff.).

In MP, this architecture has been revised: DS as well as SS have been dispensed with since it can be shown that processes taking place in these representations can be captured and explained elsewhere (Chomsky 1995: 188ff.). Hence, the architecture of a generative grammar can be minimized within the theoretical description and can be depicted as the following:



Figure 1.1: Architecture of MP, based on Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann (2005: 73)

The derivation of a sentence proceeds as following: from Numeration, i.e. the lexical items at disposal, the lexical material is selected and the process of merge (first external, then internal) is undertaken. Then, this syntactic structure proceeds to Spellout where it is sent to the interfaces PF (relevant for phonological representation, and hence overt) and to LF (relevant for semantic/interpretation, and hence covert). Between Spell-Out and LF further processes of merge can also take place, for instance in so-called covert movement/internal merge operations. A derivation is successful if it satisfies all requirements or conditions of LF and PF. If this is not the case, the derivation 'crashes' (Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann 2005: 73). This architecture is once again an example of how MP tries to minimize the theoretical apparatus of language description since unnecessary representation have been removed.

In summary, this thesis takes a generative approach to syntax and is based on the Minimalist Program. Important notions that will be drawn on, in chapter (11.) in particular, are the ideas that languages show displacement properties, realized via the operation of internal merge as a copy and deletion process. Furthermore, recent suggestions within MP, such as sideward movement, the movement theory of control as well as its ideas of the abandonment of the θ-Criterion, will be introduced and explained in chapter (11.4) and it will be investigated as to whether these can be adopted for a structural analysis of SVCs[7].

1.3 Outline of the Present Study

The aim of this study, as indicated above, is to describe, analyze and discuss Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa. Bickerton (1989) was the first to mention the phenomenon of SVCs within the context of the Indian Ocean Creoles. The ensuing discussion between Seuren (1990), Bickerton (1990), Seuren (1991), Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996), and Bickerton (1996) evolved around the question of whether these structures can actually be attested in IOCs. It seems that nowadays most agree that – at least some – SVCs are part of the grammar of KS. The combination of this scholarly

[7]Other important notions as well as approaches within Generative/Universal Grammar as well as MP cannot be mentioned and discussed here. For further information on these issues, cf. Hornstein, Nunes, and Grohmann (2005), Hornstein (2009), Boeckx (2008) and others.

dispute and the primarily descriptive focus on SVCs in KS in the existing literature was the main motivation for this study. Even though this is not a new field of investigation, the present study is the only systematic and exhaustive approach and monograph to SVCs in KS and is based on recent data. Furthermore, in contrast to other studies, it will not only focus on the question concerning their occurrence but will also have an in-depth look at the different formal and semantic types that can be found. Finally, it will also investigate whether there is variation concerning the use of these SVCs and analyze the structure of SVCs in KS from a generative perspective.

The thesis will therefore be structured in the following way. In part (I) the theoretical background necessary for the analysis of KS SVCs in the later chapters will be presented. In chapter (2.) a short overview of Kreol Seselwa will be provided. First, the history of the Seychelles will be summarized, as this is quite relevant for the present sociolinguistic situation. Furthermore, a more specific description of the history of the language itself will be provided, from its origin to the situation today. The chapter will close with an overview of selected aspects of KS grammar, such as the nouns, verbs, the TMA system as well as the so-called 'mysterious i' (Corne 1974). These features have been chosen as they are relevant for the analysis and description of SVCs in KS.

Chapter (3.) will provide a more detailed definition of SVCs discussed in the literature. Furthermore, it will provide criteria that will help to delimit SVCs from other related syntactic phenomena. These criteria are essential for the decision as to whether SVCs can be found in KS or not. The definition and connected criteria chosen for the present thesis is based on Haspelmath (2016) but will also follow a continuum approach to SVCs proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) which includes prototypical as well as non-prototypical SVCs. The chapter will also present the types of SVCs that have been discerned in other languages. Typologically speaking, SVCs can be classified from a formal and a functional point of view. The present thesis incorporates both approaches and investigates the structures found in KS in both areas. Finally, the chapter will deal with the discussion concerning the syntactic nature of SVCs with regard to their conjoining principle and their internal as well as external arguments.

Chapter (4.) will present the previous research that has been conducted on SVCs in KS. It will first discuss the debate mentioned above and will thereby trace the reasoning as to why SVCs were assumed or denied in the case of KS. In a second step, all of the types of SVCs that have been documented for KS in the previous literature so far will be enumerated and discussed.

Part (II) describes the methods employed in this study, presents the respective data types and analyses attested SVCs in these sources. The study was designed as a cross sectional study with a mixed method design. In order to gain a comprehensive picture of SVCs, a triangulation of methods was employed and different types of qualitative as well as quantitative data were collected. Chapter (5.) will give both an overview and a justification of the chosen methods and will describe the procedure of data collection as well as analysis. This chapter will also present the 41 participants

that took part in the current study. Lastly, the data corpus that consists of the spoken as well as written data will be described in detail.

In the remainder of part (II), all of the data will be described and analyzed. First, the sociolinguistic questionnaire answered by every participant during the interviews will be presented (chapter (6.)). This questionnaire corroborates findings by Fleischmann (2008) and Hoareau (2010) in showing that differences in language use can be discerned on a written and oral as well as a formal and informal level. Furthermore, it will show that variation concerning older and younger participants exists in KS. The sociolinguistic questionnaire will be shown to be of importance when it comes to the analysis of SVCs and variation in SVCs. Next, the findings from the written sources will be presented and analyzed in chapter (7.). It will be shown that SVCs are predominantly an oral phenomenon. After this, the oral language data gathered during the interviews will be presented, described and analyzed. SVCs that appeared in semi-spontaneous (chapter (8.)) as well as elicitation data (chapter (9.)) will be classified according to the types presented previously and will be analyzed with the help of Praat. The judgment data will be presented and analyzed in chapter (10.).

Finally, part (III) will discuss the results of the present study and have a look at the research questions (1 – 5) mentioned above in turn. The first question that will be discussed concerns the existence of SVCs in KS. It will be shown that they do exist in KS, though not all types (chapter (11.2)) can be assumed to be present and their distribution (chapter(11.3)) and frequency is limited. In addition, chapter (11.3) will also deal with the question concerning variation and will investigate whether differences in the use of SVCs concerning age, education or occupation, gender and origin can be observed. Chapter (11.4) will analyze the structure of SVCs from a generative point of view. Last but not least, all of the findings will be summarized and concluded in chapter (12.), and a concrete outlook on further studies will be provided.

Part I

Theory

2. Kreol Seselwa

2.1 A short description and history of the Seychelles

The Republic of the Seychelles is an island state that consists of 116[1] islands and is situated in the Indian Ocean north of Madagascar and Mauritius and near the Equator. In total, all of the islands taken together have an area of 45,166.7 ha (National Bureau of Statistics 2017b: 1) and are distributed across more than 1 million km^2 (National Bureau of Statistics 2017a: 3). The islands can be divided into Inner Islands, which are mostly of granitic nature and the Outer Islands which are all of coralline origin (Doumenge 1987: 82f.). Today, 94,600 people live in the Seychelles (National Bureau of Statistics 2017a: 8). The main islands, depicted in the map (2.1) below on which almost all of the population (98%) live, are Mahé, with the capital Victoria, Praslin and La Digue.



Figure 2.1: The three main islands of the Seychelles

Education is compulsory until the age of 16. The education system can be divided into: pre-primary (creche), which is not compulsory, primary (P1-P6), secondary (S1-S5, the last year of which is not being compulsory) and tertiary (Fleischmann 2008: 77). Tertiary education takes place in public and private schools, such as at the University of Seychelles, founded in 2009, but also at schools for tourism, police or at the Institute of Technology to name just a few (National Bureau of Statistics 2017a: 12)[2]. The economy in the Seychelles is mainly based on tourism. Therefore, most people in the

[1]Most publications about the Seychelles mention 115 islands instead of 116. However, the most recent figures published by the National Bureau of Statistics list 116 islands (National Bureau of Statistics 2017a). This may be due to the inclusion of Eden Island, an artificial island recently created next to Mahé.

[2]For more information concerning languages within the educational system, cf. chapter (2.2) below.

Seychelles work in the tertiary sector followed by the secondary sector and lastly the primary sector (National Bureau of Statistics 2017b: 110). Due to their location, the islands of the Seychelles are of geo-political and strategic importance (Houbert 1992), which becomes apparent when the history of the islands is considered.

In the period before the French settlement of the Seychelles, it is very likely that Arab travelers visited the Seychelles in the 9th and 10th century (Doumenge 1987: 85). The Arabs had settlements on Madagascar and documents show that they visited Mauritius, Reunion and Rodriguez (Lionnet 1972: 55). Furthermore, according to Lionnet (1972: 55f), thirty tombs of Arab travelers existed on Silhouette which have now unfortunately been destroyed as a result of being washed out to the sea[3]. Apart from the Arabs, the Portuguese also travelled through the Indian Ocean, and even though they apparently never landed on the Seychelles, they are believed to have named the Seychelles *Sete Irmas*, 'The Seven Sisters'. The Seychelles first appeared on a Portuguese map in 1501. In addition, Vasco da Gama discovered and named the Amirantes in 1502, which belong to the Outer Islands (Lionnet 1972: 57).

In 1609 the first British ships landed on Mahé and North Island (Lionnet 1972: 57). From that expedition, the first recorded description of some of the islands was written by John Jourdain (Lionnet 1972: 58). However, the islands were not annexed by the East India Trading company and remained uninhabited, apart from temporary stays of pirates that were based in Madagascar, until the arrival of the French in the 18th century (Lionnet 1972: 60).

According to Lionnet (1972: 61), there were two main reasons for the planned expeditions of the French to the Seychelles: first, the exploration of the islands, as they were on the trading route to India and, second, the rivalry with the British and the East India Trading Company concerning dominance in this area. The first French expeditions starting from the Ile de France, nowadays Mauritius, were carried out in 1742 and 1744 during which Mahé received its name. In 1756 the French officially took possession of the islands and named them Seychelles after the General of Finances of France, Vicomte Moreau des Séchelles. After several expeditions, the French ultimately settled the Seychelles in 1770 from Mauritius, by then under French governmental rule. One of the main reasons for the settlement, according to Lionnet (1972: 68), was the wish of the Mauritian intendant, Pierre Poivre, to grow spices on the Seychelles due to their good location and thereby break the monopoly on spices that was held by the Dutch.

The first settlement was planned and executed by Brayer du Barré[4] on St. Anne, an island facing Mahé on the east. The first fifteen French settlers were from Reunion and they brought with them seven slaves, five Indians and a black woman. Due to the first successes of the settlement, permission was granted to Barré by Poivre to start a second settlement, this time on Mahé. However, this second settlement failed and

[3]For a more skeptical view on Arab travelers visiting the Seychelles, cf. Scarr (1999).
[4]According to Lionnet (1972: 74), he never set foot upon the Seychelles.

the settlers had to leave for St. Anne only three months after their arrival on Mahé (Lionnet 1972: 69ff.). By 1773 the settlement on St. Anne had also had been given up. In the meantime, Mahé was settled in 1772 but this time on behalf of Poivre who had been informed by some settlers that a suitable place for the spice garden had been found, today's Anse Royale. In 1778, the few settlers were joined by the military (one commander and 15 soldiers) in order to take over the administration of the Seychelles. This, according to Lionnet (1972: 77), was done in order to strengthen the French claims over the islands with regards to the British, and the military administration lasted until the end of the French period.

Beginning in 1794 until the Seychelles' concession to Great Britain in 1810, a period of contention between the French and the British can be discerned (Bollée 1993: 85). For example, in 1794 five British warships disguised under a French flag anchored off Mahé and St. Anne and took over the Seychelles. As McAteer (2000: 4) states, the former commander, De Quincy, had "adopted a policy of negotiation and capitulation of the islands each time an enemy ship appeared over the horizon" by hoisting the respective flag of the ships.

During the French period, the population of the Seychelles grew from 28 inhabitants (settlers, freed slaves and slaves) in 1771 to 3467 in 1810 (National Bureau of Statistics 2017b: 7; Bollée 1977: 3). As mentioned above, initially there were 15 white settlers from Reunion and 7 slaves. In the beginning of the 19th century, there were approximately 200 settlers and about 2000 slaves (Benedict 1970: 11). The settlers originated from Mauritius and Reunion and brought the slaves with them from these Mascarene Islands. Furthermore, the slave population was augmented by people from Mozambique in the first years of the colony (Bollée 1977: 5).

Eventually, in 1810, the British occupied Mauritius, and the islands and dependencies were handed over to the British government. As Lionnet (1972: 96) states, the British were not particularly interested in the Seychelles as a base for their journey to India, but rather wanted to put an end to French influence in the Indian Ocean and inhibit French action in India. Furthermore, they also wanted to put an end to French privateering in this area. Therefore, the British had a rather strategic interest in the Seychelles and Mauritius. Lionnet (1972: 96) concludes: "Hence, the kind of 'passive imperialism' adopted towards the new colonies by the Colonial Office, whose main anxiety appears to have been to avoid them becoming an economic burden to the new mother country. As a result, under British rule the Seychelles entered into a period of long, peaceful semi-oblivion". This can be exemplified with recourse to the British attitudes towards religion and education in the Seychelles. Even though the British sent an Anglican priest to the Seychelles, he did not succeed in introducing the Anglican faith to the population and was forced to leave. Furthermore, according to McAteer (2000: 52), the Anglicans were also slow to commit themselves with regards to schools. In 1903, the Seychelles were appointed Crown Colony independent of Mauritius. According to Lionnet (1972: 103), "the two world wars made little impact on

the isolated and remote Seychelles".

During the British period, very important events took place that had an effect on the population of the Seychelles. Slave trade had been illegal since 1807 in British Territories (Nwulia 1981: 39). However, even though slave trade was prohibited, the slave population in the Seychelles increased drastically from 1807 to 1835 due to illegal trade and smuggling (Nwulia 1981: 34ff.). Slavery was abolished in Mauritius and the Seychelles in 1835, but the actual manumission of approximately 5000 slaves in the Seychelles took place after a transition period of 3 years during which the former slaves were supposed to be employed as apprentices to their previous masters (Lionnet 1972: 98). However, according to McAteer (2000: 39), this practice "was simply prolonging the reality of slavery". Since the abolition of slavery, more people of African origin came to the Seychelles. This was due to the fact that the British Navy captured French ships that were illegally trading slaves. As these captured slaves were set free on the Seychelles, the number of Africans rose. Bollée (1993: 85) concludes that "the massive African immigration in the nineteenth century accounts for the fact that the African element became predominant in the population of the Seychelles"[5].

The British period and, with that, the period of colonialism in the Seychelles ended in 1976 when the islands became independent and constituted a republic. This last period from 1976 until today is usually divided into three phases (Campling, Confiance, and Purvis 2011). The first phase, called the First Republic, lasted from 1976 until 1977. The Second Republic existed between 1977 and 1993. The Third Republic continues to exist today[6].

Preceding independence, the first general elections with adult universal suffrage took place in 1967 (Bollée 1977: 3). The Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) won with four seats on the legislative council in contrast to three seats that were allocated to the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) (Lionnet 1972: 105). Though both parties had similar ideas concerning social reforms, they took a different stance towards their relationship with Britain. Whereas the SDP wanted to remain integrated, the SPUP wanted only to be associated with Britain (Lionnet 1972: 105). However, the British Labour party offered independence to the Seychelles in 1974, which was accepted by both, SDP and SPUP (Bollée 1977: 3f.). In 1976, independence was proclaimed, and James Mancham from the SDP became the first president of the republic. René Albert, leader of the SPUP, became the prime minister in 1976.

One year after independence, René Albert and his followers staged a coup d'état and overthrew the SDP and Mancham. Subsequently, Albert became president and established a socialist government with a one-party system of the SPUP, now renamed into the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) (Bollée 1993: 86). During the

[5]For other important events during the British period that cannot be mentioned here, cf. Lionnet (1972) and McAteer (2000).

[6]Many geo-politic and strategic interests can also be discerned in the Seychelles and the Indian Ocean also during the Cold War, cf. Houbert (1992). Due to space limitations, this cannot be elaborated on further.

second republic, many decisions were taken that had and still have a huge influence on the sociolinguistic situation in the Seychelles. This will be described and discussed in chapter (2.2) below. The second republic ended with the re-introduction of the multi-party system in 1991 and the first elections were held in 1993. Mancham, who was exiled after the coup, returned in 1992. President Albert was re-elected twice after 1993 and resigned in 2004 (Campling, Confiance, and Purvis 2011: 32). After his resignation, Albert's former vice president James Michel was appointed successor in 2004 and elected in 2006 and 2011 (State House 2016). The current president is Danny Faure, elected in 2016.

2.2 Kreol Seselwa: its history and current status

KS is a French-based Creole that was brought to the Seychelles with the settlement after 1770 (cf. chapter 2.1 above). Therefore, the question arises, which Creole should be considered the root of today's KS. Two theories have been put forward that offer an explanation about the genesis of KS. The first one is termed the 'Bourbonnaise Theory' and was put forward by Chaudenson (1974, 1979). The other one, represented by, inter alia, Hull (1979) and Baker and Corne (1982), is called the 'Isle de France Theory'. In the following, both theories will be explained in turn and discussed briefly.

The Bourbonnais Theory, named after the former name of Reunion (Ile de Bourbon), states that a Creole developed on this island. Furthermore, Chaudenson (1979: 235) argues that the Creole that evolved in Reunion was a restructuring from dialectal and popular 17th century French and that substrate influences - apart from the lexicon - or a substrate base cannot be assumed for RC. This Creole was then subsequently brought to the other islands in the Indian Ocean (Chaudenson 1974). According to Chaudenson (1979: 225), the role of the settlers from Mauritius and especially Reunion was vital in the population of the Seychelles and in the process of language transmission. Therefore, he assumes that KS originated in Reunion, and was brought to the Seychelles (also via Mauritius, to which RC had been brought earlier).

In contrast to this, Hull (1979: 212), Baker and Corne (1982) and Corne (1999) argue that KS derives from a Creole that formed on Mauritius, independent of RC. Hull argues that early MC derived from a Pidgin French, which developed in Guinea, West Africa, and which was brought to Mauritius "by sailors, soldiers, and traders, who by the early eighteenth century must have been quite generally diglossic in French and PidgFr [Pidgin French]" (Hull 1979: 213). However, Baker and Corne (1982) as well as Corne (1999) argue that a Pidgin developed on Mauritius and that MC evolved between 1721 and 1750-70 and should therefore be categorized as a Plantation Creole. This view is supported by Adone (1994)[7]. MC was then brought to the Seychelles and developed into today's KS, as well as to Rodrigues where it became ROC. Therefore,

[7]As a third possibility of MC genesis, Parkvall (1999) suggests that a Pidgin developed in Senegal that was then diffused by slaves to the respective countries, e.g. to Mauritius.

all three creoles (MC, KS, ROC) are classified by Baker and Corne (1982: 8) as 'Isle de France Creole' (IFC) and are contrasted with RC.

The evidence that Baker and Corne (1982) put forward in support of their theory is manifold and can be divided into linguistic and historical evidence[8]. The first argument of linguistic nature is that MC, KS and ROC are mutually intelligible to a high degree, in contrast to RC (Baker and Corne 1982: 8, 1986: 163). Furthermore, a contrastive analysis of the verbal system in RC and IFC shows that they are indeed taken to be different languages, even though they share some features, such as final-vowel deletion[9] (Baker and Corne 1982: 102). In addition, syntactic structures such as double predication, predicate-fronting and the *ganny* passive are adduced as evidence for the theory by Baker and Corne (1982), as these structures cannot be found in RC. Historical evidence is based on documents that depict the peopling of Mauritius. Baker and Corne (1982: 142ff.) show that people from Reunion did not constitute a significant presence during the settling of Mauritius and, hence, RC could not have been an influence on or the origin of MC.

Baker and Corne (1982: 115ff.) acknowledge that there are similarities between RC and IFC. They trace these similarities to "the varieties of French that served as input to RC and MC" (Baker and Corne 1982: 115). However, in contrast to Chaudenson (1979), they argue that substrate influence, for example in the use of the preverbal marker *fin* or *in*, can be observed and that RC is not the predecessor of MC, as described above. In addition, Baker and Corne (1982: 114f.) and Corne (1999: 67) also note the connection between RC and KS, for example in the so-called *pa i* construction and lexical similarities such as *komela*, 'now', and *nabu/abu*, 'be able'. According to them, this can be explained by the simultaneous settlement of the Seychelles from Mauritius and Reunion and, therefore, they identify a "privileged link" (Baker and Corne 1982: 115) between the two Creoles that is not present between the other IOCs. However, they maintain that this is due to language contact between RC and KS rather than a matter of shared descent[10].

The present thesis assumes that KS descends from MC and was brought to the Seychelles after 1770 and therefore can be considered, as Michaelis and Rosalie (2013a: 262) call it, an "offshoot of Mauritian Creole". This is the reason why the two Creoles are mutually intelligible. However, MC and KS also differ because of the special link between KS and RC as well as internal, independent developments[11].

The development of KS and its use in society is linked to French and British rule. Whereas, on the one hand, KS was spoken by the majority of people and used

[8] In the following, only some of the main arguments can be named. For further information, cf. Baker and Corne (1982, 1986) and Corne (1999).

[9] Cf. also (2.3) below.

[10] For a summary of the origin and development of Creoles found in the Indian Ocean cf. Figure 1 in Baker and Corne (1986: 166).

[11] They also differ from each other since MC was also influenced by the introduction of a high number of Indian indentured laborers into Mauritius, who were not present in the Seychelles (Baker and Corne 1986: 164f.).

for everyday communication, KS was not only disregarded in official contexts, but also not considered to be a language in its own right. D'Offay (1980: 268) summarizes the sociolinguistic situation before 1977 as "the dominant group, speaking the dominant language, had managed to persuade the creole-speakers that their 'speech' was so inferior in status as to be a 'non language'". This can, for example, be seen in Jones (1952: 237ff.), in which KS is called "a debased kind of pidgin French", which exhibits no "grammar or syntax" and is a "mutilation [...] of the French language". The effect of such linguistic imperialism can be seen in Lionnet (1972: 111), who was born in Mauritius, as he remarks: "As with the other French creoles, the Seychelles creole is ornate and colorful, but is has some shortcomings. It has no orthography, being only spoken, and it cannot be used to express abstractions. Because of these shortcomings, creole does not deserve the status of a distinct language".

As described above, during the British rule, schools, mainly from the Catholic and Anglican Mission, were established on the Seychelles. Until 1944 French was used as a medium of instruction, while after this date, English was used and French was taught as a foreign language (Bollée 1977: 12). KS was not taught in school and its use was prohibited. Some participants of the current study report being beaten or otherwise punished for using KS on the playground of the school or during classes.

This sociolinguistic situation changed in the 1960s and '70s, particularly after independence. First of all, D'Offay states that there was a "gradual change in the attitude of people towards creole" (quoted in Bollée 1977: 14). KS began to be used on the radio for news, stories and other programs, the Church introduced KS into their services and, during the election campaign in 1974, almost all of the speeches were made in KS (Bollée 1977, 1993). Furthermore, in the same year, a translation of the Gospel according to Mark, *Levangile Saint Marc*, was published in KS, based on French orthography with new elements (Bollée 1977)[12]. In 1979, KS was declared an official language by the newly adopted constitution of the Republic of the Seychelles and was subsequently elevated to the status of the first national language (Bollée 1993: 87; *Constitution of the Seychelles* 1993: §4). This is highly remarkable as this was one of the first countries to do so world-wide. Furthermore, KS was introduced into the education system. First, the use of KS in schools was allowed and encouraged (D'Offay 1980: 268) and in 1981 and 1982 KS was introduced as a medium of instruction in school. Today, KS is used as a medium of instruction in all subjects until the end of P2. In P3 most subjects are taught in English, while KS is only used in some subjects as the medium and is retained as a subject (Ministry of Education 2013).

With KS gaining official status as well as being introduced in schools, a standardized orthography was required. As mentioned above, the first printed text in KS made use of a French-based orthography that was developed during a conference in 1974 (Bollée 1977: 16). However, there were two reservations concerning the first at-

[12]Earlier written documents are scarce; cf. Stein (2007) and Jones (1952).

tempt at orthography for KS as Bollée in Accouche (1976: 9) observes: First, as KS is a fully-fledged language of its own, it should have an orthography different to French and second, with a different orthography, no knowledge of French would be necessary[13]. This led to the development of a phonemic orthography, which was published in Bollée and D'Offay (1979) and had already been used in Accouche (1976) and was later used in, for example D'Offay and Lionnet (1982), and all subsequent publications.

There are several grammars and studies that have been written about KS. The first were Bollée (1977) and Corne (1977), followed by Michaelis (1994) and Kriegel (1996). The first books that appeared on the Acquisition of MC and KS are Adone (1994, 2012). The most recent grammar by Choppy (2013) is not only about KS, but is also written in KS. The most recent studies are written by Brück (2016) and this present study. As mentioned above, a dictionary of KS was compiled by D'Offay and Lionnet (1982). Furthermore, a lexeme list was published by Lenstiti Kreol and Minister Ledikasyon (2013) as well as a trilingual dictionary for children by Gillieaux and Choppy (2012). Finally, many stories, novels, poems and other works of fiction have been published since 1974: for example, Abel (1982), Robert (1999), Valentin (2001), and Melanie (2012). These were mainly published and supported by the Lenstiti Kreol, one of the main institutions for KS on the Seychelles.

The Lenstiti Kreol was founded in 1986 and today consists of the language unit, the literature unit, a translation unit, the library as well as administrative offices. Its main objective is "to ensure the linguistic and cultural development of the Creole language" (*Creole Insitute of Seychelles Act* 2014: §4). Its main functions are described as: "developing and promoting KS, assisting and supporting activities and research that develop Kreol literature, language and culture and conducting educational and awareness programs concerning KS" (Adone, Gabel, and Brück 2016: 34). A further institution that should be named in this capacity and which also deals with the promotion and development of KS is the Komite Kreol, which was founded in 1979 in order to preserve and develop the lexicon and nowadays is associated with the Lenstiti Kreol. At present, the Komite Kreol is preparing a bilingual KS-English Dictionary. Furthermore, the University of Seychelles, founded in 2009, launched a Creole Language and Culture Research Institute in 2016[14].

Today, approximately 99% of the population of the Seychelles speak KS as their mother tongue (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a: 262), it is part of the school curriculum and is also used in a variety of contexts, ranging from usage at home to usage in church and the media as well as in the national assembly. It is for this reason that a strict diglossia cannot be assumed in the Seychelles (Hoareau 2010: 414). Nevertheless, recent studies by Fleischmann (2008) and Hoareau (2010) as well as this study (chapter

[13] According to Bollée (1977: 17), D'Offay also conducted surveys concerning the French-based orthography proposed in 1974. Most participants had problems with the included diacritics and did not accept this way of writing KS.

[14] This list of institutions and their activities on the Seychelles is by no means complete and represents only a selection.

(6.) show that, even though KS has a high status and is occasionally used in formal contexts, a distinction between written and spoken as well as formal and informal situations is nevertheless evident. Therefore, Hoareau (2010: 414) analyzes the current linguistic situation as a 'hierarchical triglossia', which is characterized and dependent on different degrees of functions, representations and individual competence of addressers and addressees. For example, even though KS is used in the National Assembly, most written products of the assembly are in English (Hoareau 2010: 375). Furthermore, all legal and judicial texts are conducted in English. As noted above, KS is used in school as a medium of instruction until the end of P2. However, in higher stages of education, KS only plays a minor role and all final exams are taken in English (Hoareau 2010: 375). Most newspaper articles are written in English, followed by French articles (Hoareau 2010: 375). Nevertheless, Hoareau (2010: 375) remarks that KS is also used in printed newspapers. Finally, in church all three languages are used, though in different functions and depending on the religion. The liturgy is in French (Catholics) or English (Anglicans). For the sermon either the respective European language is used or otherwise KS (Hoareau 2010: 376).

The distinction between oral and written language use has also been noted by Fleischmann (2008). Her study on attitudes towards KS has shown that many people are ambivalent towards using KS. Whereas most participants are very proud of KS and use it daily at home and in informal situations, they "also rejected KS as a formal or written language" (Fleischmann 2008: 192). Fleischmann (2008: 192f.) argues that this is due to the Seychelles' colonial legacy and the notion that English or French are prestigious languages and are seen as vital in national and individual development, such as in socioeconomic terms or with regard to status and power[15]. The results of the sociolinguistic questionnaire gathered during the present study support Fleischmann's (2008), Hoareau's (2010) as well as Brück's (2016) findings. These will be described, analyzed and discussed in chapter (6.)).

2.3 Selected Aspects of KS Grammar

In the following, a short outline of some linguistics features of KS will be given. The list is by no means complete, focusing on important aspects that will be relevant for the analysis and discussion of the current study. The passages about verbs, TMA as well as the "mysterious *i*" are particularly important for the remainder of this work on SVCs. A comprehensive overview of all of the features of KS can be found in Choppy (2013), Bollée (1977), Corne (1977) and Michaelis and Rosalie (2013a,b).

[15]Likewise, Laversuch (2008) argues that language policies and practices are influenced by and in turn influence economic development.

2.3.1 Lexicon and general sentence structure

As indicated above, KS is a French-based Creole. Therefore, according to Michaelis and Rosalie (2013a: 268), over 98% of the lexicon is of standard and non-standard French origin from the 17th and 18th centuries. Further influences on the lexicon are Bantu, Malagasy, and, to a limited extent, West African languages. Furthermore, many lexical items borrowed from English can be discerned and today English is the "most important donor language" (Michaelis and Rosalie 2009). Also, many instances of code-switching can be observed in the present study, particularly amongst younger participants.

The word order in main clauses is SVO. Declarative main clauses consist of (DP)+IP+VP+(DP/PP). As can be seen from the brackets around the first DP, subject pronouns can be left out as KS can be classified as a null subject language (Adone, Gabel, and Choppy 2017)[16]. Yes/No questions are either formed by a rising intonation contour at the end of the sentence or by using *eski* in the beginning of the sentence. The latter, however, is used in more formal contexts (Choppy 2013: 53). Other interrogative clauses are preceded by question words such as *ki*, 'who/what', *koman*, 'how' or *kan*, 'when' (Corne 1977: 178). Exclamative sentences are likewise formed with a different intonation contour, with an interrogation pronoun such as *ki mannyer* 'how' or with other exclamation markers such as *be wi* 'oh, yes' (Choppy 2013: 53f.). Imperatives are formed by the deletion of the subject as well as any preverbal markers. For the first person plural, *annou*, 'let's', is used to mark imperatives (Corne 1977: 183f.).

The copula of *to be* is not expressed overtly. This can be seen in the following examples, taken from Corne (1977: 62f.)[17]:

(3) lerwa i en bon dimoun
The King ? D good person
'The king is a good person.'[18]

(4) Ler mon ti lekol
When PRN TNS at school
'When I was at school.'

Overt copulas can occur in questions, such as in the following, also taken from Corne (1977: 63).

[16]However, the exact nature of the null subject remains unclear. It seems that in existentials the most likely candidate for the empty category is small *pro*, whereas in all other cases the null subject may be analyzed as variables or null constants. This is a still an issue open to debate.

[17]Here and in the following, the orthography of KS will be adjusted to the standard form as proposed by Bollée and D'Offay (1979) and used in the Seychelles today. If the interlinear translation and/or translation is missing, it will be added by the author of the present study. Finally, if the interlinear translation is present in the original, the notation and terminology will be adapted to the one used in this study.

[18]For a detailed analysis of *i*, cf. chapter (2.3.5) below.

(5) Ki Zan ti ete
Who John TNS be
'What did John used to be?'

2.3.2 Nouns

In KS, nouns are not marked for case, number and gender (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b: 263). The French articles *la, le, les, du* are agglutinated to the noun and are an invariable part of the noun, such as *lakwizin, lezot, disik*, 'the kitchen, the others, sugar'. If gender is expressed, an additional free morpheme, either *mal* or *femel*, 'male' or 'female', is added. Likewise, plural is marked by the free morpheme *bann*. Adjectives usually follow the noun unless the adjective is often used, in which case it may occur in front of the noun (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b: 263).

Bare nouns are relatively common and can express singular and plural, definiteness and indefiniteness, specificity and non-specificity as well as individuation and non-individuation dependent on the context (Brück 2016: 102). Nevertheless, some determiners are present in KS, such as the indefinite article *en* and demonstratives such as *sa*, 'this, that', which may also be used as a definite article[19].

Personal pronouns have different forms depending on whether they appear in specifier or complement/objective position (Choppy 2013: 58f.). In subject position these are *mon, ou, i, nou, zot, zot*, while in objective position, they appear as *mwan, ou, li, nou, zot, zot*. Reflexive pronouns can be realized differently in KS. Either, the personal pronoun is used anaphorically or reflexives are composed of the objective pronouns plus *menm* 'self'. The third option is to use the personal pronoun plus a form of *lekor*, 'body' (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b). Finally, there are also possessive pronouns *mon, ou, son, nou, zot, zot*.

2.3.3 Verbs

Verbs are not inflected for person, number and gender or tense, aspect and mood[20] (Choppy 2013: 78). In general, verbs can be classified into verbs which have a long and a short form (6) and those that are invariable (7). The examples below are taken from Choppy (2013: 78ff):

(6) a. naz - naze, 'to swim'
b. rod - rode, 'to search'
c. anmenn - anmennen, 'to bring'

(7) a. soufle, 'to blow'
b. dormi, 'to sleep'

[19] According to some scholars, such as Corne (1977) and Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b: 263), *bann* can also be used as a definite article. However, Brück (2016: 104) argues that *bann* should be taken solely as a plural marker and, therefore, the only articles that are present in KS are *en* and *sa*.
[20] For the TMA system, cf. chapter (2.3.4) below.

c. fer, ‘to do’

According to Corne (1977: 73) the first class of verbs, which have a long and a short form, can be further subdivided into those verbs ending in /e/ and those that have a nasalized vowel and a voiced stop plus /e/. Therefore, he assumes the following phonological rule that licenses the short forms: (X) (C) VC*e*. Hence, a necessary precondition for final vowel truncation is the occurrence of the order of Vowel, Consonant and /e/. Shortening does not appear if either consonant clusters such as in (7a.) are present[21], or if a different vowel to *e* appears at the end of the verb (7b.) or if there is no vowel at all (7c.). The only exception to this is the verb *vini* ’to come’, with its short form *vin*.

The distribution of long and short forms is syntactically conditioned, even though there seems to be some variation. According to Choppy (2013: 87), the short form is used if the verb takes an argument, as shown in example (8). Furthermore, the short form is used if the verb takes a VP complement, i.e. an infinitive (9), as well as a predicative complement (10). Finally, the short form is preferred if it is followed by a PP or an adverb indicating a location (11)[22].

(8) I alim sa labouzi
PRN lights D candle
‘He lights this candle.’

(9) En msye in al aste en bouke fler
D man ASP go buy D bouquet
‘A man has gone to by some flowers.’

(10) Mon pou vin ris en zour
PRN ASP become rich D day
‘I will be rich one day.’ (Corne 1977: 82)

(11) I annan en msye ki’n mont dan letaz
? have D man who.ASP ascend on the stairs
‘There is a man who has gone up the stairs.’

According to Choppy (2013: 88), the long form is used where it is followed by a preposition of manner or time. However, Corne (1977: 84f.) argues that manner PPs and adverbials allow for both long and short forms, with the short form being preferred. It seems as if there is “a wide range of optionality” (Corne 1977: 83) of long and short forms where prepositional phrases as well as adverbials of location, time and manner are concerned. For example, as indicated above, the short form is used before prepositional phrases that indicate a location. Even if the preposition is not used, the short form is chosen, as can be seen in example (12). However, there are also cases where the long form is used when a location is indicated without the preposition (example 13).

[21] Corne (1977: 76) notes one exception, which is a consonant cluster of *r*C. However, /r/ deletion applies and therefore, the rule (X)(C)VC*e* can be maintained.

[22] If not mentioned otherwise, all examples are taken from the corpus of the current study.

(12) Mari in al laboutik
Mari ASP go shop
'Mari has gone to the shop.'

(13) I reste Kaskad
PRN lives Kaskad
'He lives at Cascade.'

Furthermore, the long form is used if a gerund or a Complementizer Phrase (CP) follows the verb. If the verb is in sentence or clause final position, the long form is used as well (Choppy 2013: 87f.). Finally, Choppy (2013: 88) and Corne (1977: 78) indicate that the long form is also used if the verb receives stress, no matter in which environment it occurs.

In conclusion, one can say that the long and short form alternation is a phonological deletion process that is rule governed and syntactically determined depending on the type of material that follows the verb. However, there seems to be a significant amount of variation and optionality, as is evident from the examples taken from Corne (1977: 87) and the present data. In general, one can say that the long form is used if the verb is either in sentence final or clause final position. Furthermore, it seems that the long form is preferred when the verb is followed by an adjunct. The short form is used if the verb is followed by an argument as well as by other types of complements, such as predicative complements. Finally, the short form is used if it is followed by a VP complement. Wal and Veenstra (2015) as well as Veenstra (2017), and references therein, come to a similar conclusion concerning the discussion of long and short forms in MC. To simplify, one can state that the long form is usually used when clause final or when followed by an adjunct, and the short form is used when followed by an argument or a complement. Exceptions to this may be focus/stress as well as applicative processes (Veenstra 2017). This distribution concerning short and long forms is important for the discussion of the structure of SVCs, as the long form is used in these constructions. This matter will be discussed in further detail in chapter (11.4).

2.3.4 TMA System and Negation

Tense and aspect are expressed with the help of invariant preverbal markers and always appear in the order T+A if they are combined[23]. Modality is indicated by a combination of tense markers. Furthermore, preverbal auxiliaries (AUX) are also used to indicate mood, e.g. deontic modality. The following paradigm and selected combinations can be established:

[23]This is a simplified and shortened description of TMA markers in KS. For an extensive analysis and discussion cf. Michaelis (1993).

Table 2.1: Tense and Aspect markers in KS, based on Choppy (2013), Corne (1974, 1977), Stein (1984) and Bickerton (1989), to be refined below

	Description	Marker	Etymology
T	Present	Ø; (i?)	Ø; (il(s)?)
	Past	ti, Ø	était
	Future	a(va)	aller
	Future	pou	pour
A	Progressive	(a)pe	après
	Completive	(i)n	finir
	Immediate Comp.	fek	Il ne fait que de

Table 2.2: Most common marker combinations in KS (based on Choppy (2013); own translation)

Description	Markers	Approximate translation
Completive aspect in the future	pou + in/ ava + in	'will have been/done'
Completive aspect in the past	ti + in	'has been/done'
Progressive aspect in the immediate past	fek + pe	'has just been doing'
Progressive aspect in the past	ti + pe	'was doing'
Conditional	ti+ pou/ ti + a	'would'
Conditional in past	ti + pou/ a + in	'would have'

Concerning tense, it can be seen from example (14) that verbs that are not marked usually have a present tense reading. It has been proposed by Bickerton (1989) that *i* can also be classified as a marker for present tense. This idea will be discussed below in chapter (2.3.5). Past tense is mostly indicated by *ti* (example (15)) but this particle can be dropped within a narrative once the tense frame has been set (Corne 1974: 57). The future is indicated either by *pou* or *a(va)* as shown in examples (16 and 17). Choppy (2013: 80) remarks, that most people do not percieve a distinction between the two future tense markers, which is also the case in the examples below. However, she argues that some use *pou* for statements in the future that are more certain in contrast to sentences with *a(va)*, which indicate uncertainty[24]. The differentiation of certain and uncertain future markers also has been highlighted in MC (Baker 1972: 109f.; Syea

[24]In contrast, Bollée (1977: 58) argues that *pou* indicates uncertainty, whereas *a(va)* indicates more certain statements. This cannot be maintained based on Choppy (2013: 80) and Corne (1977: 103). Cf. also the discussion concerning modality below.

2013b: 111). Furthermore, this notion of certainty and uncertainty also refers to the idea that the future can be used to express modality. This will be discussed below. Finally, *pou* is usually used after negation, as can be seen from example (18).

(14) I ø ouver laport
PRN ø open door
'He opens the door.'

(15) Mon ti al travay
PRN PST go work
'I went to work.'

(16) Mon pou prepar li byen for
PRN FUT prepare it very spicy
'I will prepare it [the fish] very spicy.'

(17) Nou ava prepar en lantir sosis parey nou dir
PRN FUT prepare D lentil sausage as PRN say
'We will prepare lentils with sausage as we call it.'

(18) Wi, pa pou dir mon non
Yes, NEG FUT say PRN name
'Yes, I will not say my name.'

Concerning aspect, there are three different markers: *in* to mark completive aspect, *fek* to mark an action completed in the immediate past and *pe* to mark progressive aspect. *In* is in allophonic distribution with *n*. The latter is used if it is preceded by a vowel. The use of the aspect markers can be seen in the examples (19-22) below. As the corpus of the present study did not contain a sentence with *fek*, the sentence in (21) is taken from Choppy (2013: 80).

(19) En msye in zet en tas ater
D man ASP throw D cup on the ground
'A man has thrown a cup on the ground.'

(20) I'n zet sa tas ater
PRN.ASP throw D cup on the ground
'He has thrown this cup on the ground.'

(21) Mari fek al lanmes
Mari ASP go mass
'Mary has just gone to mass.'

(22) En msye pe mont bisiklet
D man ASP ascend bike
'A man is mounting a bike.'

Modality, such as irrealis, can be expressed by a combination of past tense *ti* and future *a/pou*. In this case, it can be argued that the future marker can be seen rather as a mood marker than a tense marker. The close connection between future and modality has also been discussed in the literature for English and other languages (Palmer 1990; Comrie 1985; Enç 1997 and others) and for Creole languages (Bickerton 1981: 58). For MC and KS this has been argued by, inter alia, Syea (2013b: 24), Guillemin (2011: 3), and Bollée (1977: 58). The latter asserts that future can also have a modal reading referring to (un)certainty and (in)determination. Furthermore, this partly ties in with the core TMA system proposed by Bickerton (1975, 1981) for Creole languages that consist of invariable, preverbal TMA markers which may be combined but only in the invariant order of T+M+A[25]. This invariable order can also be found in KS in the following sentences, abbreviated and taken from Choppy (2013: 82).

(23) Zot ti a voudre konnen...
PRN TNS MOD want know
'They would want to know...'

(24) Lanmerik ti a' n kapab ed Lafrik plis
America TNS MOD ASP can help Africa more
'America could have helped Africa more.'

Therefore, the suggestion in the present study is to treat *pou/a(va)* as M-markers, indicating modality, i.e. realis and irrealis. Hence, table (2.1) above has to be recast as (2.3):

Table 2.3: Tense, Mood and Aspect markers in KS

	Description	Marker	Etymology
T	Present	Ø; (i?)	Ø; (il(s)?)
	Past	ti, Ø	était
M	Irealis	a(va)	aller
	Realis	pou	pour
A	Progressive	(a)pe	après
	Completive	(i)n	finir
	Immediate Completive	fek	Il ne fait que de

Other possibilities to express modality in KS are preverbal auxiliaries such as *kapab*, 'can', *bezwen*, 'need/must', *fodre*, 'have to' and *dwatet*, 'must' (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a: 256). Finally, negation is indicated by an invariable *pa* that precedes all other TMA markers (Corne 1977: 95), which is also exemplified in (18).

[25]For a critical discussion and refutation of Bickerton's core TMA system in KS, cf. Michaelis (1993).

Therefore, the aforementioned structure of main declarative clauses can be further differentiated according to the following 'blueprint' for KS[26]. This structure has also been assumed by Syea (2013b: 32) and Guillemin (2011: 3) for MC:

(25) (DP)+NegP+TP+ModP+AspP+AUXP+VP+(DP/PP)

2.3.5 "The mysterious i"

As already indicated above, the status of the morpheme *i* in KS is highly disputed and, therefore, was named the 'mysterious i' by Corne (1974). A similar element can also be found in RC. The first function of *i* is as a 3rd person singular pronoun. This is exemplified in, for instance, (8), (14) and (20). However, the function of *i* in examples such as (3) and (11) is not clear. Several proposals have been made concerning this morpheme. It has been taken as a reprise subject (Corne 1974, 1977; Papen 1978) or as a tense marker indicating present tense (Chaudenson 1974; Bickerton 1989, 1990). The status of *i* is of particular relevance for the analysis of SVCs, as in some putative SVCs found in the data corpus of this study this element is present, raising the question of whether a repeated subject or a repeated TMA marker can be found, which in turn has consequences for the analysis of structures of SVCs in KS[27].

Bollée (1977: 61) notes the uncertain status of *i* and, without making any claims concerning its nature, describes its distribution[28]. She argues that *i* is obligatory after a singular noun or a proper name. For instance, this is the case in examples (3) above, repeated as (26) below, as well as in (27), taken from Choppy (2013: 80), in which *i* follows the singular noun *lerwa*, 'king' and the name *Marta* respectively.

(26) lerwa i en bon dimoun
The King ? D good person
'The king is a good person.'

(27) Marta i danse
Marta ? dance
'Marta dances.'

Furthermore, Bollée (1977: 61) describes *i* as almost always occurring before *a(va)*, never before *ti*[29], *pou* and *pa* and optionally before *pe* and *fek*. Papen (1978: 490), in turn, argues that *i* never occurs before *pe* but may occur before the aspect marker's variant *ape*. He also notices that, in addition to the blocking of *i* with the past tense marker, it also cannot occur before the future tense marker *pou*. The occurrence together with the aspect marker *in* is difficult to ascertain, as phonological assimilation

[26] This is a simplified structure which does not include light verb phrases and other possible projections such as a functional projection above NegP as proposed by Syea (2013b: 150f.).
[27] Cf. also chapter (3.2),(3.3), (4.1), (11.) as well as the respective chapters in part (II).
[28] Here and in the following only the 'mysterious *i*' will be discussed and not the 3rd person pronoun.
[29] Of course, the sequence *i* plus *ti* can indeed be found in KS if *i* is a 3rd person pronoun, cf. example (42) and the subsequent discussion.

takes place. Therefore, the transcription can either be *i'n* or *in*. Bollée (1977: 61) opts for the latter, as she argues that *i* is optional in front of *in* based on the analogically optional occurrence of *i* before *fin* in her data. Likewise, Choppy (2013: 48, 80) chooses the same orthography in the following examples and thereby indirectly assumes no reprise subject:

(28) Mari in al lanmes
Mary ASP go mass
'Mary has gone to mass.'

(29) Zanfan in manze
child ASP eat
'The child has eaten.'

According to Bollée (1977: 62), *i* can also occur after plural nouns, in free variation with *zot*, the 2nd/3rd person plural pronoun. This can be seen in the following two examples, the first of which is taken from a discussion about *i* during a teacher training in 2016 (Adone & Brück, p.c.), the second of which is taken from the present data corpus.

(30) Tou dimoun i malad
All people ? sick
'Everybody is sick.'

(31) Bann dizef i blan, eh?
PL egg ? white, eh
'Those eggs are white, eh?'

Corne (1974: 69), in contrast to the free variation analysis proposed by Bollée (1977) , assumes that sentences beginning with a plural noun subject, with the exception of *zot*, obligatorily "require reprise by *i*". This is due to the fact, he argues, that those sentences presented by Bollée (1977) are instances in which there is an intonational break in between, i.e. these sentences could be analyzed as focus sentences. Likewise, Corne (1974: 89) excludes examples such as the following from his analysis of the 'mysterious *i*' as these are instances of focused DPs followed by a third person pronoun *i*.

(32) Lerwa, i napa en basen, li
King, PRN no(ne) D pond, PRN
'The king, he does not have a pond.'

In conclusion, it can be said that, based on the description of Bollée (1977), *i* seems to be in complementary distribution with a tense marker, assuming that *a(va)* is seen as a mood marker rather than T as discussed above in chapter (2.3.4). However, as Corne (1977) argues, other aspects of the distribution of *i* in reference to TMA markers are difficult to explain due to the optional nature of its occurrence. His solution is to suggest a phonological blocking of *i* due to a subsequent plosive such as *ti*, *pa*, *pe* and

pou. Papen's (1978) observation that *i* occurs before *ape* but not with *pe* would support this assumption. However, this is partly in contrast to Bollée (1977), who assumes that *i* can indeed optionally occur before *pe* as indicated above. Finally, *i* only occurs after 3rd person subjects, predominantly after singular nouns but it also may also occur after those that are plurally marked.

The distribution of *i* in elicited as well as semi-spontaneous data[30] from the present study can be seen in table (2.4) below.

Table 2.4: Distribution of 'mysterious *i*' in current spoken data

Item	Occurrence
i total	65
i + SG	60
i + PL	5
i + pe	3
i + ti	1
i + other TMA	0
i + no TMA	58
i + pa	3

For this distribution, only occurrences of the combination of proper noun/name + *i* have been counted in order to exclude instances of personal pronoun *i* as the subject. As can be seen, *i* is used 65 times in total in the present study. Of these 65 occurrences, *i* was used 5 times in combination with a plurally marked subject. In one instance *i* was used as a (reprise) pronoun after a focused DP, which can be seen from the intonational pattern. In 58 cases *i* was not followed by any TMA marker. Three instances of DP + *i* + *pe* can be discerned, all uttered by the same person. This person also uttered one sentence in which *pe* was not preceded by *i*. In comparison, 76 sentences with the combination proper noun + *pe* without intervening *i* were uttered in total. Therefore, the data suggest that this is an idiosyncrasy and/or slip of a tongue that is not significant. Moreover, *i* occurred once in combination with the tense marker *ti*, but, once again, this is most likely a focused sentence due to intonational contour and may therefore be excluded for the discussion. Finally, *i* appeared three times in combination with a negation marker. All in all, it can be said that *i* predominantly appears after singular nouns and without additional TMA markers. However, based on this corpus, combinations such as *i* + *a(va)* or *pou* cannot be excluded. This is due to the fact that the chosen methods are not likely to elicit future/modal sentences. Moreover, only oral data have been taken into consideration for this overview. An analysis of written data was not possible within the scope of this study. Finally, the combination *i* and *in* was not calculated as this is not possible due to the phonological

[30]For a description of the corpus as well as methodology, cf. chapter (5.).

aspects mentioned above. Nevertheless, in analogy to the other aspect marker *pe*, it can be assumed that *i* likewise does not appear in front of *in*, except, of course, when it is employed as a 3rd person pronoun.

Having described the distribution of *i*, the next section will deal with the origin, nature and definition of this particle. According to Chaudenson (1974) and Corne (1977), a parallel construction can be found in the lexifier French. The example Corne (1977: 39) gives is *le chien il vient* and *les chiens ils viennent*. However, Corne (1977: 39) argues that this source is unlikely for RC as *i* can occur with any person and number, which is not possible in French. For KS, this explanation could be valid as *i* is solely used for the 3rd person (i.e. sg./pl. nouns and proper names). Corne (1974, 1977) nevertheless argues that *i* can be linked to RC but that the morpheme has a different origin. He assumes that *i* in RC developed along the following lines[31]:

(33) Moin le ki manz la viann
PRN PRS/COP REL eat D meat
'I am (the one) who eats meat.'

(34) Moin ki manz la viann
PRN REL eat D meat
'I am (the one) who eats meat.'

(35) M i manz la viann
PRN REL/PAR D eat meat
'I am (the one) who eats the meat'.

As can be seen in the examples (33)-(35), first, the present tense copula *le* that is optional in RC, according to Corne (1974: 76), is deleted. Thereafter, the relative pronoun *ki* is reduced to *i* based on morphophonemic rules[32]. Corne (1974: 83) argues that *i* in RC has the same origin as the particle *i* in KS and traces it back to a "putative proto-Creole we shall call 'Bourbonnais' (B)" (Corne 1977: 42). Therefore, *i* originates via the structure copula + *ki* + V. Hence, *i* in KS is treated in Corne's analysis as a reprise subject having evolved from the relative pronoun *ki*.

According to Corne (1974, 1977), this approach can also account for the complementary distribution of *ti* and *i* and the restriction to 3rd person in KS as well as the optional occurrence before *in/fin/fini*. Optionality derives from the idea that *fini* can be an aspect marker as well as a full verb. Derived from *ki*, *i* can occur before the full verb *fini*. This analysis is then analogically extended towards *in* as an aspect marker due to "categorial confusion" (Corne 1974: 79). As for the complementary distribution with *ti*, *i* cannot precede the tense marker as the rule stated above delimits the

[31] Corne's (1977) orthography in RC has been assimilated by the author of the present study to the one presented in Armand (2014) and the interlinear translation has been added, whereas the English translation is from the original article.

[32] However, he himself argues that this "postulated reduction of *k* to zero appears completely unmotivated phonologically, and unsupported by any similar phonemic reduction on other lexical or grammatical items"(Corne 1974: 79).

occurrence of *(k)i* to a position directly in front of the verb. However, this analysis cannot explain why *ti* and *i* cannot co-occur in the order of *ti* + *i* + verb. As will be illustrated below in (36), this is indeed possible in RC. Furthermore, this analysis does not delimit the occurrence of *i* together with other persons apart from the 3rd person. Once again, this is possible in RC, as is evident from the following sentence, taken from Corne (1977: 40):

(36) Mwen (le)te i manz lavian
PRN PST/COP REL/PAR eat meat
'I was (the one) who eats meat.'

Corne (1974, 1977) argues that there may be a "link between the *i* deriving from Copula + *ki* + V, and the *i* deriving from what we may confidently assume to be genuine third person reprise" (Corne 1977: 42) which can be found in the French lexifier as indicated above. This is the assumed reason why the distribution of *i* is restricted to the 3rd person in KS whereas in RC the distribution can be explained by the derivation from *ki*. This leads to the assumption that *i* in KS is of 'partial double origin' whereas in RC the origin is explained by the *ki* derivation only.

In contrast to Corne (1974), Chaudenson (1974: 966ff.) argues that the morpheme *i* in RC is an indicator of present tense. His analysis of RC *i* is based on the argument that the same distribution can be observed in KS. Likewise, Bickerton (1989) follows this analysis and argues for the interpretation of *i* as a tense/nonanterior marker which may have derived from a subject reprise but was then reanalyzed. He bases his argument on the following assumptions. First, if this were a phenomenon of subject reprise in KS, it should agree in ϕ-features (i.e. gender, number and person) with the preceding subject. Therefore, sentences such as the following examples (37) and (38) cannot be accounted for as *i* does not agree in number feature with the subject.

(37) Bann zannimo i tann sa
PL animal ? hear D
'The animals hear that.' (Corne 1974: 69)

(38) Zot dizef i blan, eh?
PRN.PL eggs ? white, eh?
'Those eggs are white, eh?'

A second reason Bickerton (1989: 168) gives for the analysis of *i* as a tense marker is its complementary distribution with *ti* and *pou* indicating past and future tense. As elements that are in this type of distribution are considered to be of the same type, it can be concluded that *i* also has to be a tense marker.

Bickerton (1989: 169) argues that further evidence can be adduced for his analysis of *i* based on existential constructions. He claims that, in existential impersonal sentences, no subject is used in KS. This is also the value shown for this feature in APiCS (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b) and can be seen in the comparison of the following sentences taken from Bickerton (1989: 169):

(39) ti annan de liv isi
∅ TNS have two book here
'There were two books here.'

(40) I ti annan de liv isi
PRN TNS have two book here
'He had two books here.'

In example (39), the only reading available is the impersonal one, i.e. it cannot mean *He had two books here.* The latter reading is represented in (40). If the sentence is in the present tense, as in example (41) below, both readings are possible, the impersonal as well as the personal.

(41) I annan de liv isi
PRN/∅ TNS have two books here
'He has two books here.' and 'There are two books here.'

Bickerton (1989) argues that if the latter reading is intended, *i* cannot be the 3rd personal pronoun as null subjects are obligatory in impersonal existential sentences in KS. This analysis has also been proposed by Adone, Gabel, and Choppy (2017). Furthermore, *i* cannot be a reprise subject as no R-expression precedes it and therefore it is not licensed. The only other option available is to analyze the particle *i* as a present tense marker, as shown in the gloss. Bickerton (1989) therefore assumes that *i* has been introduced in KS in the following way: The origin indeed lies in the resumptive pronoun found in French (cf. *le chien il vient* above) but was re-analyzed after introduction into KS as an agreement marker for the 3rd person. This in turn evolved into a tense marker for nonpast/nonanterior. This analysis has implications for the occurrence and analysis of SVCs in KS, as will be discussed below in chapter (4.).

This analysis has been criticized by Seuren (1990) based on several arguments, of which only three shall be iterated and discussed here. First, all of his informants argue that *i* is always to be analyzed as a pronoun and they reject the analysis of it as a tense marker. However, during a discussion in 2016 with native speakers of KS, both readings, as a personal pronoun as well as a tense marker occurring in singular and plural contexts, was accepted (Adone, Brück, p.c.). Likewise, linguists who are native speakers of KS also tend to analyze *i* as tense (M.T. Choppy, p.c. and Franchette, p.c.).

Second, Seuren (1990: 289f.) argues that *i* can indeed co-occur with a tense marker and is therefore not in complementary distribution as can be shown in the example below, taken from his text.

(42) I ti fer son dite i ti donn li
PRN TNS make PRN tea PRN TNS give PRN
'She made his tea and she gave it to him.'

However, this instance of *i* in this example could also be taken as a 3rd person pronoun subject, rather than being a case of the mysterious *i*, therefore invalidating Seuren's

second argument. Examples very similar to these will be presented again in the respective chapters of (II) and chapter (11.). Finally, Seuren (1990: 289f.) contends that *i* precedes the negation *pa* and therefore cannot be analyzed as a TMA marker, as TMA markers always follow negation, as has been shown in (25). In the example below *i* indeed precedes the negation marker, taken from Seuren (1990: 291).

(43) Pirog i pa parti
Boat ? not leave
'The boat does not leave.'

This assumption is not supported by Michaelis (2000: 166), as she argues that *i* and *pa* do not co-occur, unless, of course, the 3rd person pronoun is used. She also assumes that *i* is not only in complementary distribution to tense markers but also all aspect markers (in contrast to the distribution described above, cf. Bollée (1977) and Corne (1974, 1977)). Even though three instances of *i* plus *pe* and three instances of *i* with *pa* have been found in this study, Michaelis' analysis of the distribution of *i* can be supported. This is due to the fact that the three instances of *pe* plus *i* were uttered by the same person and may be idiosyncrasies, and the amount of *i* plus *pa* is not significant. Nevertheless, this still poses some problems for Bickerton's AGR/TNS analysis. If *i* is indeed an agreement or tense marker, it should be able to appear with negation and other aspect markers. Furthermore, if it is a nonanterior marker, its restriction to 3rd person (either singular or plural) R-Expressions has to be accounted for.

Hence, Michaelis (1994, 2000) suggests a different analysis of *i*. She argues that *i* is a dummy TMA particle that indicates finiteness of the subsequent verb and includes agreement, tense and affirmation. According to Michaelis (2000: 171), this TMA particle has evolved from the 3rd personal pronoun but, in contrast to RC, in which the grammaticalization process has led to a use of *i* independent of person, it is still only used for the 3rd person in KS.

In conclusion, the present study argues that *i* has to be analyzed differently depending on context[33]. In some cases, it has to be seen as a 3rd person pronoun (e.g. in cases of sentences that contain a focused DP), and in some cases, it has to be analyzed as a TMA marker. Hence, in (41), it can either be a PRN or a TMA marker depending on the reading and nature of the verb. In examples such as (42), it has to be analyzed as a PRN and in examples such as (3) it is defined as a TMA marker. This double status of *i* can be explained due to its origin as a personal pronoun (Bickerton 1989; Michaelis 2000). The restriction to the 3rd person in KS is a remnant of this origin. This, as well as the double function in today's KS, can also account for the variation concerning native speakers' judgments. In the following chapters, *i* is therefore either marked as a pronoun (in subject or topic position[34]) or it will be understood as a

[33]For a similar suggestion cf. Brück (2016: 196).
[34]For an analysis of *i* as a topic marker and last-resort operation in KS, cf. Guillemin (2011).

TMA marker which cannot be specified further here due to contradictory evidence concerning its distribution. However, it seems that, if it is a TMA marker, it is most likely a TNS marker, as it appears in complementary distribution with *ti* and the distribution concerning aspect and mood markers is as yet unclear. Pending a more targeted and broad scale study concerning the origin, distribution, as well as the nature of *i*, it will be labelled as a predicate marker (PM) that occupies the tense position, following the notation in Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b), in the remainder of this thesis.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter the historical, social and linguistic situation of the Seychelles was presented. It was shown that KS is an "offshoot of Mauritian Creole" (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a: 262), which was brought to the Seychelles as a result of the settlement in 1770 and then developed into the language spoken today. For a long time it was considered to be a kind of 'broken French' and not worthy of being called a language. However, attitudes towards KS changed during the second half of the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century and it gained official status and was introduced into the educational system as one of the first Creole languages in the world. Nevertheless, a colonial legacy concerning language and prestige can be discerned. Even though KS is the language spoken by virtually all of the people in the Seychelles in a variety of contexts and functions, English and French continue to be used predominantly in written and formal contexts and are considered to be a key factor in individual and national development.

Furthermore, this chapter has given an overview of the most important aspects of KS grammar. It was shown that the lexicon is predominantly derived from French, though English has gained importance due to the change of colonizers as well as the growing reputation of English in the world as a lingua franca. Furthermore, it was argued that KS has a fixed SVO word order and that it is a null subject language, though the nature of the null subject remains unclear. In addition, it was shown that bare nouns are relatively prominent in KS but the articles *en* and *sa* are present. Concerning the verbal group it has been argued that the long and short verb form alternation is syntactically conditioned depending on the following material. Furthermore, TMA markers are present in KS and appear invariably in front of the verb, after negation. It has been argued that KS has one past tense marker *ti*, a zero present tense marker, two mood markers for realis and irrealis *pou* and *a(va)*, and three aspect markers *in*, *fek* and *pe*. Last but not least, a discussion concerning the distribution, origin and nature of the so called "mysterious *i*" was detailed. It was determined that *i* should be analyzed differently depending on the occurrence either as a pronoun or as a predicate marker (probably indicating present tense).

3. SVCs – from a typological & generative perspective

Serial Verb Constructions, also called verb serialization or serial verbs, have long been discussed in linguistic literature and have been examined in a variety of languages with different theoretical backgrounds (Haspelmath 2016; Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). Therefore, numerous definitions, criteria and problems thereof have been proposed and discussed (cf. for example Haspelmath (2016), Cleary-Kemp (2015), Aikhenvald (2006), Stewart (2001), Seuren (1991), and Sebba (1987), to name only a few). According to Sebba (1987: 5), Christaller was the first to describe the phenomenon of verb serialization in 1875 in his grammar of Twi, a language spoken in Ghana, albeit using different terminology. Christaller (1875: 144) talks of verbal combinations, that is, "two or more verbs, not connected by conjunctions". Haspelmath (2016: 292) claims that the term 'serial verb' was first used by Stewart in his article about objects in Twi and was subsequently extended to descriptions of other languages. SVCs have been described as occurring in West African Languages, Creole languages, Austronesian languages, Asian languages and languages of the Americas (Haspelmath 2016: 292 and references therein). However, "it is still an open question to what extent what is discussed under the label of 'serial verb constructions' in a large number of analyses of individual languages or groups of languages is actually a cross-linguistically coherent phenomenon"(Bisang 2009: 811 f.).

In this chapter, an overview of proposed definitions as well as criteria to identify SVCs will be described. Furthermore, different approaches to a typology of SVCs as well as theories about their internal make up and structure will be presented. The subchapter on their structure will take a look at specific descriptions and analyses proposed within the generative tradition. Finally, the chapter will be summarized and a definition and criteria that will be used for current study will be determined.

3.1 Definition

There are several definitions of SVCs which is mainly due to the fact that this is a theoretical notion that has been applied to various languages in various frameworks by various researchers[1]. However diverse all of these definitions may be, they do have one thing in common: SVCs describe a grammatical phenomenon in which two or more verbs appear together in one sentence. This is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion, as this would encompass a vast range of different sentences. Seuren (1991: 195) delimits further criteria in order to discriminate SVCs from other multi-verb phenomena and states that the included verbs must head VPs, must be tenseless or have the same tense as the preceding verb, and that arguments of the second VP must be arguments of the

[1]For a detailed discussion concerning problems with linguistic terminology and theoretical notions, cf. Zwicky (1990).

preceding VP. However, according to this definition, sentences such as the following would also be considered instances of SVCs (own examples).

(44) He liked her and gave her a kiss .

(45) He liked her, gave her a kiss, left and never saw her again.

(46) He gave her a kiss in order to show her that he liked her.

(47) He promised not to kiss her.

As Seuren (1991: 195) remarks, English would be classified as a serializing language according to the aforementioned criteria and "no linguist would be tempted to say such a thing". This is due to the fact that other criteria are also necessary in order to denominate a structure as an SVCs. SVCs are considered to be combinations of verbs without the presence of any overt coordinator or subordinator (Aikhenvald 2006: 1), thereby ruling out examples (44) and (46) above. Furthermore, SVCs are said to occur in a single clause, describe a single event and are pronounced with a single intonation contour similar to monoclausal sentences (Givón 1991b; Aikhenvald 2006). This rules out sentence (45). Finally, tense, mood, aspect and negation values have to be the same for all of the verbs in SVCs which is not the case in (47). Aikhenvald (2006) therefore names the following defining criteria of an SVC based on previous as well as her own work:

SVCs include two or more verbs which...

1. ...act as a single predicate and appear in the same clause
2. ...are not connected by sub- or coordinators
3. ...describe one event
4. ...have the same TMA and NEG configuration
5. ...may share arguments
6. ...have one intonation contour
7. ...can stand in isolation in a different context or sentence

Therefore, the following represents the underlying (and simplified) structure for an SVC as proposed by Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 2) among others:

(48) DP_1 V_1 (DP_2) V_2

Haspelmath (2016) mentions some problems with the criteria of SVCs listed above. He argues that the criteria of a single predicate (1) and a single event (3) are "impractical" (Haspelmath 2016: 306) as their definitions are relatively unclear and difficult to grasp. Likewise, Givón (1991a: 84) remarks that criterion (3) is somewhat problematic, as grammatical structure is often used as a basis for defining what is conceived as a single event. As such, one arrives at a circular definition, along the lines of: 'this is a single clause describing a single event and, as this is a single event,

this has to be considered a single clause', or, in his words, "Grammar is first used to *define* cognition, and then it is said to *correlate* with it" (Givón 1991a: 86, emphasis in original). Givón (1991a) has shown that SVCs do behave differently to other finite main clauses concerning intonation contour and pauses, i.e. in "temporal packaging" (Givón 1991a: 119). From temporal packaging one can conclude that this is conceived as a single event, as there seems to be a correlation of temporal and cognitive packaging (Givón 1991a: 119). Therefore, (3) on its own is not a good indicator of SVCs as it is very difficult, or even impossible, to prove that this is conceived of as one event. Furthermore, Haspelmath (2016) argues that (4), (5) as well as (6) are not necessary criteria, as they can be derived from his definition (given below) as generalizations that hold cross-linguistically.

Another criterion that has been widely discussed is that of argument sharing. Most definitions usually mention that at least the external argument, i.e. the subject, has to be shared by all verbs contained in the SVC (for example, Jansen, Koopman, and Muysken (1978), Déchaine (1993), Ansaldo (2006) and others). However, examples of SVCs exist in which the subject of V_2 is the object of V_1 (Aikhenvald 2006: 14), for instance in the following example, taken from Françoise (2006: 231):

(49) Tali mi-tit tenten Kevin
Tali ASP.punch cry.REDUP Kevin
'Tali made Kevin cry by punching him.' (Mwotlap)

In this example, the object *Kevin* of the first verb simultaneously serves as the subject of the second verb, as it is not *Tali* but rather *Kevin* who cries. These SVCs have been called switch-subject or switch-function SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). Based on the analysis of SVCs in Saramaccan, Veenstra (1996b: 85) discusses the necessity of shared subjects in SVCs and concludes that "subject sharing is not an essential property of serial verb constructions". In the same vein, Aikhenvald (2006: 14) also argues that it is not a necessary feature of SVCs. However, she claims that, if languages have SVCs in their grammatical repertoire, they have at least one SVC with shared subjects.

However, the discussion about shared arguments has mainly concentrated on shared internal arguments, i.e. objects[2]. Baker (1989) argues that objects are obligatorily shared in SVCs. Furthermore, he states that shared objects are subject to a thematic hierarchy, an idea originally proposed by Carrier-Duncan (1985: 7) and Larson (1988: 382):

(50) AGENT > INSTRUMENT > THEME/PATIENT > GOAL/LOCATION and other obliques

This means that, if the second verb selects a THEME and a GOAL marked argument,

[2]For further information on argument sharing in SVCs cf. inter alia Byrne (1991), Veenstra (1993), Campbell (1996), Veenstra (1996b), and Collins (1997) as well as the discussion in chapter (3.3) and (11.4).

only the THEME argument can be shared by V_1 and V_2. Likewise, if V_2 has two arguments that are marked with INSTRUMENT and PATIENT, only the former can be shared by V_1. In Baker's account, the shared object receives its θ-role from both Vs in the structure, since the object is sister to both verbs. However, Dikken (1991: 33ff.) provides examples in which the thematic hierarchy is not observed but the sentences are nevertheless regarded as SVCs. In addition, Law and Veenstra (1992: 189f.) show that objects do not necessarily have to be shared as in the following examples in which either V_1 does not have an object (51) or V_2 has a different object to V_1 (52).

(51) Mi feti gi mi kondre
I fight give my country
'I fight for my country'. (Sebba 1987) (Sranan)

(52) Mi kai di daata (ko) kii di sindeki
I call the doctor (come) kill the snake
'I called for the doctor (for him) to kill the snake'. (Veenstra 1989) (Saramaccan)

Thus, one can conclude that neither subject nor object sharing is a necessary feature of SVCs. Nonetheless, as argued by Aikhenvald (2006), it is a rather common feature, which is why she mentions it in her defining criteria, albeit with the cautious phrasing, "***may** share arguments*" (own emphasis). Usually, at least subjects are shared by the verbs, which is why she adopts a continuum approach to SVCs, further explained in chapter (3.2) below. Prototypical SVCs are at one end of the continuum and non-prototypical SVCs at the other. For example, SVCs with shared subjects can be found at the former end, while SVCs without shared subjects are located at the latter end.

Taking the discussion of necessary criteria into account, Haspelmath (2016: 6) proposes the following definition of SVCs: "A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation[3] between the verbs". According to Haspelmath (2016), all of Aikhenvald's (2006) criteria mentioned above can be derived from this definition as generalizations and are therefore not explicitly contained in the definition.

As various and diverse as these definitions, criteria as well as approaches might be, they are necessary in order to help to delimit SVC from other similar phenomena that also include multiple verbs as already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Monoclausality, subject sharing as well as a single intonation contour excludes asyndetic constructions or covert coordination[4] from the class of SVCs (Seuren 1991; Stewart 2001). Furthermore, the criterion of the independence of verbs is necessary in order to distinguish SVCs from, for example, converb constructions, in which the verbs cannot stand on their own (Bisang 1995: 139ff.). Nevertheless, according to Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 3), demarcation problems remain, particularly in cases such as phrasal verbs, light verbs, causative constructions, as well as co-subordinate structures. This

[3] I.e. with the exclusion of a predicate-argument relationship, complement clauses of the first verb headed by the second verb are excluded, such as in *I promised to finish writing the thesis in 2018.*

[4] However, cf. the discussion concerning a coordination structure of SVCs in (3.3), (4.1) and (11.4)

is why Veenstra and Muysken (ms) also prefer to focus on as they call it, "canonical cases", and why a scalar and prototype approach to SVCs such as Aikhenvald's (2006) seems desirable.

3.2 Types

Two distinct approaches to a typology of SVCs can be discerned. Either SVCs are classified according to their formal properties or they can be categorized according to functional or semantic properties. First, turning to the formal approaches, Aikhenvald (2006) mentions four parameters[5] with which SVCs can be distinguished. The first parameter deals with symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs depending on whether or not the two verbs are from a restricted verbal class or not (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). If both or all of the verbs in an SVC come from an unrestricted class and no verb has an influence on the semantic or grammatical distribution or selection of the other verbs, they are called symmetrical SVCs. In contrast, in asymmetrical SVCs one verb is from an unrestricted class and the other one(s) from a restricted class. In this case, Aikhenvald (2006) speaks of the major verb and the minor verb, while Durie (1997), following Sebba (1987), defines them as fixed and free verbs respectively. This distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical can be illustrated by the sentences in (53) and (54). For the sake of readability, the forms and functions of SVCs are illustrated here and in the following by an approximate English sentence if English indeed were a serializing language:

(53) He climbed tree fell
PRN $V_{1unrestr.}$ tree $V_{2unrestr.}$
'He climbed the tree and fell down.'

(54) She bought a book gave Sally
PRN $V_{1unrestr.}$ a book $V_{2restr.}$ Sally
'She bought a book and gave it to Sally OR She bought a book for Sally.'

In (53), both verbs are from open classes and can be substituted freely by other verbs (e.g. *chop tree made firewood*). In contrast, (54) displays a combination of an unrestricted verb *buy*, which is followed by a verb from a restricted class *give*. The restricted verb cannot be exchanged freely by another verb to express the beneficiary of an action. According to Aikhenvald (2006: 30), symmetrical SVCS tend to be lexicalized or idiomized, whereas the verb from the minor class in asymmetric SVCs tends to be grammaticalized. For example, in the sentence above, *give* could lose its verbal character and develop into the preposition *for* as indicated by the translation. This process has been shown, for example, by Lord (1973, 1993).

Another formal parameter of SVCs can be described as the difference between contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 37f.). In contiguous SVCs,

[5]Not in the Chomskyan sense.

no material, such as internal arguments or other constituents, may intervene between V_1 and V_2. In contrast, material can be found in between the verbs in non-contiguous SVCs. This can be illustrated with the help of the following sentences:

(55) He ran went
PRN V_1 V_2
'He ran away.'

(56) He took knife cut bread
PRN V_1 $Object_{1,intervene}$ V_2 $Object_2$
'He took the knife and cut the bread.'

In (55), the verbs appear directly after each other and no other material can be found between *ran* and *went*. In contrast to this, the direct object *knife* intervenes between V_1 and V_2 in (56).

A further parameter of SVCs according to Aikhenvald (2006: 37) is the question concerning word-hood. SVCs may consist of multiple words or of a single grammatical and/or phonological word, a phenomenon also called root serialization. A simplified display of this parameter is evident in the following two sentences:

(57) He ran went
PRN V_1 V_2
'He ran away.'

(58) He ranwent
PRN $Verbs_{1+2}$
'He ran away.'

In (57), the two verbs are represented by two separate lexemes, whereas in (58), there is only one lexeme with two morphemes, i.e. V_1 and V_2 combined in one word.

Aikhenvald (2006: 39) argues that, as a result of these two parameters, four options for SVCs are available:

1. non-contiguous, multi-word
2. contiguous, multi-word
3. contiguous, one-word
4. non-contiguous, one-word

Option 4. has not yet been found. According to Aikhenvald (2006: 39), all of the other types have realizations in languages.

The final parameter that Aikhenvald (2006: 39f.) proposes is that of concordant or non-concordant marking. Concordant marking refers to the phenomenon that grammatical categories such as tense, mood and aspect as well as subjects can be marked on both verbs. If this is not possible, she speaks of truncated marking (if it is only partially marked) or single marking (if it is only marked once per SVC). Optional concordant marking also seems to be possible in languages where SVCs consist of multiple

words. Concordant marking can be seen in (59) in contrast to (60), in which the marking of tense, mood and/or aspect is not repeated on the second verb even though it is understood as having the same TMA configurations.

(59) She is running is going
PRN ASP V_1 $ASP_{repeated}$ V_2
'She is running away.'

(60) She is running going
PRN ASP V_1 V_2
'She is running away.'

Based on the four parameters, Aikhenvald (2006: 44) presents some generalizations, of which only two shall be named here. First, negation is usually only marked once, even if the language allows concordant marking. Second, if concordant marking is possible for e.g. TMA, it is also possible for subjects. For example, in sentence (59), apart from the repeated aspect marker, *she* as the subject pronoun could overtly be repeated as well before V_2. It has been discussed whether instances of overt subject marking of the second or of all verbs in a serial can indeed be considered SVCs. Aikhenvald (2006: 51) does accept repeated pronoun subjects and/or repeated subject marking as SVCs as can be discerned from the example given there. Likewise, Byrne (1991: 211) states that overt tense marking and "phonologically overt subject pronouns may co-occur". This is also assumed by Seuren (1994: 136), who posits that SVCs are constrained by the Tacit Subject Condition, which claims that either no subject DP is present before the second verb, or at most, a subject pronoun may be repeated but no full DP. As a starting point repeated subject marking in the form of repeated subject pronouns will be accepted in this thesis, but will be later discussed in (11.4). Furthermore, in the present study, contiguity of SVCs will be taken to be dependent on internal argument, switch subject as well as adjunct/modifier intervention. Concordant subject as well as TMA marking will not be taken to affect the contiguity of an SVC but instead determine the concordant marking status.

In conclusion, Aikhenvald (2006) proposes the following four dimensions and continua of classifying SVCs:

1. symmetric – asymmetric
2. contiguous – non-contiguous
3. single-word – multi-word
4. concordant – non-concordant

This scalar approach treats SVCs as being located on a continuum from prototypical to less prototypical. For example, there are instances of prototypical symmetric SVCs in which it is clear that both verbs are from an open class, whereas there are also cases in which the classification of verbs in open/closed is somewhat difficult. The latter would then be an example of less prototypical symmetric SVCs. Likewise,

prototypical asymmetric and non-prototypical asymmetric SVCs can also be found. Concerning 2., 3. and 4., it can be stated first that symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs can be contiguous or non-contiguous, single-word and multi-word SVCs as well as concordant or non-concordant. Furthermore, multi-word, non-concordant SVCs are considered to be more prototypical than single-word concordant SVCs. SVCs in which arguments are shared (which is mostly true in multi-word, non-concordant SVCs) are also considered to be more prototypical examples of SVCs rather than, for instance, switch-subject SVCs. Finally, since argument sharing is more prototypical, it is assumed here that contiguous SVCs are more prototypical than non-contiguous SVCs, though this differentiation is not as easy to make as with regard to the other parameters. These dimension of prototypicality can be depicted with the help of the following figure:

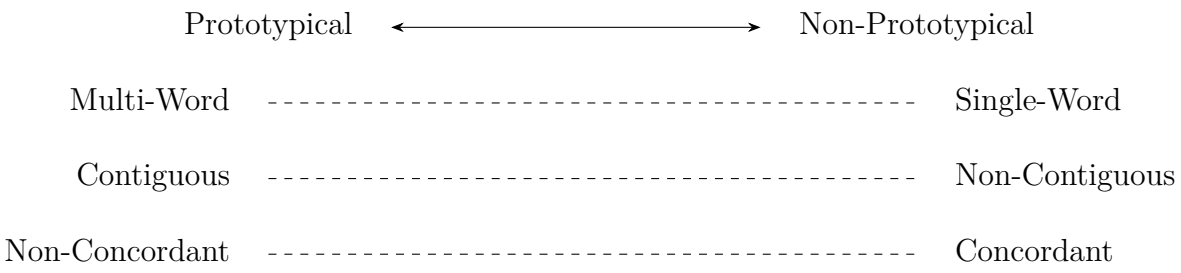


Figure 3.1: Features of Symmetric and Asymmetric SVCs according to Aikhenvald (2006)

Another approach to a formal classification of SVCs can be found in Muysken and Veenstra (1994, 2006) and Veenstra and Muysken (ms). They distinguish between phrasal and clausal SVCs depending on their internal cohesion, a suggestion that was first proposed by Awóyalé (1988). Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 14) suggest that SVCs can be grouped according to whether there is less or more independence between sub-events as well as whether the verbs are lexically free or constrained (similar to Aikhenvald's (2006) symmetric/asymmetric distinction). Phrasal serial verbs exhibit less independence between sub-events and are lexically constrained, whereas clausal SVCs are more independent and lexically free. They connect this approach with a functional approach to a classification, which is described below in table (3.1). They show that certain semantic types of SVCs can be grouped according to this formal approach in the four categories, displayed end exemplified in the following table.

Table 3.1: Formal distribution according to Veenstra and Muysken (ms)

	Less independence	More independence
Lexically constrained	Type 1 (phrasal)	Type 2
Lexically free	Type 3	Type 4 (clausal)

In contrast to formal approaches, functional approaches to a typology of SVCs classify them according to the semantic content that they express. This classification, even if slightly different terminology is used, can be found in many publications on SVCs, such as in Jansen, Koopman, and Muysken (1978), Sebba (1987), Ansaldo (2006), and Aikhenvald (2006) to name only a few. As Muysken and Veenstra (2006) and Veenstra and Muysken (ms) address all of the terminology used in the literature, their classification, in connection with Table (3.1) above, will be taken as a basis for the discussion below. Furthermore, all SVCs will be exemplified first with an example from a different language, followed by an approximate and English equivalent (if English were indeed a serializing language) invented by the author of the present study for further illustration.

Within the first type of SVCs Veenstra and Muysken (ms) list so-called Directional SVCs. These consist of two motion verbs[6], the second one indicating the direction of the motion. For example *go* indicates a motion away, *come* a motion towards and *surround* a motion around something. An example of a Directional SVC can be found below, taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 16):

(61) A wáka kó a mi pisi
3SG walk come LOC 1SG yard
'He walked to my yard.' (Saramaccan)

(62) He runs goes
PRN V_1 V_2
'He runs away.'

In addition, so-called Argument Introducing SVCs with *give* and *say* are also Type 1 SVCs. In the former, V_2 *give* introduces a further argument which bears one of the following theta-roles: GOAL/RECIPIENT, BENEFACTIVE, EXPERIENCER, SOURCE. In the latter, V_2 *say* introduces finite, subordinate clauses that contain the content of what is being said. This type can also be used to introduce direct speech. The first two examples below are taken from Jansen, Koopman, and Muysken (1978: 141), while example (66) is taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 18).

(63) Kofi tjari den fisi kon gi mi
Kofi carry D fish come give PRN
'Kofi brought me the fish.' (Sranan; GOAL/RECIPIENT Argument)

[6]Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 15) note that Awóyalé (1988) argues that Yoruba might be an exception as the first verb does not necessarily have to be a motion verb.

(64) Kofi go na Paramaribo gi mi
Kofi go to Paramaribo give PRN
'Kofi went to Paramaribo for me.' (Sranan; BENEFACTIVE Argument)

(65) He brings book gives somebody
PRN V_1 book V_2 $Arg_{BEN/GOAL}$
'He brought the book to/for me.'

(66) A táki táa á búnu
PRN say say PRN.NEG good
'He said that it is not good.' (Saramaccan)

(67) He announces says bus will be late
PRN V_1 V_2 bus will be late
'He announces that the bus will be late.'

Aspectual SVCs in which the second verb, usually *finish*, marks completive aspect are, according to Veenstra and Muysken (ms), another instance of Type 1 SVCs. These have to be distinguished from constructions that can be found in English, such as *He finished walking*, as in this construction *finish* introduces a non-finite verb complement rather than functioning as a verb in an SVC[7]. The final type of SVCs that Veenstra and Muysken (ms) classify as Type 1 are so called Degree SVCs. These express comparative as well as excessive meanings with the help of verbs such as *surpass, pass, spoil* in second position. The latter two types within the first category are illustrated by the following examples, of which (68) is taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 19), while (70) is taken from Hellwig (2006: 101):

(68) Mi jabi di dóo kabá
PRN open D door finish
'I have finished opening the door.' (Saramaccan)

(69) He eats finishes
PRN V_1 V_2
'He finishes eating.'

(70) kuma f'yer ma ni
also become.big surpass PRN
'And (he) has grown bigger than him.' (Goemai)

(71) Peter drinks rum surpasses him
Peter V_1 rum V_2 PRN
'Peter drinks more rum than he.'

Type 2 constructions that are lexically constrained yet show more independence between sub-events are causative SVCs and Argument Introducing 'take' serials. In

[7]For this, cf. also the discussion in chapter (11.2).

causative SVCs, the second verb, such as *make*, connects two events, indicating causality. Argument Introducing 'take' inserts a further argument into the sentence which bears one of the following θ-roles: INSTRUMENTAL, COMITATIVE, THEME. This is evident in the following examples, the first of which is taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 22), while the remainder are taken from Sebba (1987: 59f.).

(72) Di tjúba tá kái mbéi hen uwii munjá tooná kó bè
D rain ASP fall make PRN hair wet turn come red
'It is raining so hard that her hair becomes wet and turns red.' (Saramaccan)

(73) The man laughs makes his woman smiles
D man V_1 $V_{2.caus}$ PRN woman V_3
'The man laughs and makes his woman smile.'

(74) No teki baskita tyari watra
NEG take basket carry water
'Don't carry water with a basket.' (Sranan; INSTRUMENTAL Take)

(75) A teki a fisi seri
PRN take D fish sell
'S/he sold the fish.' (Sranan; THEME Take)

(76) He takes knife cut bread
PRN V_1 knife V_2 bread
'He took the knife and cut the bread; He cut the bread with the knife.'

According to Veenstra and Muysken (ms), Type 3 constructions are so-called Resultative SVCS, in which the second verb describes a result of the first verb. The verbs are not fixed but, nevertheless, there is less independence between sub-events and their position is fixed. An example of Resultative serials is shown in the example below, taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 23).

(77) De sikópu hen kill
PRN kick PRN kill
'They kicked him dead.' (Saramaccan)

(78) He pushes man throws ground
PRN V_1 man V_2 ground
'He pushes the man over.'

The last type of SVCs, Type 4, is described as "anything goes as long as it is semantically and/or pragmatically apt" by Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 24). Therefore, this SVC can be described as an Open-Ended SVC in which any verb can appear in any position. Usually, the order of the verbs is iconic (Aikhenvald 2006). This can be seen in example (79), taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 24).

(79) A súti hen fulá pása gó náki di sitónu hén mi téi hen
PRN shoot PRN pierce pass go hit D wall and.then PRN take PRN
'He shot him and the bullet went through him and into the wall and then I took it.' (Saramaccan[8])

(80) He catches a fish prepares grills eats.
PRN V_1 D fish V_2 V_3 V_4
'He catches a fish, prepares, grills and eats it.'

Having described all possible types of SVCs, Aikhenvald (2006) proposes a hierarchy of these, indicating which SVCs are most likely to occur in the serializing languages of the world. She argues that this "also reflects the historical development of SVCs" (Aikhenvald 2006: 48). The hierarchy of the aforementioned types can be stated as follows (based on Aikhenvald (2006: 48f.), terminology taken from Veenstra and Muysken (ms)):

(81) Directional –> Aspectual –> Argument Introducing and Causative –> Degree

Therefore, it can be stated that the most common SVCs in languages that permit SVCs are Directionals. Furthermore, according to Aikhenvald (2006: 48), every serializing language seems to have Directional as well as Aspectual SVCs. Resultative and Open-ended SVCs are not listed in her hierarchy, as she only looks at asymmetrical SVCs.

In conclusion, SVCs can be classified according to semantic properties as well as structural properties. Both approaches as well as further classificatory terminology are summarized in the table below, which combines Aikhenvald (2006), Muysken and Veenstra (1994, 2006), Veenstra and Muysken (ms) as well as other publications such as Jansen, Koopman, and Muysken (1978), Sebba (1987) Ansaldo (2006). This table and the terminology employed in it will be used for the remainder of this study as the basis for the classification of SVCs in KS.

Table 3.2: Classification of SVCs

Name	**Function**	**Verbs**	**A/S[9]**	**Type**	**Illustration**
Directional	Describes movement from, towards or surrounding something.	Go, run, come, walk, surround	A	1	He runs goes.

[8]In this example, the first five verbs constitute the SVC, the last verb is connected to the SVC via a coordinator and, as such, is - per definition - not part of the SVC.
[9]Asymmetrical/Symmetrical.

Table 3.2: Classification of SVCs, continued

Name	Function	Verbs	A/S	Type	Illustration
Argument Introducing 'give'	Describes the action of doing something for somebody (BENEFACTIVE) or handing something to somebody (GOAL/RECIPIENT) as well as the SOURCE or the EXPERIENCER of said action.	give	A	1	He brings book gives somebody.
Argument Introducing 'say'	Introduces the content of what has been said, thought or known.	say	A	1	He announces says bus will be late.
Aspectual	Describes whether the action is completed or ongoing.	finish, become, continue	A	1	He eats finishes.
Degree	Describes a comparison	pass, surpass	A	1	Peter drinks rum surpasses him.
Causative	One sub event is caused by the other.	make	A	2	The man laughs makes his woman smiles.
Argument Introducing 'take'	Indicates with which instrument an action is enacted (INSTRUMENTAL) or what is happening to an object (THEME).	take	A	2	He takes shirt shows somebody. (THEME) & He takes knife cuts bread. (INSTRUMENTAL)
Resultative	Describes a result of the event(s).	n/a	S	3	He pushes man throws ground.
Open-Ended	Describes a complex event in a series of sub events.	n/a	S	4	He catches a fish prepares grills eats.

Table 3.2: Classification of SVCs, continued

Name	Function	Verbs	A/S	Type	Illustration
All of the types mentioned here can be (non-)contiguous, (non-)concordant, single/multi-word, depending on the language.					

3.3 Structure of Serial Verb Constructions from a generative perspective

Concerning the structure and syntactic makeup of SVCs, two issues will be presented here. First, the question concerning the different possibilities in what way V_1 and V_2 can be linked to each other will be raised (Muysken and Veenstra 2006; Veenstra and Muysken ms). Second, the issue of shared arguments will be revisited again, this time with a focus not on their necessity but on their nature.

There are three possibilities to analyze the relationship between V_1 and V_2 and their respective phrases: Either the phenomenon of serialization involves either subordination, coordination or adjunction of the verbs (Muysken and Veenstra 2006). These three possibilities can be depicted schematically as the following figures (3.2), (3.3) and (3.4), which are based on Veenstra (1997), Déchaine (1993) and references therein[10]:

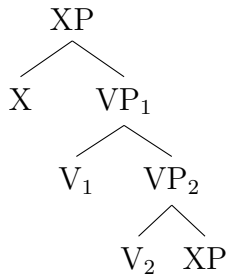


Figure 3.2: SVCs as Subordination

In the first possibility, that of subordination, the idea is that V_2 and therefore the associated VP_2 is subordinated to VP_1 and a complement of V_1. According to Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 27), this configuration can explain why certain arguments can be extracted out of VP_2 as well as the close relationship between V_1 and V_2 in some SVCs. However, the problem with this approach is that the ordering of verbs is independent of the general word order and it would be expected that in head final languages, the ordering of the verbs would be reversed. For instance, one would expect that V_1 in a head first language would be V_2 in a head last language if one verb licenses

[10] An extensive discussion concerning these different possibilities can be found in, inter alia, Veenstra and Muysken (ms). Thus, only a short summary with selected arguments shall be given here. In addition, for readability, these figures have been simplified.

the occurrence of the other. Thus, it would be expected that in head first languages we would have *He runs$_{V1}$ goes$_{V2}$* whereas in head final languages we would have *He goes$_{V2}$ runs$_{V1}$*. However, this is not the case, as Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 28ff.) show. Furthermore, they argue that, while some verbs are in a (semantic) relationship in some SVCs, this does not hold for all of them, such as in the case of Resultatives or Open-ended SVCS. If the second verb is a complement of the first, then the first should impose selectional restrictions on the second verb or VP_2 in all contexts, which it does not. A further argument against a subordination analysis comes from the short/long verb form alternation in MC as discussed by Veenstra and Muysken (ms) and Veenstra (2017). Before arguments or complements, the short forms of the verb appears in contrast to adjuncts or in clause final position, in which the long form surfaces in MC. In SVCs, the long form is used in MC which provides evidence against a complementation or subordination analysis. This is also the case in KS as will be shown in chapters (4.1) and (11.4).

Figure (3.3) shows the structural makeup of an SVC when the two verbs are in a coordinated relationship.

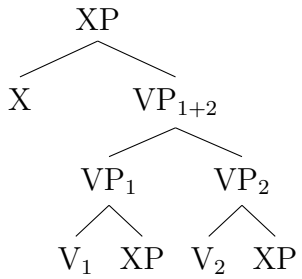


Figure 3.3: SVCs as Coordination

In this configuration, VP_1 and VP_2 are formed independently and then conjoined under one label (VP_{1+2}). As SVCs per definition (cf. (3.1) above) do not contain an overt coordinator, the only type available for this possibility is the asyndetic, or covert, coordination, i.e. in which two already merged phrases/clauses are coordinated without an overt coordinator (Veenstra and Muysken ms: 39). Similarly, in Figure (3.4), which depicts SVCs as adjunction, the two VPs are merged first before they are adjoined together. The adjunct does not have an effect on the nature of the phrase and the label it is merged to, hence the adjunct is subsumed under one label (VP_1) (Chomsky 2004: 117).

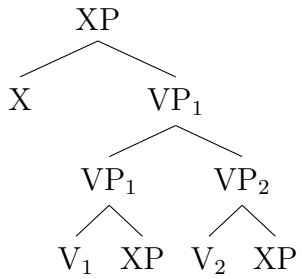


Figure 3.4: SVCs as Adjunction

Baker (1989) argues that SVCs should not be considered covert coordinations and should be distinguished from this phenomenon. In contrast, Muysken and Veenstra (2006) and Veenstra and Muysken (ms) argue that SVCs are asyndetic coordinations realized by the adjunction of the second verb phrase to the first. This reasoning is due to the similarities of coordination and adjunction which can be seen in the figures above, as both involve first a merger of the VPs separately (called Pair Merge in Chomsky (2004: 117)) in contrast to subordination structures (called Set Merge) in which one verb phrase is subordinate to the other. Similarly, Munn (1992) has argued that coordination and adjunction should be seen as the same process.

The possibility that SVCs can be coordinations has been criticized based on argument extraction. It seems that arguments can be extracted from SVCs and this is not possible in coordinate constructions. However, Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 40) show that these so-called island effects only hold for symmetric coordinations, which do not have temporal ordering, in contrast to asymmetric coordinations. As SVCs do have temporal ordering, as indicated above, they should be treated as asymmetric coordinations (Veenstra and Muysken ms). In asymmetric coordinations, extraction out of the second phrase is possible, which also seems to be true in SVCs. Extraction out of the first phrase is possible in asymmetric coordination structures if and only if the element in the second phrase is also extracted in a so called Across-The-Board (ATB) fashion. For example, in English the following sentence in (82a) is possible in contrast to (82b), which is not. This is due to the fact that, in the first example, the argument of both verbs is extracted in the same vein, contrary to the second example, in which only the first but not the second argument is extracted (own examples).

(82) a. What$_{\text{i}}$ did you take e_i and buy e_i ?

b. What$_{\text{i}}$ did you take e_i and buy the book$_{\text{i}}$?

However, according to (Veenstra and Muysken ms), extraction of only the first element is possible in SVCs in contrast to other asymmetric coordinations. Therefore, they argue that in these cases, an empty category can be found in the second VP that is linked to and co-indexed with the extracted element in order not to violate the ATB-fashion. Therefore, they assume a combined approach of coordination and adjunction and posit that SVCs are "asyndetic (a)symmetric coordination structures

[...], with coordination being syntactically analyzed in terms of an adjunction structure" (Veenstra and Muysken ms: 43). Hence, the structure shown above in figure (3.4) is taken as the correct configuration, as the arguments against a subordination analysis are convincing, and, as such, it will also be adopted for this study, pending a further discussion of the differences between adjunction and coordination in chapter (11.4).

A second important topic concerning the syntax of SVCs to be mentioned here is the nature of shared arguments. As has been shown above in chapter (3.1), argument sharing of either subjects or objects is not obligatory. However, sharing does occur, and, if it does, the question arises as to the nature of these shared arguments. Different possibilities can be discerned: the relationship between arguments is achieved either via NP movement, via PRO, via an empty operator or a different empty category co-referenced with the first NP or via other processes mentioned below.

First, external arguments will be considered in the following paragraphs. In many SVCs, subjects are shared and it seems as if there is only one external argument (Veenstra 1997: 215). However, it has been argued and demonstrated that a covert subject, i.e. an empty category, has to be assumed in VP_2 due to, for instance, binding phenomena (Law and Veenstra 1992: 188 and references therein). It has been proposed by Veenstra (1997) as well as Law and Veenstra (1992) that this empty subject is an instance of PRO also found in control sentences. Hence, the underlying structure, assuming that (3.4) is the correct configuration for SVCs and adopting the 'Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis' (VPISH)[11], can be depicted as the following[12]:

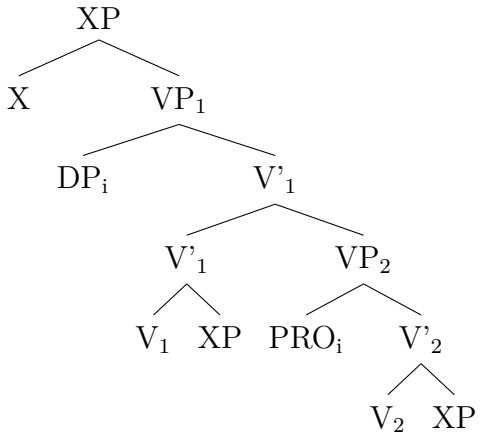


Figure 3.5: Structure of SVCs concerning subject sharing based on Law and Veenstra (1992)

As can be seen above, an empty pronominal subject is assumed in Spec VP_2 position that is controlled and co-indexed by an overt nominal in VP_1. This configuration

[11] The VPISH states that the subject of the sentence originates within the verb phrase and is moved to spec-TP position (Koopman and Sportiche 1991; Radford 2004).

[12] vPs and other projections are ignored here for the sake of simplicity.

explains why subjects are shared and are co-referential.

Far more discussion has been conducted concerning shared internal arguments, i.e. objects. Baker (1989: 549) argues that SVCs are "actually double headed VPs" in which the two heads, i.e. the verbs, have the same internal argument and independently assign the θ-role to the object. In his account, there is only one nominal argument that is shared by both verbs. Therefore, no other empty category is present in his analysis. However, as Veenstra (1993), Collins (1997), and Dikken (1991) point out, this approach posits a ternary branching structure and, as such, would violate the Binarity Principle, which assumes that structures are always binary branching (Radford 2004: 438). Furthermore, Baker's (1989) analysis calls for a reanalysis of X' structure, which necessitates that there is only one head associated with one maximal projection (Collins 1997: 473) In addition, this assumption violates the 'θ-Criterion' that states that there is a one-on-one relationship between nominals and semantic (theta/θ) roles (Chomsky 1981: 36) and, therefore, DPs are not allowed to have more than one θ-role[13]. Furthermore, Dikken (1991: 32) argues that this approach also violates a strict reading of the Uniform Theta Assignment Hypothesis. This hypothesis, originally proposed by Baker (1988), assumes that certain syntactic positions are connected with a specific theta-role and vice versa.

These problems can be circumvented if empty categories, such as *pro*, PRO, null operators/A' or A-traces are assumed. An empty operator analysis has been proposed by Law and Veenstra (1992), referring back to Bickerton and Iatridou (1987). They argue that the second VP includes an empty category that is theta- and case-marked and therefore can only be a wh-trace. This in turn then "has to be (A'-) bound by an empty operator" (Law and Veenstra 1992: 192) which is co-indexed to the internal argument of the first verb phrase. This analysis only refers to so-called THEME serials, which together with INSTRUMENTAL serials, make up the class of Argument Introducing 'take' serials mentioned above in (3.2). Both serials have *take* as their V_1 but differ in the fact that, in the former, a THEME Argument is introduced, whereas in the latter an INSTRUMENT Argument follows (as indicated in table (3.2) above). The distinction can be seen in the following sentences, both taken from Law and Veenstra (1992: 185):

(83) Jan pran foto a montre Mari
Jan take picture D show Mari
'Jan showed Mari a picture.' –> THEME Serial

(84) Jan pran kouto a koupe pen an.
Jan take knife D cut bread D
'Jan cut the bread with the knife.' –> INSTRUMENTAL Serial

[13]Within the Minimalist Program, DS has been dispensed with (Chomsky 1995) and, therefore, suggestions have been made also to eliminate the θ-Criterion which is located in DS (Hornstein 1999: i.a.). This will be further discussed in chapter (11.4).

Furthermore, these two constructions are different according to Law and Veenstra (1992), as, in the latter, an empty category apart from the PRO subject in VP_2 discussed above cannot be assumed. In contrast, the structure in the former, i.e. in THEME serials, is assumed to take the form depicted in the following figure (3.6), based on Law and Veenstra (1992: 186) and Veenstra (1993: 159). In addition, the light verb phrase is included in order to depict the indirect object, labelled as DP_k, such as *Mari*, above:

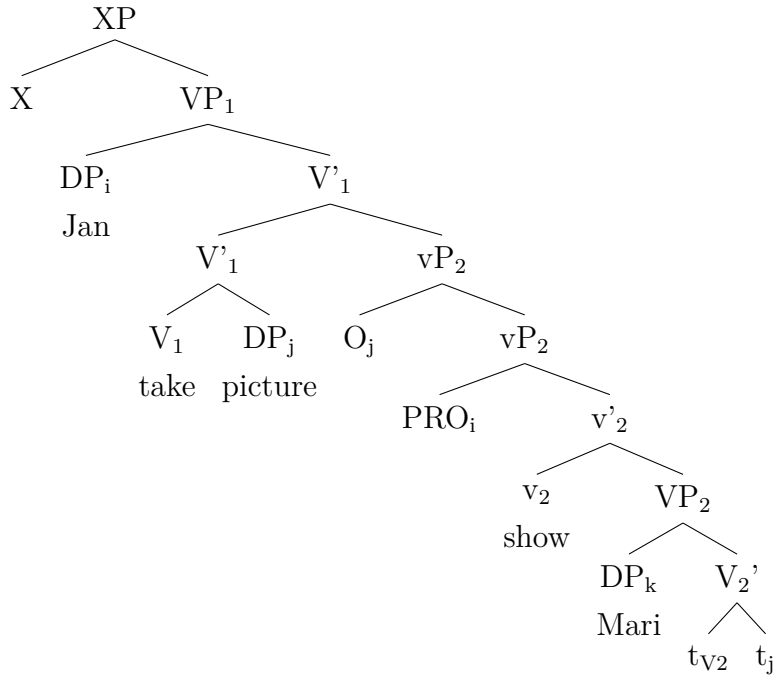


Figure 3.6: Structure of SVCs in THEME serials based on Law and Veenstra (1992) and Veenstra (1993)

In this figure, several shared arguments are included. In VP_1, the subject DP_i (*Jan*) controls the empty pronominal subject PRO_i in vP_2 position. Furthermore, the shared object DP_j (*picture*) is co-indexed to an empty operator O_j which is moved to its position from inside V_2'.

In the same vein, Campbell (1996) argues that SVCs should be treated as a heterogeneous phenomenon and that they should be divided into Accusative and Non-Accusative SVCS. In Accusative SVCs, the empty category following V_2 is assigned accusative Case and receives its θ-role from V_2. According to Campbell (1996: 107), this analysis is similar to the one proposed by Law and Veenstra (1992) for THEME serials as shown above in (3.6). However, his Accusative vs. Non-Accusative distinction does not exactly match the THEME vs. INSTRUMENTAL distinction drawn by Law and Veenstra (1992) as he extends his analysis to other semantic types of SVCs as well. Furthermore, in contrast to the analysis proposed by Law and Veenstra (1992), Campbell (1996) argues that empty categories also exist in Non-accusative SVCS and that, in these constructions, argument sharing is realized by NP-Movement, i.e. A-

Movement from inside the VP_2 to a position in Spec VP_2. In this position, it receives its Case from V_1 similar to Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) configurations[14]. As the trace is not Case marked, this is an instance of NP Movement resulting in an A-chain, in contrast to instances in which the empty category is Case marked and therefore cannot be part of a chain (Campbell 1996: 84). An example of a structure of Non-Accusative SVCs according to Campbell (1996: 100) can be depicted as in the following figure[15]:

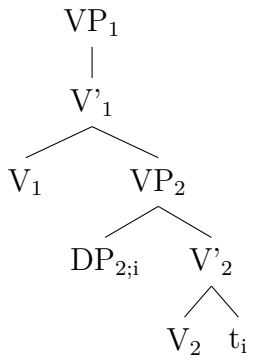


Figure 3.7: Structure of Non-accusative SVCs

Finally, a fourth possibility has been proposed by Collins (1997). He argues that shared internal arguments cannot be A-traces, as proposed by Campbell (1996), as in Ewe, a case-marking postposition follows the empty category. Since empty categories in chains cannot be assigned Case, A-movement seems out of the question (Collins 1997: 475). Furthermore, he argues that A'- traces/empty operators, as proposed by Law and Veenstra (1992), can hypothetically be candidates for the type of empty category found in SVCs. However, while Ewe does allow preposition stranding in A'-movement, it does not allow preposition stranding in SVCs. In addition, this analysis would not be true to the usual position of empty operators, i.e. in Spec CP (Collins 1997: 477). Lastly, Collins (1997) excludes the category PRO from the list of candidates for empty objects, as PRO is supposed to be ungoverned and the object, though it is empty, is always governed by the verb. This analysis, however, does not affect the analysis of PRO as a viable category for empty shared subjects (cf. above). Having eliminated PRO, A'/empty operators and A-traces from the cohort of possible empty categories, Collins (1997: 478) concludes that the only empty category left is *pro*, which is controlled by a higher c-commanding DP. Furthermore, he suggests that the second verb is incorporated into the first one at LF level, i.e. that they are treated as one block or, as he calls it, "compound" from a semantic point of view. This leads him to argue that only internal arguments can be shared in an SVC (in contrast to, for example Law and Veenstra (1992)), as the external argument otherwise would prohibit

[14]Typically, ECM verbs assign Case but not a θ-role to the subject of the following clause (Radford 2004: 362).

[15]Simplified and shown without external argument sharing and without the projection of the light verb phrases.

this type of incorporation.

Similarly, while Baker and Stewart (2002) assume *pro* to be present in SVCs, they delimit its occurrence to certain types of SVCs, which they name 'Consequential Serial Verb Constructions', which could be comparable to Type 4, Open-Ended SVCs in the table (3.2). In other SVCs, such as Resultative SVCs as well as Purposive SVCs (not mentioned above)[16], the empty category is either non-existent (in Resultatives) or an operator/A' trace (in Purposives) (Baker and Stewart 2002). A more detailed discussion of these approaches can be found below in (11.4) based on data from KS.

3.4 Summary

In conclusion, it can be said that definitions of SVCs abound and vary depending on theory, language and chosen criteria. Simply speaking, they are monoclausal structures which contain more than one verb. However, as this is not enough to delimit SVCs from other phenomena, this definition has to be stated more precisely. Hence, Haspelmath's (2016) definition will serve as a basis for the remainder of this study. However, Aikhenvald's (2006) features, criteria and scalar approach will also be considered within this study, thereby arriving at the following definition:

(85) A serial verb construction contains multiple independent verbs which appear in a single clause without a complement relationship and linking elements. SVCs can be classified according to prototypes and located on a continuum.

Similarly to Haspelmath (2016) as well as Aikhenvald (2006), several generalizations or criteria following from this definition will be assumed. This concerns the following assumptions:

1. SVCs have the same configuration for TMA and negation; marking may be concordant or non-concordant.
2. SVCs may share external as well as internal arguments; shared arguments may be covert or repeated overt PRNs.
3. SVCs are conceptualized as one event due to temporal and cognitive packaging as well as single clausehood.
4. SVCs do neither exhibit a pause nor a rise or fall in intonation contour due to their monoclausality.

This chapter has also taken a look at possible classifications and types of SVCs. They can be classified according to formal as well as functional approaches. These approaches and the different types that serve as a basis for the current study have been

[16] In these structures, the second VP describes a purpose and therefore "the second verb is not always asserted" (Baker and Stewart 2002: 4), for example in the sentence 'Musa catch goat give medicine', which could be translated as 'Musa caught a goat to give it medicine' (Baker and Stewart 2002: 3). These kinds of structures are contrasted in Baker and Stewart (2002: 39) with 'real' purposive clauses in which there is an overt infinitival *to* present.

summarized in (3.2). From the formal perspective, one can distinguish between symmetric and asymmetric, contiguous and non-contiguous, single-word and multi-word as well as concordant and non-concordant SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006). Furthermore, according to Veenstra and Muysken (ms), SVCs can be classified as ranging from Type 1 to Type 4 SVCs, depending on the independence of events as well as the lexical restriction (3.1). From a functional and semantic perspective, the following types of SVCs can be discerned: Directional, Argument Introducing 'give', Argument Introducing 'say', Aspectual, Degree, Causative, Argument Introducing 'take', Resultative and Open-ended SVCs.

The final subchapter has presented possible analyses of the structure of SVCs, focusing mainly on generative approaches to SVCs. First, it was described and discussed whether SVCs should be regarded as a phenomenon of subordination, adjunction or coordination. For the time being and pending evidence to the contrary, an adjunction structure will be assumed within this study as mentioned in the discussion below figure (3.4). Finally, the occurrence and nature of shared internal and external arguments has been depicted. Possible solutions for this phenomenon involve the assumption of PRO for external arguments (Law and Veenstra 1992), double-headed VPs (Baker 1989), empty operators/A'-traces (Law and Veenstra 1992; Veenstra 1996a; Campbell 1996; Baker and Stewart 2002), A-traces (Campbell 1996) and *pro* (Collins 1997) for internal arguments. A discussion as well as an analysis of empty categories in KS serials will be presented below in (11.4) with a focus on external arguments[17].

[17]In this chapter, the discussion concerning a putative SVC parameter and the question of what distinguishes languages with SVCs from non-serializing languages such as English or German has not been dealt with. This is a highly interesting topic that is undoubtedly worth pursuing. This topic is dealt with in publications such as Veenstra and Muysken (ms), Baker and Stewart (2002), and Stewart (2001), to name only a few. However, as the present study mainly aims at a description and an analysis of SVCs in Kreol Seselwa, no valid cross-linguistic discussions or inferences can be made. Unfortunately, this goes beyond the scope of this work.

4. Previous Research on SVCs in Kreol Seselwa

Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa have a long and disputed history in linguistic and creolistic literature. As will be shown in the first subchapter, a (frequently heated) discussion was conducted, mainly in the '90s, concerning the question as to whether these structures exist in Indian Ocean Creoles in general and in KS specifically (Bickerton 1989; Seuren 1990; Bickerton 1990; Corne, Coleman, and Curnow 1996; Bickerton 1996). This discussion was also connected to genesis theories of Creole languages and therefore became a political issue as will be shown below. However, more recent publications (Adone 2012; Syea 2013a; Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b) assume SVCs do exist in IOCs and, thus, also in KS. Therefore, an overview of the types of SVCs that have been presented in the literature on KS will be given in (4.2). This will serve as a basis for the present study which will conduct an in-depth analysis of KS serials.

4.1 'The Quacking Duck'

Prior to Bickerton (1989), SVCs in KS have either not been described explicitly and denominated as such or have been negated completely. For example, Corne (1977: 79) describes the phenomenon of "two verbs juxtaposed to express (i) simultaneous action, (ii) the two phases of an action" but does not label this phenomenon as SVCs or serials. Likewise, Bollée (1977: 31) speaks of a juxtaposition of two verbs that describe two simultaneous actions, a "construction 'typique' du créole" without calling this phenomenon SVCs. Sebba (1987: 209) argues that SVCs do not exist at all in "Indian and Pacific Ocean creoles", similarly to Jansen, Koopman, and Muysken (1978: 127), who state that no SVCs can be found in Mauritian Creole. This is in sharp contrast to Bickerton (1989) who assumes that serials do exist in Indian Ocean Creoles and that various types can be found. His data corpus consists of oral narratives from 1980 made by Marcel Rosalie and colleagues, as well as native speaker judgment in other interviews conducted by Bickerton himself. Based on this corpus, he lists different types of SVCs (cf. below in (4.2)) as well as general properties of KS serials, for instance that SVCs are tensed and marked concordantly in KS.

According to Bickerton (1989), SVCs were not noticed or accepted in KS for a long time, since SVCs in Atlantic Creoles have been predominantly traced back to substrate influence, i.e. West African Languages. In KS (or MC for that matter), no considerable West African substrate can be discerned and, therefore, Bickerton (1989: 174) argues that it cannot be the reason for the existence of SVCs in KS or MC. Thus, the substratist position or explanation for the genesis of Creole languages is weakened in Bickerton's (1989) eyes based on the occurrence of SVCs in IOCs and another explanation for their existence in these Creole languages has to be found. He sees this as another piece of evidence for his LBH, proposed in Bickerton (1981, 1984). Hence, the phenomenon of SVCs in KS and the question as to whether they indeed

are present has been tied to the question of the emergence of Creole languages and has been used to argue in favor of the LBH as well as against it, rather than describing and analyzing SVCs in KS as such (cf. also Michaelis (1994: 67, footnote 133)).

After the publication of Bickerton's (1989) seminal work on SVCs in KS, a heated discussion followed. Seuren (1990) argues that, based on judgments from four native speakers, SVCs do not exist in KS and that the examples that Bickerton (1989) lists were mainly rejected by his informants and improved by inserting an overt coordinator such as *e*, 'and'. Those that were accepted without an over coordination were analyzed by the native speakers as being conjoint sentences, i.e. asyndetic coordinations. Further examples that Bickerton (1989) provides are explained away by Seuren (1990) as either lexicalized compounds or instances of governed pseudocomplementation similar to structures such as *Go see a doctor* or *Jonathan went fishing* (taken from Seuren (1991: 196)) in English. In these structures, sentential complements of a restricted number of verbs are licensed but are different to 'real' complements in that they are not semantically required by the verb[1]. Hence, rather than serialization, this is some form of complementation which can also be found in other languages such as English. Therefore, Seuren (1990) argues that complementation, lexicalization of compounds and asyndetic coordination are present in KS and concludes that "what we find is a fair bit of asyndesis, but not serials" (Seuren 1990: 291).

Bickerton (1990) responded by noting that all of the examples he proposes have similar or the same occurrences in other Creole languages in which these have been accepted as SVCs. He argues that, for example, all of the instances Seuren (1990) calls lexicalized compounds have been attested as serials in other languages. Furthermore, he shows that material can intervene between the two verbs and therefore, these cannot be called lexicalized compounds. In addition, he shows that extraction out of SVCs is possible and, therefore, he claims that they cannot be asyndetic coordinations as proposed by Seuren (1990)[2]. Finally, he argues that all instances can be explained if SVCs are assumed and there is no need for three different explanations (asyndetic coordination, lexicalization and pseudocomplementation) for this phenomenon. Hence, he ends with the following, now rather famous, sentence: "If it walks like a duck, and swims like a duck, and quacks like a duck, and lays eggs like a duck ... it's a duck" (Bickerton 1990: 302), meaning 'if it walks like an SVC, swims like an SVC and quacks like an SVC, it is an SVC'.

Michaelis (1994) argues that SVCs have to be considered within a scalar approach (similar to, but much earlier than, Aikhenvald (2006)). She proposes two continua. The first continuum considers a total of nine different ways to combine elements, i.e. clauses/sentences/events. At the one end aggregation is located, while at the other,

[1]Seuren (1991) argues that SVCs are instances of ungoverned pseudocomplementation as not only some governing verbs but all verbs can function as the licenser of sentential complements in SVCs.

[2]However, cf. the discussion concerning extraction out of coordination in chapter (3.3) above and in chapter (11.4) below.

integration can be found. She locates SVCs within asyndetic constructions, i.e. towards the left-hand side of the continuum within the area of aggregation. However, as SVCs are considered to be part of the technique of integrative intonation, they border on syndetic constructions. The second continuum consists of a what Michaelis (1994: 60) calls a "Subskala", i.e. a sub-scale. This considers the idea that SVCs can be found in between the phenomenon of asyndetic coordinations and grammaticalization/lexicalization. According to Michaelis (1994: 61), some constructions in KS could be considered as a precursor to SVCs, though remaining examples of juxtaposed material, i.e. coordinations, whereas others could already be considered SVCs, depending on whether subjects as well as TMA markers appear in the second verb phrase. Hence, she argues that, while SVCs might be present in KS, they have to be seen as one of the possibilities that can evolve out of asyndetic coordinations. However, this is not necessarily the case, as there are other techniques for combining elements present in KS. Furthermore, she is very cautious in her phrasing and she does not mention/find many examples and instances of SVCs, cf. (4.2) below.

Further research that investigates the possibility of KS and other French-based Creoles in the Indian Ocean exhibiting SVCs is evident in the article by Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996). They argue that constructions that have been identified by Bickerton (1989, 1990) are semantically identical to asyndetic coordinated clauses and can indeed be derived from these structures via a deletion process of certain elements that are recoverable. They consider "sentences which contain two (or more) verbs within a single intonation contour, by which [they] mean a sequence unbroken by any significant pause" (Corne, Coleman, and Curnow 1996: 129). They collected data, older data from written sources in particular. Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996) argue that, should Bickerton (1989) be correct and SVCs are indeed a bioprogram strategy to surpass insufficient input, one would expect more SVCs to appear in older/earlier texts. As has been explained above in (2.2), there are very few texts in KS that originate from before the 1960s, but they do exist for MC. They also gave informants the sentences proposed by Bickerton (1989) for judgment. In their study they find the following: First, older data and modern data are similar with respect to the constructions that include more than one verb. Second, "for every case of asyndetic coordination which has the shape NP VP VP there exists an exact equivalent which has the shape NP_1 VP NP_2 VP, where $NP_1 = NP_2$" (Corne, Coleman, and Curnow 1996: 143). They argue that these types of structures are asyndetic coordinations and not SVCs due to the presence of repeated subjects as well as TMA markers[3]. As subjects as well as TMA markers can be deleted in discourse, they argue that structures like NP VP VP, which exhibit similarity to SVCs, are merely another instance of asyndetic coordinations and not SVCs. Finally, they argue that these asyndetic coordinations can be traced back to African, Niger-Congo and Bantu origin, a similar assumption to that

[3]For a different analysis, cf. Aikhenvald's (2006) concordant marking analysis in chapter (3.2) above.

made by Gilman (1993) concerning what could be considered Argument Introducing 'say' SVCs in KS. Corne (1999: 181ff.) also makes this argument but adds a Malagasy element to the possible Bantu origin and investigates whether Malagasy could be a potential provider for the structures in KS that he terms 'consecutive constructions'. He argues that "IFC consecutives are the result of semantactic congruence, leading to the transfer to and retention in the emergent language of what are essentially substrate patterns" (Corne 1999: 186). As such, he claims they are consecutive constructions that can also be found in Bantu languages, supported in their genesis by the occurrence of SVCs in Malagasy[4].

Bickerton (1996) criticizes this analysis based on the argument that, if these structures are indeed asyndetic coordination structures, explanations are missing as to why arguments can be extracted, why subjects are necessarily co-referential and cannot change, as well as why TMA markers cannot freely be dropped if they are identical. According to him, this is possible in coordination structures, but not in the structures found in KS. Furthermore, coordinate constructions usually exhibit two intonation contours for the individual clauses. Hence, Bickerton (1996) rejects the clause reduction in asyndetic coordination analysis as proposed by Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996).

Adone (2012), similarly to Bickerton (1989), argues that SVCs do exist in MC and KS. However, she claims that "SVCs are not used productively in either Morisyen or Seselwa" (Adone 2012: 62) in the speech of adults. This is in contrast to child speech in these languages, as children do use these structures very productively and differently, as shown by Adone (2012). She concludes from this that SVCs are part of UG, because the input is insufficient, yet, children nevertheless produce these utterances.

Likewise, Syea (2013a) (focusing on MC) argues that SVCs do exist in Indian Ocean Creoles, thereby supporting Bickerton's approach. However, Syea (2013a) differs in one respect to Bickerton (1989) and Adone (2012) as he claims that these SVCs cannot be traced back to a bioprogram/UG (nor to a substrate influence, as proposed by Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996) and Corne (1999)) but instead should be seen as an independent, language internal development. He argues that a West African influence cannot be assumed as there are no other West African influences present in MC (or KS) and because SVCs in West African languages are more diverse and not restricted as they are in MC. Furthermore, he shows that a Bantu origin cannot be maintained for SVCs, as all languages that were present in Mauritius are non-serializing languages[5]. This is in contrast to Malagasy, the other substrate language present in Mauritius. Malagasy seems to exhibit SVCs. However, the types of serials found in MC (cf. chapter (4.2) below) are closer to those in West African Languages rather than

[4]Interestingly, he explicitly says that Indian Ocean creoles do have serial verbs (Corne 1999: 187). However, he does not mention which specific constructions he has in mind, nor does he list any examples of this.

[5]For a different argumentation, cf. Veenstra (2017).

to those found in Malagasy. Hence, Syea (2013a: 45) concludes that Malagasy could not have been the source for SVCs in IOCs as such. However, he concedes that the presence of Malagasy SVCs may have had an influence, for instance, on the structure of SVCs, as in MC and in Malagasy, SVCs are TP serials in contrast to VP serials. Finally, he investigates whether serials can be traced back to a bioprogram as proposed by Bickerton (1989). The problem with the bioprogram approach is that, according to Syea (2013a), one would expect SVCs to occur in a higher frequency in the world's languages if this indeed were the unmarked option. Furthermore, Bickerton (1984) argues that SVCs come into being if case marking prepositions are lacking and, hence, the bioprogram has to resort to serials in order to compensate for this lack. This is not the case in many Creoles. Therefore, Syea (2013a: 47ff.) proposes that SVCs developed out of consecutive imperatives, which exhibit similar features. He argues that it is likely that many imperatives were present in the input on the plantations and, as such, he stresses the importance of adults in creole genesis in contrast to Bickerton (1984).

Finally, a look at the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS) reveals that more recently SVCs have been listed as existent in KS, albeit in a limited way, as it is argued that not all or the types can be found in KS (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b)[6]. To conclude, after a long and heated discussion, there seems to be a consensus that these constructions are present in KS, though it is yet unclear which types of serials can be found in KS. In the following, an overview of the different types proposed and attested so far will be given.

4.2 Types assumed so far

This overview of types of SVCs that have been proposed to exist in KS is mainly based on Bickerton (1989) and Adone (2012). If need be, other sources and critical voices will also be included. The first type of SVCs, as presented above in table (3.2), are Directional SVCs. They are assumed to exist in KS, as is evident in the following examples:

(86) Prezan seren i tonbe vini
Then weaverbird PM fall come
'Then the weaverbirds descended (on the rice crop).' (Bickerton 1989: 163)

(87) Zot pe marse vin kot mwan
PRN ASP walk come to PRN
'They are walking to my place.' (Adone 2012: 56)

(88) Bann pirog in sove n ale
PL fishing boat ASP escape ASP go
'The fishing boats got away.' (Bickerton 1989: 164)

[6]However, only 3 types of SVCs are listed in APiCS in total. These are: Directionals, Take, Give – features 84-86.

(89) I'n taye n ale
PRN.ASP run ASP go
'He was running away.' (Michaelis 1994: 52)

These examples show that verbs of direction, *vini, ale*, 'come, go', are combined with other verbs of motion to indicate direction to or from something. Examples that show direction around something are also attested in the literature concerning MC (*marse - vire*, 'walk-go round') (Adone 2012: 57). Examples (86) and (87) show that the subject occurs overtly once in the structure similar to TMA markers, which also only appear in front of the first verb and are not repeated on the second verb in the SVC. This is in contrast to (88) and (89), in which the TMA marker is repeated, i.e. concordant marking is displayed.

The second type of SVCs, Argument Introducing 'give', is attested in Adone (2012: 57)[7].

(90) Zan in tir kas dan labank in donn li
John ASP take money in bank ASP give PRN
'John withdrew money from the bank for him/her.'

(90) shows that 'give' can also be interpreted as the preposition 'for' introducing and indicating a BENEFACTIVE argument. In contrast to Bickerton (1989) and Adone (2012), Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b) assume that no Give serials exist in KS. This is similar to Syea (2013a), who argues the same for MC. However, Bickerton (1989: 161) also concedes that "'give' serials seemed less acceptable to informants than other types of serials".

Concerning so called Argument Introducing 'say' serials, there is also no agreement on whether these are present in KS. In MC these types are not attested and seem to be nonexistent. Bickerton (1989: 162) gives the following examples of Say serials in KS in which *poudir* appears that, according to Bickerton (1989), is classified as a verb of saying[8]:

(91) Mon ti konnen poudir i fer ronm
PRN TNS know ?-say PRN make rum
'I knew that he made rum.'

(92) Nou granpye ti akont nou poudir basin ble ti kre
PRN grandfather TNS tell PRN ?-say pool blue TNS deep
'Our grandfather used to tell us that Blue Pool was deep.'

A further example can be found in Bollée (1977: 84), however, she identifies *poudir* as a conjunction/complementizer and, hence, the structure is not analyzed as an SVC:

[7] A similar sentence is given by Bickerton (1989: 161).
[8] As will be discussed in the following paragraphs and in chapter 11.2, the nature of *pou* in *poudir* is yet unclear and hence, it is indicated with a question mark in the following interlinear transcriptions.

(93) Si mo'n deza dir ou pou dir mon kontan Mimi ...
If PRN.ASP already told PRN ? say PRN love Mimi
'If I have already told you that I love Mimi...'

The grammaticalization path of the second verb of saying in an SVC has already been mentioned above and discussed extensively by Lord (1973, 1993), and, therefore, it is not surprising that Bollée (1977) as well as Corne (1977) classify *poudir* as a complementizer. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether serials of Argument Introducing 'say' exist in KS. Bickerton (1989) argues that *poudir* is in fact a 'fossilized' form of the combination *pou*, i.e. the future/mood marker, plus the verb *dir*, 'say'. He bases his argument on sentences of the following structure, taken from Bickerton (1989: 163), in which the verbs of saying are both marked - in his terminology - with a tense marker:

(94) Premye fiy i dir ek son ser – i koze i dir "alor..."
First girl PM say with PRN sister – PM chat PM say well...
'The first girl said to her sister, well....'

As it seems, tense-marked serials are generally preferred in KS (cf. also discussion (11.)) below and in passing above). Hence, it could be possible that *poudir* evolved out of a TMA marker plus verb and maybe now is a complementizer that introduces subordinate clauses. Adone (2012: 57) remarks that "[i]t seems to be an idiomatic construction and is not productive. It is rare in the speech of young Seselwa today as compared to the speech of older generation". This observation is also shared by Kriegel (2004). However, a different analysis of the etymology and genesis of *poudir* is proposed by Seuren (1990), Gilman (1993) and Kriegel (2004). They argue that *poudir* evolved from the combination of *pour* - a preposition/ a complementizer homophonous with the TMA marker *pou* - and the verb *dir*. Furthermore, Gilman (1993) and Kriegel (2004) assume that this can be traced back to Bantu influence or can be seen as a convergence of French and Bantu. If this is indeed the case, then no SVC can be assumed as per definition, no overt sub- or coordinator is contained in serials and this would be the case if a preposition/complementizer, akin to 'in order to' or 'for' is present.

Aspectual SVCs, the fourth type of serials mentioned above in table (3.2), are not attested in Bickerton (1989) for KS. However, one example of this type is mentioned by Adone (2012: 58) for MC.

(95) Zan in kup latet so madam in fini ar li
John ASP cut head his wife ASP finish with her
'John was done with her (by cutting her head)'.

Nevertheless, Adone (2012) argues that this is very rare in both MC and KS. Likewise, Syea (2013a: 18) states that no Aspectual SVCs are present in MC. The same picture emerges when Degree serials, found in other Creole languages, are considered. Neither KS nor MC seem to exhibit Degree serials (Bickerton 1989; Adone 2012; Syea 2013a).

In contrast, Causative SVCs are attested in both languages. One example of a Causative serial is the following, taken from Adone (2012: 58):

(96) Son destin in fer li vin violent
His destiny ASP make him become violent
'His destiny has turned him into a violent person.'

However, the question has to be raised as to whether the second verb and its connected VP in this example is in fact an instance of a subordinate verb-phrase complement to V_1 similar to the English construction *make him do something*, in which the second verb appears in infinitive form. Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 22) state that *make* is the second verb in causative SVCs, linking V_1 and V_3 and establishing a causality between these events. This will be discussed in (11.2) with further data from KS.

In contrast to 'say', Aspectual, Degree and Causative serials that are either contested in KS or not present at all, the existence of Argument Introducing 'take' serials is less controversial. The following examples can be found in the literature:

(97) I ti pran kouto met dan bwat
PRN TNS take knife put in box
'He put the knife into the box.' (Adone 2012: 59)

(98) Zot pran balye koko bat Kazer
PRN take broom coconut beat Kaiser
'They beat the Kaiser with a coconut broom.' (Bickerton 1989: 158)[9]

(99) I pran trwa kat bobin i roule.
PRN take three four bobbin PRN twine
'He took three, four bobbins and twined them together. OR: He twined three, four bobbins together.' (Michaelis 1994: 65), also mentioned in Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b)[10].

The examples above show that both types of Take serials, i.e. INSTRUMENTAL (97 and 98) as well as THEME (99) serials, exist in KS.

Resultative SVCs, the eighth subtype presented above, are also assumed to exist in KS, as is evident from the following examples, all taken from Adone (2012: 59). Even though all of her examples are taken from MC, she maintains that these are also possible in KS.

(100) Zot fin bat li tuye
PRN ASP beat him kill
'They beat him dead.'

(101) Li fin ris lakord la kase
PRN ASP pull rope D break
'He broke the rope off.'

[9]Bickerton (1989: 159) mentions that this sentence was not unanimously accepted but, if the sentence contained a past tense marker in front of both verbs, it was accepted more often.

[10]In her publication from 1994, Michaelis argues that this is not an instance of an SVC due to the repeated subject as well as semantics. However, the APiCs Datapoint uses this example. As Michaelis is one of the main editors, it is likely that she accepts this as an SVC nowadays.

Last but not least, Open-Ended SVCs are also cited in the literature for KS. Bickerton (1989) calls them 'All Purpose serials', while Adone (2012) uses the term 'Multiple Verb Constructions'. The examples are taken from Bickerton (1989: 164) (102 and 103), as well as from Adone (2012: 60) (104).

(102) Bann madanm prezan i tir zot sapo bat lanmen
PL women then PM remove PRN hat beat hand
'At this point the women took off their hats and clapped their hands.'

(103) I fer zot dite met pare
PRN make PRN tea put ready
'She prepared their tea.'

(104) Zan in koup zironmon met dan pannyen anmenn lakaz fer 'ladob' avek
John ASP cut pumpkin put in basket bring home make ladob with
'John cut the pumpkin, put it in the basket, brought it home to make ladob with it.'

4.3 Summary

In summary, there was a heated discussion concerning the existence of SVCs in KS and Indian Ocean Creoles in general during the 1990s. Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996) argues that they can be found in KS and, as no significant West African Language Substrate can be discerned, their occurrence has to be explained due to a universal bioprogram. In contrast to this, Seuren (1990, 1991), Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996), and Corne (1999) maintain that SVCs do not exist in KS but that these structures, which are similar to serials, are actually asyndetic, covert coordinations that can be traced back to a Bantu/Malagasy substrate influence. Nowadays, most publications, such as Adone (2012), Syea (2013a) and APiCS, assume that SVCs do exist in KS and other Indian Ocean Creoles. The types that have been proposed to exist in KS are the following: Directional, Argument introducing 'give', 'take' and 'say', Aspectual, Causatives, Resultatives, Open Ended. Hence, all of the types mentioned above in table (3.2) with the exception of Degree serials have at one point been proposed to exist in KS. However, it has been shown that this list is not unanimously accepted and that some serials are accepted more readily than others by informants. For instance, some authors would exclude Argument Introducing 'give' (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b), in contrast to Bickerton (1989) who claims that they do exist but are rare. Furthermore, there is a consensus that constructions with *poudir* exist in KS, but some, such as Seuren (1990), Gilman (1993), and Kriegel (2004), argue that these cannot be classified as (former) SVCs, as they evolved out of a complementizer plus verb combination that has now been grammaticalized. Therefore, the number of types that may possibly be found in KS ranges from 4 (Directional, Argument Introducing 'take', Resultatives, Open ended) to 8 (Directional, Argument Introducing 'give', 'take' and 'say', Aspectual,

Causatives, Resultatives, Open Ended). The only SVCs that everyone agrees seems to be missing are Degree SVCs.

These different and very contradictory findings concerning the existence of SVCs as well as the observable types can be traced back to two reasons. First, as mentioned above, the question of SVCs was (and maybe still is) tied to the fundamental question of how Creoles in general come into being. For Bickerton (1989), it is a theoretical necessity that SVCs are present in KS (and any other IOC), since he argues that Creoles evolve out of an innate and universal blueprint, the so-called bioprogram. For others, it is a necessity that SVCs do not exist in KS, since SVCs can be traced back to substrate influence. In Atlantic Creoles, SVCs supposedly exist due to the West African Substrate, which is not present in KS and other IOCs and, hence, serials cannot be present in these according to their reasoning.

Second, the different findings may also be due to different as well as changing definitions and notions of SVCs. For example, in the publications from the '90s, such as Bickerton (1989), Seuren (1990) or Michaelis (1994), constructions with repeated, overt subjects as well as concordant TMA marking have been at times excluded from the category of serials. This, as has been shown above in chapter (3.1), has since changed and is important in light of the constructions found in KS as will be shown in part (II) and chapter (11.2). Furthermore, as was shown above, there is the possibility that SVCs are asymmetric coordination structures realized by adjunction and, therefore, both, Bickerton (1989) as well as Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996) may be correct.

The present study aims to revisit the debate and show whether SVCs exist in KS. However, their origin in KS is not traced and discussed and no inferences concerning genesis theories of Creoles will be made. This is done in order to exclude a bias concerning their existence[11]. The approach here will describe the phenomenon and the types of constructions found in KS, will check the observed phenomenon against the definition of SVCs given in (3.1) and will then give a description and analysis of the structure of SVCs based on a corpus of written and spoken data.

[11]E.g. The substratist view necessarily has to believe that these do not exist in KS, whereas the universalist view has to assume that they do exist.

Part II

Methods, Data and Analysis

5. Methodology

The data for this study were mainly gathered during two research trips to the Seychelles in 2014 and 2015 with the permission of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. In total, more than eleven weeks were spent on Mahé, the main island of the Seychelles, in order to gain an overview of the language, the history, the culture and other important aspects for this study. Furthermore, during this time interviews were conducted, research in the archives and libraries was undertaken, and a corpus of written material was collected. The research was mainly supported by the Lenstiti Kreol (cf. description in (2.2)) as well as the University of Seychelles.

In general, this study employs a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods and therefore may be considered a mixed-method design (Angouri 2010). Data gathering was mainly based on interviews, which have traditionally been associated with rather qualitative approaches. However, these interviews also included structured questionnaires and, for example, elicitation techniques to collect comparable data from the participants. As such, this study follows an embedded design of quantitative and qualitative data in which both types of data are gathered simultaneously (Abbuhl, Gass, and Mackey 2013: 125). The research questions mentioned in the introduction also are geared towards quantitative as well as qualitative data (Angouri 2010: 33). For instance, the aim of this study is, on the one hand, to show which types of SVCs occur how often with respect to certain factors such as age, education or origin (quantitative). At the same time, their syntactic make up will be analyzed (qualitative). Finally, this study is considered to be a cross-sectional study rather than a longitudinal one (Sakel and Everett 2012). However, older data gathered by other researchers as well as older written data are also used for comparison in order to be able to infer/predict the possible development and language change with respect to SVCs.

In the following, an outline of the procedure concerning the development of the methods as well as the gathering and analysis of the data will be provided. In a second step, an overview of the participants who took part in the study will be given. Lastly, the final data corpus, which is the basis for the analysis in the subsequent chapters in this part (II), will be described.

5.1 Methods and Procedure

First, the written data that were examined concerning the occurrence of SVCs include fictional (such as poems and novels) as well as non-fictional texts (such as newspaper articles). A detailed description of the chosen material can be found in chapter (5.3). The written corpus for this study was mainly selected by random sampling. However, one criterion that was important in choosing the texts was the date of publication. Since the first printed text appeared in KS in 1974 (cf. chapter (2.2)), at least one text from each decade was chosen with a slight focus on the years from 2000-today due to the number of texts available. Furthermore, as a very early source, the letters and

language samples sent to Schuchardt in 1882 (edited by Stein (2007)) were also used as a source.

Second, spoken data for this study consist of different types. All spoken data were gathered during interviews conducted in 2014 and 2015. All interviews were carried out by the researcher, predominantly in KS. The interviews took place either at the Lenstiti Kreol Enternasyonal, the University of Seychelles or in the participants' homes or offices. The participants were either interviewed alone or in pairs of two. An overview of all the participants can be found in chapter (5.2) in table (5.1). At the beginning of each interview, it was made clear that the focus of this study was on the participants' actual usage of KS. This is especially important in a Creole context in which European languages are considered much more prestigious (cf. chapter (2.2) above and (6.) below) and the Creole which is closest to the lexifier is sometimes thought of as the 'best' Creole that people from outside (i.e. the researcher) should record and investigate. As such, this does not necessarily reflect all of the lects that can be found and also does not necessarily reflect the actual language spoken in the society. Therefore, participants were asked to use language that was familiar to them and that they also employed with other native speakers of KS. It was asserted that the interviewer could understand KS well and would not have problems following the conversation in order to ensure that the participants did not adjust their language due to a non-native speaker present in the room. Furthermore, if interviews were conducted with two or more participants, they were asked to talk to each other rather than the interviewer in order to obtain as natural data as possible in these artificial interview situations[1].

The format of structured interviews (Sakel and Everett 2012: 132) was chosen in order to be able to respond spontaneously to answers and, if necessary, to request reasons for the answers provided by the participants. This proved particularly helpful with regard to acceptability judgments, as described below. The interviews were recorded on audio with a Zoom H2N Handy Recorder and, if the location allowed, no further microphones were used in order to create a natural environment where possible. If background noises were too predominant, lapel microphones with a very long cable were used in order to impede the participants as minimally as possible. At times, a video was recorded (either with an iPad or an iPhone), though this depended on the consent of the participants and was not often carried out in order to make the participants feel more comfortable. The interviews lasted approximately 45-60 mins. All language data, expressions, views and attitudes that will be presented in the subsequent chapters will be given anonymously in order to protect the privacy of the participants, as was agreed with the participants. All of the participants filled out an informed consent form[2] (given in the the appendix (A1)) in which they could determine what

[1]Sometimes, a second interviewer, Melanie Brück, was present as she was simultaneously gathering data for her study on multimodal reference marking in KS (Brück 2016).

[2]The informed consent is based on the form prepared by K. Brandt, 2014.

exactly would happen with their data and which type of data could be used for which purpose. Furthermore, it was made clear that they could withdraw their consent at any given time during or after the interviews. All participants received a gift consisting of German specialty goods after the interviews as this was considered to be more appropriate than reimbursement (Adone 2008: 118; Adone: p.c.). The methods and procedure chosen for the first research trip were retained for the second trip to ensure comparability. However, some additional material was included in the latter, as the first stay showed that some adjustments were necessary in order to be able to make certain statements, for example, concerning the general structure of SVCs.

During the interviews a sociolinguistic questionnaire was carried out first in order to acquire background information on the participants, their sociolinguistic history as well as attitudes concerning KS. The questionnaire can be found in the appendix in the English as well as in the KS version (A2)[3]. The participants did not fill out the questionnaire themselves, but they were asked to answer the questions during a conversation with the interviewer. Data and an analysis of this questionnaire can be found in chapter (6.). This questionnaire is also important in light of the question as to whether there is variation in the usage of SVCs concerning age, education and other social factors such as origin and linguistic influence/contact. After completing the questionnaire, semi-spontaneous data were collected. The participants were encouraged to talk freely about certain topics that described actions. These topics were, for instance, the description of the preparation of their favorite dish, which activities were pursued during the weekend or what they do at Christmas. The topics were specified, as it was expected that otherwise it would be difficult for participants to think of their own topics spontaneously in order to talk to each other or the researcher. Furthermore, these specific topics were chosen as they describe actions in which SVCs might appear. However, participants were asked and allowed to talk freely on that topic and, if participants verged from the given topic, they were not stopped.

After this, elicitation data were gathered with the help of short videos. These videos had no sound and showed actions that the participants were then asked to describe in their own words. The short clips were based on SVCs that have been shown to exist in KS as well as in other Creoles. In addition to this, other actions were also shown that were thought likely to elicit SVCs. An overview of these videos and targeted SVCs of different types can be found in table (A3) in the appendix. The participants were first asked to watch the whole video and then describe the content. If two participants were present during the same interview, they were explicitly told that people sometimes phrase certain things differently and that they should give alternatives if the version of their other interview partner did not match with their phrasing. This was also indicated for the last part of the interview, i.e. another

[3]The questionnaire is based on Fleischmann (2008) as well as a questionnaire designed by K. Brandt and developed further by the author of the present thesis as well as M. Brück. Special thanks goes to C. Moka who helped translate the questionnaire into KS.

elicitation task consisting of acceptability judgment data.

Following Schütze and Sprouse (2013), the term 'acceptability judgments' will be preferred here and in the following in contrast to 'grammaticality judgments', as grammar and grammaticality is something, at least in Chomsky's (1965) view, which is a mental entity and hence cannot be accessed directly. However, sentences can be judged concerning their acceptability, which in turn might lead to the determination of grammaticality. As Chomsky (1965: 11) states: "Grammaticalness is only one of many factors that interact to determine acceptability". Hence, according to Schütze (2016: 33), if all other factors are excluded in an unacceptability judgment (such as pragmatics, memory limitations, performance errors), the sentence can be classified as ungrammatical. This is one of the reasons why an interview setting rather than a written questionnaire was chosen in order to be able to inquire into the reasons for the unacceptability of sentences. The use of the term 'acceptability judgments' rather than 'grammaticality judgments' also bears witness to the focus of inquiry of this study which is the actual usage of the language rather than what might be considered 'good' KS or standard KS by prescriptive instances such as language planning and policy. As such, this study aims at a descriptive approach to language, which is particularly important in a Creole context, as has been indicated above.

Of course, there are some problems and caveats associated with judgment data. First, as pointed out by Schütze and Sprouse (2013) and Schütze (2016), providing made up sentences for judgment creates an artificial situation which requires metalinguistic competence and awareness from the participants. Furthermore, Schütze (2016) mentions that the "informal nature of judgement collection" has been criticized, meaning that no rigorous procedure has been applied in these methods in contrast to other experiments, such as those conducted in psychology. This informal nature usually is attested by a fewer number of participants, the occasional involvement of linguists as providers of judgments, a limited response scale, a limited number of sentences and, finally, issues with statistical analysis (Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 30). Despite these issues with acceptability judgments, they were deemed necessary in the context of this study and certain measures, mentioned in the following paragraphs, were taken in order to address the limitations of acceptability judgments.

Judgment data were included in this study in order to check for syntactic phenomena that may not be particularly common in everyday speech, such as extraction out of SVCs. Furthermore, some serials could not be represented with the help of the videos, for instance so called Say serials. Therefore, they had to be included in the acceptability judgments, as they could otherwise not have been elicited. Finally, as Adone (2012) has shown, SVCs seem to be not very productive in adult speech in KS and, therefore, other methods such as judgment data and elicitation data apart from semi-spontaneous data were deemed to be necessary.

For these judgments a Likert Scale (LS) from 1-7 was given during the interviews and the participants had to rate the acceptability of the presented sentence based on

this scale. An LS of 1-7 was chosen due to two reasons: First, this seemed more appropriate in a Creole context because of the large degree of variation and the subsequent need for a more fine-grained distinction (Adone: p.c.). Furthermore, this was done in order to counterbalance the limitation of scales, as it has been mentioned above, for example in comparison to a binary 'yes/no' or a ternary 'acceptable, marginal, unacceptable' choice[4]. However, in order to make the scale more tangible for and accessible to the participants (Schütze 2016: 129ff.), the scale was not only given numerically from 1-7 but, in addition, as a rephrased scale. The scale can be found in the appendix (A4). This was designed to help the participants with the increased demand in metalinguistic awareness. Furthermore, it was expected that the participants of the study would be able to give these metalinguistic judgments in an artificial environment due to their schooling and literacy (cf. table (5.1) and description below). Schütze (2016: 124) argues, based on a study conducted by Scribner and Cole (1981), that acceptability judgments do not require literacy as such, but that literacy and schooling helps in dealing with these abstract and formal settings.

An overview of all of the sentences that were given for the acceptability judgment task can be found in the appendix (A4). Many tokens (91 in total) were included in order to address the issue of the limited number of sentences as mentioned above. Nevertheless, as the list of tested sentences is rather extensive, not all of the participants were able to complete all of them due to time limitations. In addition, judgment tasks can be somewhat tiring and boring and, as such, often only a selection was given to most participants. Still, the number of subjects who participated in the acceptability judgment task is relatively high at 37 in comparison to other studies[5]. Sprouse and Almeida (unpublished, quoted in Schütze and Sprouse (2013: 40)) estimate that for an LS based judgment task, 30-35 participants are needed in order for it to be powerful. However, this estimate is based on the assumption that each participant only provides one judgment per condition. As the participants are asked to give more judgments per condition in this study (i.e. per type of SVC), the sample size can be reduced (Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 40). Finally, in terms of the criticism concerning the involvement of linguists as participants in judgment data, it can be stated that, out of the 37 participants who took part in the judgment task, only two had received specific linguistic training. The remainder were non-linguists and, therefore, no bias can be assumed.

Despite the measures taken to address potential issues with acceptability judgments, some caveats still remain, as described above. However, this is also true of other

[4]Of course, it is acknowledged that a scale from 1-7 nevertheless continues to limit the scale in comparison to, for example, Magnitude Estimation (ME) tasks (Hoffmann 2013; Schütze and Sprouse 2013). An ME task was not chosen, since it is less intuitive than an LS task (Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 35), requires more training and instruction and, hence, is more complex and time consuming (Hoffmann 2013: 116). Further criticism concerning ME tasks is summarized in Schütze and Sprouse (2013).

[5]Schütze and Sprouse (2013: 39) mention that "almost always fewer than ten" participants make up the sample size.

elicitation methods as well as (semi)spontaneous data. For this reason, a triangulation of methods was a necessary prerequisite in order to gain an as comprehensive picture of SVCs as possible and to counterbalance shortcomings of each individual data-gathering method. The results of the interviews with all of the participants will be presented in the following chapters of part (II).

After the collection of written as well as spoken data, the analysis proceeded as following. In both data types, all of the clauses containing more than one verb were noted down as putative SVCs. They were preliminarily categorized according to their function (i.e. into Directional, Argument Introducing 'give', Argument Introducing 'say', Aspectual, Degree, Causative, Argument Introducing 'take', Resultative and Open Ended) and according to their formal properties (i.e. symmetric vs. asymmetric, (non-)contiguous, (non-)concordant). As all putative SVCs in KS are multi-word constructions, this categorization was not indicated individually. Clauses with repeated subject pronouns were preliminarily accepted as SVCs pending further analysis and discussion in the remaining chapters of part (II) and in part (III).

All of the sentences that contained more than one verb in a clause but were instances of V plus infinitival VP complements were excluded from the analysis in order to be true to the definition of SVCs mentioned above, which states that no complement relationship should hold between the verbs. As verbs are not inflected for tense and agreement in KS, this is also not an easy decision to take. However, in KS it seems that the short form of the verb is followed by an argument. Therefore, combinations of $V_{\text{short form}}$ + $V_{\text{long/short form}}$ were excluded, as they seem to indicate that the second verb is a licensed complement or argument. For example, this holds for combinations such as *al* 'go' + Verb which is rather common in KS and resembles constructions in English such as *Go see the doctor*. Likewise, sentences containing *fini*, 'finish' + Verb were excluded from the list. This is a construction that is also common in KS. In this case it is very difficult to ascertain whether the following verb is a complement to and licensed by *fini* due to the missing short form **fin*. A more detailed discussion concerning these structures involving *fini* can be found in chapter (11.2). However, initially, they were excluded from the written and spoken corpus except in cases in which the following verb exhibited an overt TMA marker and hence could not be an infinitival complement. Finally, all sentences containing *dir*, 'say', after verbs of saying, knowing, speaking etc. were processed in the following way: if both verbs had the same TMA configuration (one defining criterion of SVCs, cf. chapter (3.1) above), they were included in the list. This can, for instance, be evidenced with the following sentence from the written corpus in which the TMA marker is printed in bold: *Tang* ***i*** *reponn li* ***i*** *dir*, 'The hedgehog answered him that ...' (Accouche 1976: 119). If the element after the first verb had the orthographic form of *poudir* or *pourdir* in the written data, it was excluded due to the unclear etymology (cf. (4.2)) unless the first verb likewise exhibited the mood marker *pou*.

The occurrence of SVCs in written data is difficult to ascertain, as one of the

defining criteria stated above in (3.1) is that the two verbs are uttered in the same intonation contour, which of course cannot be heard in writing. In order to err on the safe side, only those sentences were considered to be SVCs which were not graphically represented with a comma, the only way to possibly indicate intonation contour and clause boundary in a written text. All other sentences, even though they may indeed be instances of SVCs, were not counted if they contained a comma. This is of course dependent on the choices of the authors and editors and might influence the results. However, given the discussion on SVCs in KS (see (4.1)), it seems better to be conservative when it comes to these structures. An overview of all of the sentences considered to be serials in all written texts can be seen in the appendix (A5). These SVCs will then be discussed concerning their actual classification and status in chapter (11.2).

The interviews conducted in 2014 and 2015 were transcribed and translated by native speakers of KS, as well as by the researcher herself following the notation proposed by Jefferson (2004). All multi-verb structures which were deemed to be putative SVCs were then extracted from the transcripts and transferred to and analyzed in Praat. This was done in order to show intonation contour and to be able to differentiate SVCs from other phenomena such as asyndetic coordinations. An overview and analysis of all of the putative SVCs uttered in the semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation tasks is given in chapter (8.) and chapter (9.). Acceptability judgments were counted, processed and statistically analyzed with the help of spreadsheets. A focus has been placed on descriptive statistics and qualitative differences in the analyses of all of the data types. Regarding the judgment data, the decision was taken not to apply inferential statistical tests with the help of z-score transformation and a mixed linear effect model as proposed by Schütze (2016) based on some general assumptions and observations that arose after the interviews as well as the coding of the data.

First of all, it has been discussed as to whether judgment data can actually be statistically analyzed since, for instance, a Likert Scale and the corresponding judgments that participants give are not continuous and the intervals between the numbers on the scale are not uniform (Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 44). According to Schütze and Sprouse (2013: 43f.), parametric tests could nonetheless be applied if "you [...] treat LS data as continuous for practical purposes" and if one "is willing to tolerate the potential consequences of the violations of parametric tests". However, the nature of the data gathered during this study can best be captured based on a descriptive and qualitative analysis. First of all, not all participants were able to judge all tokens or even conditions, as in some interviews a focus was placed on certain types or structures of SVCs and some types were not hence not assessed by those participants. Furthermore, even though at times a good distribution of tokens or conditions across age groups was achieved, this was not possible for all of the suggested sentences. In addition, some types of SVCs were numerically better represented in the questionnaire than others since it was hypothesized that some types would not be produced in the semi-spontaneous or elicitation data (such as Argument Introducing 'say' or 3 verb

SVCs amongst others). After the first research stay, it became apparent that also other tokens and types of SVCs have to be added to the list of sentences offered to the participants in order to gain a more detailed insight into their nature and structure. Hence, these items did not have as many responses as other sentences. Since the focus of this study on the one hand was placed on a general overview and an investigation into structural details, a very extensive list of tokens for the judgment data was compiled. Since the participants often did not have a lot of time, not a lot of distractors were included. Therefore, a scale skew was to be expected, as indicated by Schütze and Sprouse (2013: 39). This in fact can be observed if the judgments are compared. Most sentences were either judged with a 1 or a 7 on the scale and other numbers were chosen rarely. Hence, these data tend to be non-numerical and resemble results from yes-no judgment tasks. Furthermore, the fact that the scale was presented to the participants as a rephrased scale in addition to the numerical scale in order to facilitate cognitive demands posed by an acceptability judgment task also evidences the non-numerical nature of the data in this study. Therefore, the gathered data can be described to mainly exhibit qualitative differences between the different tokens and types of SVCs rather than quantitative differences, i.e. "information about the *size of the difference*"(Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 31; emphasis in original). Further specific reasons for a preference of a descriptive and qualitative analysis of acceptability judgments in this study will also be provided in chapter (10.) when the actual data are presented and analyzed.

5.2 Participants

In total, 41 participants were interviewed either in single or in group interviews on Mahé which is the current residence of all of the participants. They are native speakers of KS[6] but most of them also have native-like competence in English and sometimes in French. In the following table, an overview of all of the participants and relevant information is presented. Participants 01 – 17 were interviewed in September/October 2014, participants 18 – 41 in July/August 2015.

Table 5.1: Participants 2014/2015

No.	Age	Gender	Origin	Education	Occupation
01	23	male	Mahé	University	Student
02	23	female	Mahé	University	Student
03	23	female	Mahé	University	Student
04	54	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Administrative Officer
05	23	female	Mahé	University	Student
06	24	female	Mahé	University	Student

[6]One of them was raised bilingually with KS and English.

Table 5.1: Participants, continued

No.	Age	Gender	Origin	Education	Occupation
07	23	female	Mahé	University	Student
08	23	female	Mahé/Australia	University	Student
09	35	female	Mahé	University	Librarian
10	82	female	Mahé	Primary	Retired; Misc. Occupations
11	65	female	Mahé	Secondary	Retired Kindergarten Teacher
12	55	male	Mahé	University	Ministry Worker
13	47	female	Mahé	University	Graphic Designer
14	41	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Secretary
15	38	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Researcher
16	53	female	Silhouette/Mahé	Secondary	Facility Manager
17	46	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Researcher
18	30	female	Mahé	University	Teacher/Student
19	42	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Primary Teacher
20	28	female	La Digue	University	Student
21	30	female	Mahé	University	Student
22	72	female	Mahé	Secondary	Retired Teacher
23	74	female	Mahé	Secondary	Retired, Misc. Occupations
24	78	female	Mahé	Primary	Retired, Misc. Occupations
25	78	female	Praslin	Primary	Retired
26	36	male	Mahé	Tertiary	Primary Teacher
27	36	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Primary Teacher
28	24	female	Praslin/Mahé	Tertiary	Primary Teacher
29	27	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Primary Teacher
30	37	female	Mahé	Secondary	Researcher
31	23	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Researcher
32	53	female	Mahé	University	Teacher
33	32	female	Mahé	University	Researcher
34	46	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Researcher
35	76	female	Mahé	na	Retired
36	73	female	Mahé	na	Retired
37	32	female	Mahé	University	Secretary
38	74	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Retired Teacher
39	34	female	Mahé	University	Researcher
40	48	female	La Digue	University	Researcher
41	77	female	Mahé	Tertiary	Retired Ministry Worker

As can be seen from the table above, only 3 of the participants are male. A similar

gender skew can be observed in Brück (2016) and in Fleischmann (2008). Fleischmann (2008: 93f.) traces this back to "the dominance of women in public life". Almost all of the participants grew up in Mahé. Two participants grew up in La Digue and three of them grew up and attended school or other educational facilities partly in Mahé partly in Silhouette, Praslin and Australia respectively. Two participants did not give their educational status. Three of the participants went to school until the end of Primary. Two of these attended alphabetization classes in Kreol, English and French offered to adults. All of the others either completed secondary or tertiary/university education, which is not surprising given the figures for education and literacy in the Seychelles (Unesco 2018). Even though there is a dominance of participants who work in education (teachers, students and researchers), also other occupational groups are also present, though most of them are employed in the tertiary sector, which is also the most prominent in the Seychelles (cf. chapter (2.1)). Some of the older participants indicated that they worked in miscellaneous occupations such as nursing, cleaning, in hotels or as a moutya teacher and dancer. The primary sector (such as agriculture) as well as the secondary sector (such as construction) is not well represented. This may be due to the gender distribution of the participants as well as the accessibility of potential participants. Not represented in this table is the duration that the participants stayed abroad for a longer period of time. This has been done in order to ensure the anonymity of the participants. If their time abroad seems to have an effect on their use of SVCs (for example, since they stayed in countries with a language that does not exhibit SVCs), this will be mentioned below in the respective chapters. Finally, the participants come from a variety of age groups. For the remainder of the present study, the participants are grouped into 5 age groups, beginning with number 2 in order to indicate that no participants younger than 20 were included in the study (i.e. from 0 – 9: age group 0; from 10 – 19: age group 1) and in order to increase their recognizability when only the age group is given. Their distribution can be seen in the table below:

Table 5.2: Age Distribution of Participants

Group	Age	Number of participants
2	20 – 29	11
3	30 – 39	10
4	40 – 49	6
5	50 – 59	4
6	60 and above	10

5.3 Data Corpus

The corpus that was collected for this study and serves as the basis for the analysis and discussion includes spoken data (semi-spontaneous, elicitation and judgment data) as well as written data. First, the spoken corpus will be described. As indicated above, 41 participants were interviewed in a total of 28 interviews, i.e. 14 interviews were conducted with more than one participant, 14 interviews were individual interviews. In total, more than 31 hours of audio recordings were made. In addition, two further interviews were conducted that contained judgment data which were not recorded but were noted down. As not all participants could take part in all of the activities due to time limitations, an overview of the different tasks is given below.

Table 5.3: Distribution of Methods

Method	Number of participants
Sociolinguistic Questionnaire	41
Semi-Spontaneous Data	33
Elicitation Videos	26
Judgment Data	37

As indicated above, the semi-spontaneous data consisted of a range of topics. Most of the participants were asked to give a recipe of their favorite dish (29 participants). Other topics included weekend activities (3), festivities such as Christmas and marriage (6), and one task concerned a flood (2). The topics partly coincide with those chosen by Brück (2016). This is due to the fact that some interviews were conducted together. Furthermore, some participants were asked to talk about more than one topic, hence the disparity between the number of topics and the number of participants with regard to semi-spontaneous data in the table above. One participant who was asked to give a recipe of her favorite dish mainly spoke French during this task and then switched to Kreol for the other tasks. Therefore, her semi-spontaneous data are not considered in table (5.3) or in the analysis.

In total, 31 elicitation videos were prepared to show to the participants. Once again, not all the videos were shown to all the participants. This was due to several reasons. First, time was a limiting factor. Second, after the first batch of interviews in 2014, some videos were discarded as they were deemed unsuitable to elicit SVCs and therefore it was decided that it was not necessary to continue to use them (numbers 2, 12, 31 and partially 1 and 21 in table (A3)). Three additional videos, numbers 4, 13 and 20 were included in 2015 as they were based on occurrences of SVCs in 2014 which previously had not been anticipated. An overview of the distribution of participants (P) across the individual videos (V) can be found in the following table:

Table 5.4: Distribution of Elicitation videos

V	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
P	10	7	12	11	26	26	24	26	26	26	26	14	12	26	26	26
V	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
P	26	26	26	12	16	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	25	6	

Concerning judgment sentences, a total of 91 tokens across different conditions (i.e. types of SVCs) were devised which were presented to the participants and were judged according to their acceptability. Once again, after the first research stay, some sentences were added based on experience from the first interviews. However, sentences from the first stay were not altered to ensure comparability. The complete list of these 91 tokens can be found in the appendix (A4). The total amount of sentences that were judged according to their acceptability within this study amounts to 1630. Hence, in the following table the distribution of participants (P) across the individual sentences (S) is listed.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Judgment Sentences

S	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
P	33	16	17	12	17	17	14	15	16	16	11	12	32	32	31	
S	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
P	30	16	35	37	23	17	10	10	28	28	35	35	7	18	29	
S	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	
P	28	12	26	12	28	12	10	12	12	10	22	21	21	5	19	
S	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	
P	3	3	19	19	26	27	9	24	8	5	22	31	28	7	27	
S	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	
P	9	23	24	23	22	7	7	16	16	2	23	23	23	21	17	
S	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91
P	17	3	3	3	3	2	24	22	24	24	10	19	18	13	15	15

In the mean, each participant responded to 44 tokens. As is apparent from the table above, not all the sentences could be included within one session due to time limitations and the tiring nature of acceptability judgments. A focus was put on certain SVCs which can be found in other languages. Furthermore, all types of SVCs presented in chapter (3.2) were included to check for their existence. Other sentences dealt with the syntactic nature of SVCs, such as the repetition of TMA markers or subject pronouns, extraction patterns and negation.

The written corpus consists of different text types, as can be seen in (5.6), in which they are listed in order of the date of their publication. In total, approximately 430 pages have been examined concerning their usage of SVCs. The number of pages is an estimate due to different page sizes and formats.

Table 5.6: Overview of Written Corpus

Author	Year	Title	Pages	type
Henry M. Warry/M. Collie (ed. Stein)	1882	Spécimen du Patois Seychellois	6	letter/misc.
Samuel Accouche	1976	Ti anan en foi en Soungoula	127	Novel/Stories
Antoine Abel	1982	Mon tann en leokri	76	Novel
Georgine Robert	1999	Kont ek Lezann Seselwa - Lezann Lavalas	41	Novel/Stories
Justin Valentin	2001	Enn ti zafer pour marmay - resit ek mwan, lapoezi	17	poems
Nation	2004	19enm edisyon Festival Kreol (23-31 Oktob 2004)-Lafet Kreol in dan kontour	1	newspaper
Nation	2004	Bidze 2005 : Konklizyon Prezidan-'Tou Seselwa i devre kontribye son par pour fer Bidze 2005 reisi'	6	newspaper, speech
Nation	2007	En fiy i mor apre ki i tonbe sorti dan en pick-up	2	newspaper
National Assembly	2010	Verbatim Report NAS Sitting Friday, 26th Feb. 2010	9	oral/verbatim
Nation	2010	Lotorite distrik pe demann piblik pour ed viktim dife	1	newspaper
Regina Melanie	2012	Remor	23	novel
Penda Choppy	2012	Bingo	46	novel
The Nation	2013	IECD pou ankadre bann dimoun ki vey zanfan	2	newspaper
Nation	2014	Manm lasanble nasyonal i familyariz zot lo programm vaier	1	newspaper
National Assembly	2017	Verbatim Report NAS Sitting Wednesday 11th October, 2017	69	oral/verbatim
Nation	2017	Festival Kreol: Konpetisyon Zenn Artis Kreolofonn	3	newspaper

It can be questioned whether some of the chosen texts represent written or oral data. For a discussion concerning oral and written texts, cf. Michaelis (1994: 114), who distinguishes between "konzeptionell mündlich" and "konzeptionell schriftlich".

The idea is that no matter which final form a text may have, it is also important to have a look at its conception, e.g. an address/a speech may conceptually be a written text, whereas a written text may be a graphical representation of a conceptually oral narrative. For instance, three written sources were used for this study that are in fact verbatim transcripts of a National Assembly meeting as well as a speech of the president. The transcript of the president's speech may be classified as a written text, as it is assumed that it is an oral performance of a written speech (which was then subsequently written down again). When having a look at the verbatim reports of the National Assembly, however, it is rather difficult to classify them. They are written transcripts of oral speech that may or may not have been devised in a written form (for example at home in preparation of such a meeting). In addition, the National Assembly is a place in which, despite the oral presentation, a rather formal register is expected to appear, similar to other written sources such as newspapers. The same problem concerning the classification of written/oral data applies to the letters sent to Schuchardt by Warry, edited by Stein (2007). They contain phrases, expressions, conversations, proverbs, puzzles, anecdotes and a song text of a Sega (indicated as 'miscellaneous' in the table above). It seems that they can best be classified as written representations of oral data. However, all of the sources at hand will be classified as a written source for the moment, even though they may have more oral language features than other written texts, such as novels or newspaper articles. This classification is predominantly due to the fact that they were not available in oral form (i.e. no recordings were available) and could not be analyzed with regards to intonation contour.

6. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

As indicated above, all the participants completed the sociolinguistic questionnaire, even though the total number of tokens per item may not amount to the total number of participants in the following tables[1]. In all of the tables below, language use is displayed with reference to the age groups of the participants. As most of the participants were born and raised on Mahé no significant differences are expected concerning the origin in this study. Language use could also be influenced by educational background. However, in the case of this study, age and educational background more or less coincide. Most of the participants have either completed secondary or tertiary/university education. Those who have completed primary education are also all to be located in age group 6. When having a look at the responses with regards to occupation, no significant differences emerge either. Therefore, the connection of language use with the variable age seems to be the most promising.

Furthermore, the numbers in the tables are given in percentages relative to the amount of participants who were asked and answered the respective question. In addition, multiple answers were possible due to the Seychelles being a multilingual society and thus, the overall percentages may amount to more than 100%. Concerning language acquisition and language learning of Kreol Seselwa (K), English (E) and French (F), the following picture emerges (distributed across the age groups mentioned above in table (5.2)):

Table 6.1: Language Acquisition and Learning (in %)

	First Language (41 Part.)			Language in School (41 Part.)			Medium in School (35 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	100	45	9	100	100	100	82	100	–
3	100	–	–	100	100	100	100	100	–
4	100	17	17	33	100	100	17	100	33
5	100	–	25	–	100	100	–	100	25
6	100	–	–	–	90	100	–	100	25
2–6	100	15	7	56	98	100	57	100	11

As can be seen from the table above, all of the participants are native speakers of KS. What is interesting is that in age group 2, English and French are also mentioned as an L1 in contrast to e.g. group 6 - though oftentimes they use the qualification “a bit”. Not surprising are the results concerning languages taught in school and the medium

[1]This is due to the fact that not every piece of information was given or was asked for depending on the situation, the time capacity of the participant as well as the applicability and appropriateness of the questions. Furthermore, sometimes participants gave several languages as an answer to one question. In these cases, all instances were counted.

of instruction in school due to the introduction of KS as a subject and a medium of instruction (the latter until P3) in schools in the 1980s. All of the participants from age group 2 and 3, and some from group 4 received schooling in all three national languages, whereas in the older generations, KS was neither taught nor spoken in school. 2 participants from age group 5 and 6 respectively indicated that they were prohibited from talking in KS at all times and were punished (for instance with a beating) if they did. The oldest participant of the study, aged 82, did not receive schooling in English but only had French at school.

6.1 Oral and Written Language

Concerning language use, the participants were asked about oral and written language production as well as rather informal and formal or technical language production. Furthermore, they were asked which language they prefer concerning oral and written language comprehension. The results of oral language use can be seen below in the following table. As was indicated before, the numbers are given in percentages. However, it has to be mentioned that at times only a low number of answers was given. For instance, only 1 person in age group 4 answered the question concerning language use in swearing. Likewise, in age group 2 only few had children and hence, the percentage given is only relative to a few participants.

Table 6.2: Oral Language Use (in %)

	At Home (41 Part.)			(Grand) Parents (38 Part.)			Siblings (39 Part.)			(Grand) Children (28 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	100	9	–	100	–	–	90	27	–	100	33	–
3	90	20	10	100	–	10	100	20	–	86	43	14
4	100	–	–	100	–	17	100	–	–	100	67	17
5	100	25	25	100	–	25	100	–	–	100	50	25
6	100	20	10	100	–	–	100	–	–	88	25	25
2–6	98	15	8	100	–	8	97	13	–	93	43	18

	Swearing (17 Part.)			Dreams (33 Part.)			Pets (32 Part.)			Friends (39 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	100	–	–	100	36	–	80	40	10	100	56	9
3	100	–	–	100	38	–	89	22	–	100	30	–
4	100	–	–	100	–	–	100	20	–	100	–	–
5	100	–	–	100	–	–	100	–	–	100	25	25
6	75	25	–	100	–	–	100	–	–	100	–	–
2–6	100	6	–	100	21	–	91	22	3	100	26	5

	Shopping (37 Part.)			Counting (19 Part.)			Phone (25 Part.)			At Work (39 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	100	82	–	75	25	–	75	88	–	100	73	64
3	100	60	–	71	43	14	100	14	14	100	30	30
4	100	80	–	100	–	–	100	50	–	100	30	17
5	100	50	–	100	100	–	100	50	50	100	25	25
6	100	–	–	40	60	–	100	–	–	100	50	38
2–6	100	57	–	68	42	5	92	40	8	100	49	38

As is evident from the table in informal situations, such as at home, with parents, grandparents and siblings, KS is predominantly chosen as the language of conversation. In the questionnaire, the question concerning language use with parents and grandparents was asked separately. However, since the results do not differ significantly, they are aggregated in the table above. If KS is not the chosen language spoken in informal environments, French rather than English is apparently used with the older generation. This is in contrast to language use with children. For example, the use of KS is lower than in comparison to the language used between siblings, and English is increasingly used between adults and the younger generation. This can be seen in all age groups, though some participants of age group 5 and 6 specified that they speak KS to their children but English or French to their grandchildren. When asked for the reason concerning language choice with children, some indicated that they use English due to the increased importance of English for the future of their children. One participant of age group 3 also indicated that the only language used with her children is English and that she does not speak KS with them at all. Swearing seems to be a predominantly KS language domain, and some participants said the reason for this was that swearing is particularly colorful in KS. An interesting observation concerning informal language use is that in the younger age groups 2 and 3 English has become increasingly impor-

tant and is more often used in comparison to older generations. This can, for instance, be seen in the language use with friends, in describing their dreams and with pets.

When taking a look at potentially more formal and/or technical situations such as shopping, counting, on the phone as well as at work, one can still see that KS is used most often. However, the role of creole is not as predominant as in other informal language uses, and English and French were given more often. Concerning language use on the phone, most participants stated that it depends on the caller. The increased use of English while shopping can also be traced back to the fact that many shopkeepers on the Seychelles are foreigners, often of Indian descent. Hence, many participants indicated that they would generally use KS, but it depended on whether or not the shopkeeper could speak KS. Finally, many also use KS in their workplace. However, some indicated that this was only done with their colleagues in rather informal conversations. One participant specified that if s/he was talking to the boss and/or co-workers higher up in the hierarchy, s/he rather spoke English than KS. One participant noted that at his part-time job, KS is not allowed as it is in the tourism industry.

In general, one can say that when comparing oral informal language use at home with oral formal use at work, the importance of the other languages, i.e. English and French, increases the more formal the situation is. Nevertheless, also in informal language situations, English seems to become more predominant when comparing older and younger generations. Finally, French, with the exception of at work[2], seems to play a minor role in language use on the Seychelles nowadays in comparison to older times, which is evident in the preference to talk to grandparents in French rather than English. Despite the increase of English and French in rather formal situations and the increase of English in informal situations in the younger generations, KS is still predominantly used for all oral domains.

A different picture emerges when written language use is considered, as can be seen in the table (6.3) below. The participants were asked which language they would use for writing their shopping lists (i.e. in situations for their own use), for writing informal letters (notes, texts or similar to their friends and family) and for formal letters (such as at work).

[2]Many of the students worked in the tourist industry as a part-time job. Hence, they indicated that they use French mostly with tourists.

Table 6.3: Written Language Use (in %)

	Shopping list (33 Part.)			Informal (37 Part.)			Formal (34 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	18	100	–	82	100	–	–	100	–
3	44	89	–	70	90	–	–	100	–
4	75	100	25	83	67	33	–	100	20
5	25	75	–	50	50	–	–	100	–
6	40	60	–	33	50	33	20	80	40
2–6	36	88	3	68	81	11	3	97	9

As the table illustrates, there is a preference for English in contrast to KS concerning shopping lists. French is only named once in age group 4. One observation in particular has to be mentioned here: almost all of the older age groups, 5 and 6, as well as some in age group 4 indicated that they usually do not write shopping lists. Therefore, the absolute numbers of responses to this item are relatively small. The younger age groups indicated that they do write shopping lists but prefer English to KS. Concerning informal written language use, the difference between English and KS language choice is not as apparent as in shopping lists or in formal language use. However, the younger age groups (2-4) often mentioned that they use both languages for informal written situations but with the modification that they generally prefer English even though they also use KS. Hence, even though the percentage of informal written KS is relatively high with 82% in age group 2 for instance, this has to be seen critically due to the fact that, even if KS was mentioned, it was mostly only the second choice after English. Finally, English is exclusively used for formal written language as shown in the last column. French does not seem to play an important role in written language use, and only age group 4 and 6 indicate that they use French. Especially in regard to the younger age groups, 2 and 3, a clear preference for writing in English becomes visible. On the one hand, this could be explained due to the growing influence and prestige of English. However, of particular interest is the fact that the only age groups that have received schooling in KS (as a subject as well as a medium of instruction) are age groups 2 and 3 and, therefore, they have been trained in written KS. Yet, the participants from these age groups are at the same time those who do not prefer to write formally or informally in KS.

The differences that can be observed in written in comparison to oral language use and formal in comparison to informal use cannot be observed in oral language perception, i.e. listening, as can be seen from the table below (6.4). The language choice is more or less equally distributed across languages and age groups, though once again French is chosen less often than the other two languages, with the exception of

TV in the age groups 3-6. This may be due to the fact that in 2014/15 a telenovela that was aired in French was very famous in the Seychelles. The equal distribution can also be explained because of the occurrence of all three languages in the media. Most of the participants indicated that they listened to all three languages irrespective of preference since all of them appeared on radio/TV/music. Therefore, concerning oral language perception, one can say that this is not a matter of choice but a matter of supply in the media.

Table 6.4: Oral Language Perception (in %)

	Radio (35 Part.)			Television (35 Part.)			Music (35 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	100	82	55	64	100		27	100	45
3	89	100	89	100	78	78	88	100	75
4	100	75	50	80	100	80	80	100	20
5	100	50	50	75	75	100	75	100	50
6	100	57	86	100	100	100	86	86	29
2–6	97	77	69	83	92	69	77	97	46

A similar picture in comparison to oral language perception can be discerned when taking a look at the question of the language in which the participants read their newspapers, i.e. within the area of written language perception. However, in the other areas of written language perception, differences can be discerned. The whole picture of written language perception can be depicted as follows:

Table 6.5: Written Language Perception (in %)

	Newspapers (37 Part.)			Books (35 Part.)			Manuals (30 Part.)		
Age	K	E	F	K	E	F	K	E	F
2	27	100	27	9	100	–	–	100	–
3	100	90	90	50	100	30	–	100	–
4	80	80	60	20	100	40	–	100	–
5	75	100	50	67	67	–	–	100	–
6	86	100	100	50	33	83	33	33	33
2–6	70	95	65	94	86	29	3	97	3

As with oral media, newspaper articles are provided in all three languages and, hence, the distribution of languages shows a similar picture. Nevertheless, age group 2,

in contrast to the other age groups, clearly prefers English as the language for reading the newspaper. Furthermore, when asked for preferences concerning the language in reading the newspaper when two or all three languages were given, English was named first in 87.5% of the answers, which shows a clear preference. French was named before KS in 70.8% of the cases, and, as such, one can conclude that, even if newspapers are read in all three languages, a preference for English and French in contrast to KS emerges. In terms of books and manuals, the preference for reading is clearly English. However, it has to be noted that not many books are available in KS and that all the participants responded that no manuals are written in KS. When asked about instruction books such as cookbooks, most said that they are available in KS but most participants agreed that they do not use recipes for cooking. Therefore, the column concerning manuals is not a useful indicator of language choice in written language perception when it comes to the question of KS in comparison to the other languages. However, what it can show is that English is preferred in contrast to French in manuals and that only two participants from the older age groups read manuals in French. Finally, regarding books, once again, most preferred English. This of course may also be due to the availability of English in comparison to KS books and, hence, once again, this is not a matter of choice but of supply and availability. In all 12 instances in which KS was chosen, it was given after English in 7 cases. Furthermore, one can once more discern a difference between age groups 2, 3, 4 and 5, 6, as the former clearly prefer English, whereas the latter choose English and KS more or less equally. Group 6 differs to groups 2 and 3 once again due to their preference for French. In this case, they rank French as the highest choice in written language perception.

As a conclusion concerning language use, the participants were asked to give their overall preferred language in speaking as well as writing, their preferred language when KS was not an available option (such as when talking to foreigners) and a self-assessment in English and French. 89.7% indicated that KS is their preferred language in speaking, 5.1% responded with English (one each from groups 2 & 4), 5.1% declared that they had no preference (group 2) and 2 did not answer this question. Concerning the general preference for writing, 13.5% answered with KS (group 3, 4 & 6), 75.7% with English and 8.1% with French (all group 6). Four did not answer this question. Regarding language choice when they cannot speak KS, 75.8% participants chose English, 18.2% chose French, 6.0% had no preference and 7 did not answer the question. Interestingly, one participant from age group 2, who in the all previous questions had not indicated a preference for French, chose French. When asked about this choice, s/he responded that s/he was trying to improve her French and therefore prefers to speak French at the moment. The other 5 who preferred French to English are from groups 3, 5 and 6. Finally, concerning self-assessment of their English and French skills (scale: 1. Basic - 2. Fair - 3. Good - 4. Excellent), English was generally rated slightly better than French with the average of 2,83 in contrast to 2,25. Once again, the younger participants tended to indicate that their competence in English is better

in contrast to French, whereas the older participants assessed that their competence in French is better.

6.2 Language Attitudes

In addition to the the mainly quantitative data concerning language acquisition, learning, written and oral, formal and informal language use and perception, qualitative data concerning language attitude and opinions of KS were also gathered[3]. First, participants were asked about their attitude towards KS and what they think and feel about the language. The most common replies (party given verbatim, partly translated from KS, partly summarized) are listed below, though repetitions are not listed separately. Usually, all participants answered with a "yes, I love the language and I am proud of it" with the following additions or qualifications:

1. The language is unique/beautiful and I have a positive attitude about it
2. It is a nice language with lots of words and easy to learn
3. I like it because it is my mother tongue and I feel more comfortable with it; we can express ourselves well and communicate in the language
4. I like that there is more research on Kreol Seselwa nowadays
5. Kreol is ok to speak but it is complicated to write as it is close to French but writing is different
6. Yes, I like to speak Kreol but do not like to read Kreol; at home I like talking but not so much in public
7. We have to speak English to our children but we have to appreciate Kreol as well
8. We are only speaking Kreol here but you also have to speak other languages
9. We feel that we are losing it, and I don't like it that we are not speaking Kreol; if we are not speaking it, there will be few speakers left
10. I love the language as it is our native tongue but more and more it is being replaced by English in individual speech
11. What is ours we have to keep, I do not like the mix younger people speak
12. it is our maternal language, I like that it has been made first language, "mon kontan langaz kantite kantite kantite" (I love the language heaps, heaps, heaps.)

As can be seen from the answers above, several different and at times opposing topics are brought forward. First, there is a positive attitude towards the language as this is the maternal language and people feel proud of it and feel comfortable talking in KS. This was unanimously uttered by all participants. However, the dichotomy and differences between oral and written language use as well as reading in KS presented above can be confirmed with the help of these statements. Furthermore, the observation that English is gaining more significance can also be seen in the views given above.

[3]As these questions are relatively personal, all of the participants were once again told that they did not have to answer these questions if they did not want to or felt uncomfortable in doing so.

Some participants voice their support for the increase in English language use and argue that English should be the language in which children are addressed and demand that other languages should also be spoken (though the importance of KS is also mentioned in these utterances). In contrast, one participant liked the fact that KS was a "secret language" when they were abroad. S/he is also the participant who voices concerns about the English influence as s/he has the feeling that KS is vanishing. This topic is also addressed by many others and seems to be very prominent, not only with the older age groups but also with the younger groups. For instance, the comments number (9) and (10) were actually uttered by two 23-year-old participants. In summary, one can say that a positive attitude towards KS is prominent and that many of the paricipants felt that the language should be valued and be preserved.

The picture concerning attitudes towards KS is interesting in light of the question which languages should be taught in school and whether KS should feature more prominently in school. Most of the participants said that all three languages should be taught in school and that the system is good as it is now but that the role of KS should not be extended further in school (despite their fear of losing the language). Further answers that were given concerning this topic can be found below:

1. Kreol in Primary is fine, but not in Secondary as there are international exams
2. Kreol is important, it is the base, but there is the question of the place of Kreol in education due to globalization. The system is ok as it is; we need our language but in order to go somewhere, we have to learn English and French
3. The problem is that we don't have national exams, and, therefore, it is a waste of time to learn Kreol, but there should be extra-curricular activity/Kreol should be a culture subject or music subject
4. Only English and French should be taught, Kreol is for home and we use this language everyday
5. First school should be in Kreol, then English and French but in Secondary there should also be Kreol
6. Yes, Kreol should also be in Secondary, because there are children that are less intelligent and it would help them to understand
7. Kids should learn Kreol, because it is our culture, it's ours
8. Kreol should be in Secondary if they have exams in Kreol, most Seselwa cannot write in Kreol
9. More should be in Kreol, especially writing, but we have to know English for school, uni, and tourism

Once again, from this list the distinction and differentiation between written and oral language can be discerned. While some think that writing and schooling in KS is not necessary, some do think that more KS in general and more writing in KS specifically should be introduced in school. However, most participants do stress the fact that the other languages are more important and/or should be taught primarily due

to international exams, globalization and future prospects. Only very few participants of the study expressed the wish that the use of KS should be increased in school.

Finally, the last two questions concerning Kreol Seselwa and the participants' attitude and assessment of KS dealt with variation and change. The participants were asked whether younger people speak a different Creole to that of the older generations and whether they see an influence of English or French. As most responses in fact answered both questions, they are given in the same list below:

1. Yes, the Kreol of older and younger definitely differs, the younger mix Kreol and English
2. The younger speak more informal Kreol and the older more formal
3. There are a lot of English words that come into the language
4. French originally had more influence and French will always be a part of Kreol, but today more English words are coming in. French influence is ok, but English is "getting out of hand"
5. The influence of other languages is ok as one has to modernize Kreol
6. I am sorry to say that I like the mix of the youth. With 150 years of British colony, it would be weird if nothing influenced the language
7. Yes, there are many English words for example in IT and in writing/texts, and in videos; I do not like the influence, at some time, Kreol will disappear, it is already happening in the office

Once again, the growing influence of English is mentioned, which also can be seen from the data concerning language production and perception above. However, this is not only traced back to English as a lingua franca but also to the history of the Seychelles as a British colony. When asked about inter-island variation, participants confirmed that there is variation, especially between Mahé and LaDigue. However, according to the participants, this mainly pertains to the lexicon and phonology.

6.3 Summary

In conclusion, the sociolinguistic questionnaire shows the following results, which are similar to the findings presented by Fleischmann (2008) and Hoareau (2010): A distinction in language use can be seen with respect to spoken and written language. Whereas in spoken discourse predominantly KS is chosen, in written discourse the participants tend to choose English. No significant differences in language choice could be found concerning oral language perception and written language perception in newspapers. However, it has to be borne in mind that this is a matter of which language is chosen by the media and that a tendency to prefer English and French over KS is apparent nevertheless. Furthermore, English is preferred in written language perception regarding books. In addition to the distinction between oral and written language, the register, i.e. formal or informal language, also influences the choice of language. Generally, KS is

used for rather informal registers, whereas English is used for formal situations. French appears to be losing its influence, while the English influence is growing. This can be seen from the differences in language choice in the different age groups. For instance, it seems that English is also used in rather informal spoken situations in the youngest age group (2) which is not apparent in the speech of older people. Furthermore, it seems that there is a trend to include more English in the speech directed towards children, which may be a hint that more children nowadays are reared bilingually instead mono-lingually with KS.

The present study also shows that there is an ambivalent attitude and stance towards KS, which was also found in Fleischmann (2008). On the one hand, the importance of KS is stressed by all the participants and it is reiterated that the heritage should also be preserved when it comes to language. Many have the feeling that English is replacing KS and they voice their concerns concerning this trend. This can be observed in all age groups. However, on the other hand, they also stress the fact that it is important to speak and learn other languages and that therefore the role of KS should be limited and not augmented in education and schooling. This predicament can be traced back to the history of the Seychelles (cf. (2.1 and (2.2)). On the one hand, the Seychelles stressed the importance of KS as their national language and mother tongue from the very beginning of their independence and subsequently anchored the language in the constitution and in the school system. This accounts for the fact that many of the participants are very aware of the importance of the mother tongue. On the other hand, as it is the case in many Pidgin/Creole languages, the European languages have always had more prestige in Creole contexts. This may be the reason, why KS is preferred for informal contexts whereas English is preferred in rather formal contexts. Finally, this colonial legacy concerning language choice is exacerbated by the status of English as a lingua franca nowadays.

7. Written Data

As mentioned above in chapter (5.1), SVCs in written data in KS are relatively difficult to identify as the criterion of intonation contour discussed in chapter (3.1) is missing or cannot be applied. Therefore, the present thesis will only take into account sentences written without a comma, which is the written representation of intonation contour or the representation of clause boundaries. Likewise, instances in which a predicate-complement relationship between the verbs holds are likewise excluded. In the table (A5), all SVCs that have been identified in the written corpus of approximately 430 pages are listed ordered by the author of the text. A preliminary classification has also been given, though this will be discussed further below and especially in (11.2).

In total, 114 SVCs could be discerned in the written corpus. There were several texts that did not contain SVCs at all, namely Warry (1882) edited by Stein (2007), National Assembly (2010) and Seychelles Nation (2004a, 2010, 2013, 2017). In contrast to this, 44 SVCs were found in Accouche (1976), 34 in Abel (1982), 4 in Robert (1999), 6 in Valentin (2001), 1 in Seychelles Nation (2004b), 1 in Seychelles Nation (2007), 1 in Choppy (2012), 5 in Melanie (2012), 1 in Seychelles Nation (2014) and 17 in National Assembly (2017), (abbreviated NA in table below). An overview of the occurrences of the types of SVCs presented above can be found in the following table. It lists all tokens of the types found in the corpus distributed throughout the different sources. No SVC of Type 1, Degree, is present in the written corpus and, as such, it is not mentioned in the table.

Table 7.1: Types and Tokens of SVCs in the Written Corpus

	Dir.	Give	Say	Asp.	Caus.	Take	Res.	Open	Total
Accouche (1976)	7	–	23	–	–	–	4	10	44
Abel (1982)	24	–	1	1	–	1	1	6	34
Robert (1999)	2	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	4
Valentin (2001)	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	3	6
Nation (2004b)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Nation (2007)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Choppy (2012)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Melanie (2012)	3	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	5
Nation (2014)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
NA (2017)	10	1	2	–	–	–	–	4	17
Total	52	1	27	1	1	2	7	23	114

Hence, most prominent are Directional SVCs with 45.6% of all SVCs in the written corpus, followed by Say Serials and Open-Ended SVCs which amount to 23.7% and 20.2% respectively. Resultative SVC are present in 6.1% of the cases, Argument Introducing

'take' is represented in 1.8% and all other SVCs, Give, Aspectual and Causative, each amount to 0.9% relative to the overall number of SVCs.

The following picture concerning Aikhenvald's (2006) parameters emerges in the written corpus. As KS can generally be classified as an isolating language, no single-word SVCs are present and, instead, they are multi-word SVCs. Furthermore, since all of the types with the exception of Degree serials are found, symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs can be observed in KS. Before the distribution of concordant and non-concordant marking (table (7.2)) as well as contiguity and non-contiguity (table (7.5)) in the present 114 SVCs are displayed, some general remarks concerning (non-)concordant marking in KS are necessary.

Regarding Aikhenvald's (2006) concordant parameter, several subdivisions are possible in KS. First, either SVCs exhibit concordant marking on both verbs, or they are non-concordantly marked, i.e. they exhibit single marking on one verb only (usually the first one in KS). Concordant marking in KS can furthermore be divided into two categories: First, double concordant marking of both, TMA and subject, can be found on the verbs. Second, single concordant marking is present in which either TMA or subject marking is present in front of the verb but not simultaneously both categories.

In addition, concordant TMA marking comes in two guises in KS: first, an overt TMA marker is apparent, and second, both verbs are marked for present but since present tense is not overtly marked, no TMA marker surfaces. As such, both verbs are concordantly marked by an empty/covert TMA marker indicating present tense. Concordant subject marking can also either be overt (i.e. the subject pronoun is repeated in both VPs) or covert (no subject surfaces in either VP). These subdivisions can be graphically represented as in the following figure:

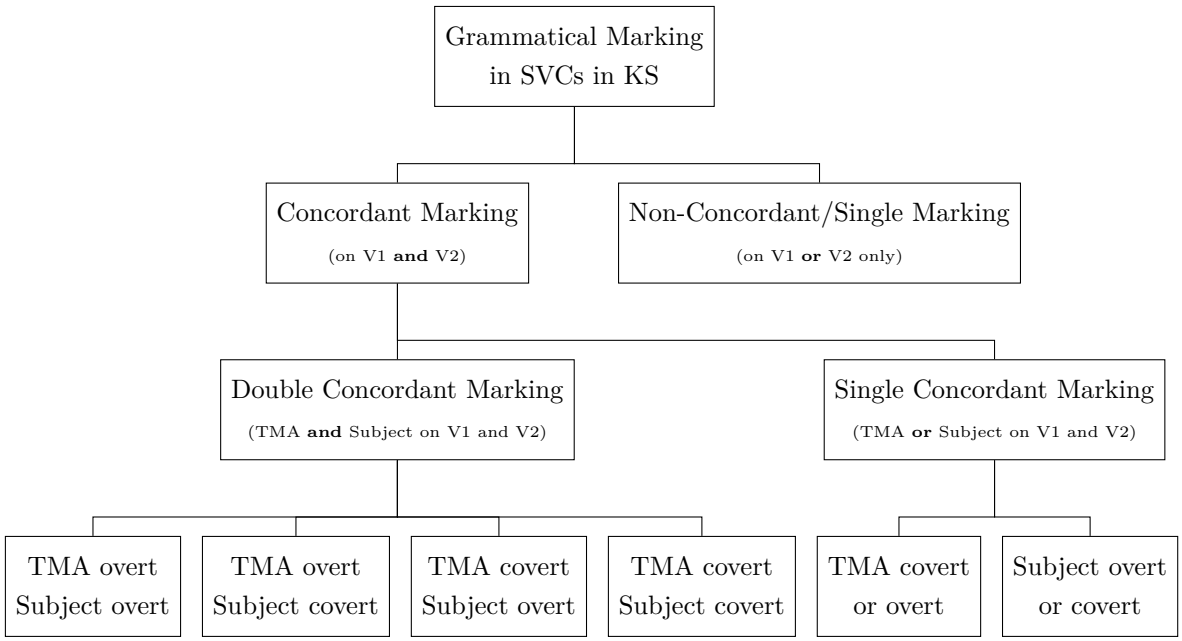


Figure 7.1: Concordant Marking in KS SVCs

Taking these subdivisions into account, SVCs in the written corpus exhibit the following distribution concerning the first distinction, concordant vs. non-concordant or single marking:

Table 7.2: (Non-)Concordant SVCs in the Written Corpus across Types

	Concordant	Non-Concordant	Total
Directional	22 (42.3%)	30 (57.7%)	52
Give	1 (100%)	–	1
Say	27 (100%)	–	27
Aspectual	1 (100%)	–	1
Causative	1 (100%)	–	1
Take	2 (100%)	–	2
Resultative	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	7
Open	21 (84%)	2 (8.0%)	23
Total	79 (69.3%)	35 (30.7%)	114

As can be seen above, there are more concordantly marked SVCs in KS (69.3%) than non-concordantly marked (30.7%), i.e. the tense/aspect/mood marker as well as the subject pronoun is highly likely to be repeated on the second verb (or all verbs) in an SVC in KS. Furthermore, most of the single-marking serials, in which only the first verb is marked, are Directionals, whereas most concordant-marking SVCs are found in the other types, especially in Say serials and Open-ended serials.

Concordantly marked serials can on the one hand be marked for both categories on both verbs or for one category only on both verbs. This is displayed for the written data in the three tables below. The following abbreviations are used for tables displaying double concordant marking here and in the remaining chapters: TMAo = TMA overt, TMAc = TMA covert; SUBo = Subject overt; SUBc = Subject covert:

Table 7.3: Double Concordant Marking in the Written Corpus

	TMAo/SUBo	TMAo/SUBc	TMAc/SUBo	TMAc/SUBc	Total
Directionals	5 (38.5%)	1 (7.7%)	7 (53.8%)	–	13
Give	–	–	1 (100%)	–	1
Say	1 (7.1%)	–	12 (85.7%)	1 (7.1%)	14
Aspectual	1 (100%)	–	–	–	1
Causative	1 (100%)	–	–	–	1
Take	–	–	–	1 (100%)	1
Resultative	1 (100%)	–	–	–	1
Open	3 (23%)	–	10 (77%)	–	13
Total marking	12 (26.7%)	1 (2.2%)	30 (66.7%)	2 (4.4%)	45

As is illustrated by the table, 45 SVCs (57.0%) of all concordantly-marked SVCs (79 in total) in the written corpus are doubly marked for TMA as well as subject. Three instances are present in which the subject is covertly marked, and in all other instances it surfaces as a repeated subject pronoun. Most of the Say serials included structures like *I reponn i dir* (cf. also (7.1) below). In this case, *i* is taken as a 3rd person sg. PRN, as no preceding R-expression is present after which *i* as a predicate marker surfaces[1]. As such, Say serials in the written corpus are mostly covertly marked for present tense but the subject is overtly repeated before V_2. The one SVC in which the subject is covert is not the one in which the TMA marker is overtly marked on both verbs. Thus, they are not in complementary distribution. In general, it is evident from the table that subject pronoun repetition is favored in 93.0% of the cases in SVCs that exhibit double concordant marking. The three instances of covert subject concordant marking appeared in a poem by Valentin (2001) and in an impersonal construction as well as in an infinitival construction in the novel by Abel (1982).

The following table illustrates the distribution of either overt and covert TMA or subject concordant marking if only one of the categories is present and repeated on both verbs. For instance, this is the case if a subject surfaces in the first VP but no PRN or subject is repeated in the second VP, for example in *Soungoula i mazinen i dir*. Here, *Soungoula* is the subject and *i*, in contrast to the example in the preceding paragraph, is a PM/TMA marker repeated on $V1$ and V_2. Subject concordant marking

[1]Cf. discussion above in chapter (2.3).

without concordant TMA marking is only present in one putative SVC, as can be seen below in table (7.4). This SVC is contained in one of the poems by Valentin (2001) and, as such, it can be questioned as to whether a TMA marker should have been present on V_2 but was left out for aesthetic or poetic reasons.

Table 7.4: Single Concordant Marking in the Written Corpus

	TMA only		SUB only		Total
	overt	covert	overt	covert	
Directional	9 (100%)	–	–	–	9
Give	–	–	–	–	–
Say	13 (100%)	–	–	–	13
Aspectual	–	–	–	–	–
Causative	–	–	–	–	–
Take	–	1 (100%)	–	–	1
Resultative	–	3 (100%)	–	–	3
Open	7 (87.5%)	–	1 (12.5%)	–	8
Total	29 (85.2%)	4 (11.8%)	1 (3.0%)	–	34

With reference to the contiguity parameter proposed by Aikhenvald (2006), the following picture emerges in the written corpus:

Table 7.5: (Non-)Contiguous SVCs in the Written Corpus

	Contiguous	Non-Contiguous	Total
Directional	41 (78.8%)	11 (21.2%)	52
Give	–	1 (100%)	1
Say	9 (33.3%)	18 (66.7%)	27
Aspectual	1 (100%)	–	1
Causative	–	1 (100%)	1
Take	2 (100%)	–	2
Resultative	7 (100%)	–	7
Open	15 (65.2%)	8 (34.8%)	23
Total	75 (65.8%)	39 (43.2%)	114

The difference between contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs is the same as in the (non-)concordant parameter. However, the SVCs that are concordantly marked are not necessarily those that are contiguous and vice versa. The high number of contiguous SVCs may be due to the occurrence of many Directional SVCs in the corpus that

often do not license, for example, a direct object. The material that intervenes in non-contiguous serials in the written corpus is manifold: for instance, a shared object but also adjuncts of time, place and manner are found between the two (or more) verbs.

Of all 114 SVCs, 5 (4.4%) were three or multiple verb SVCs, while all other 109 (95.6%) SVCs consisted of two verbs only. The SVCs that contained more than two verbs are given below:

(105) Kanmeleon i vire i gete i vwar son lekor
Chameleon PM $V1_{turn}$ PM $V2_{look}$ PM $V3_{see}$ its body
'The chameleon turns around and inspects its body.' (Accouche 1976: 51)

(106) i konte i vwar i reste zis san roupi avek de-trwa
PRN $V1_{count}$ PRN $V2_{see}$ PRN $V3_{remain}$ only hundred roupies with two-three
kas dan son pos...
pennies in his pocket
'He counts and sees there remains only 100 Roupies with 2 or 3 pennies in his pocket.' (Accouche 1976: 25)

(107) i ti prefere sorti ale
He TNS $V1_{prefer}$ $V2_{exit}$ $V3_{go}$
'He preferred to go away.' (Abel 1982: 64)

(108) letan en dimoun in al Klinik dan son distrik in vwar en Dokter in
when D people ASP $V1_{go}$ clinic in his district ASP $V2_{see}$ D doctor ASP
monte desann, ...
$V3_{ascend}$ $V4_{descend}$, ...
'When a person has gone to a clinic in his district, has seen a doctor and has gone up and down/back and forth, ...' (National Assembly 2017: 62)

(109) ..., in ale in retournen in monte desann in fini pas kekfwa
..., ASP $V1_{go}$ ASP $V2_{return}$ ASP $V3_{ascend}$ $V4_{descend}$ ASP $V4_{finish}$ pass sometimes
3 mwan oubyen 6 mwan apre sa, ...
3 month or 6 month after that, ...
'he has gone, returned, has been back and forth and has finished passing through sometimes 3 or 6 months after that, ...' (National Assembly 2017: 62)

Some observations concerning these sentences have to be made. Most of the examples, with the exception of (107), display concordant marking, either of TMA markers only or of TMA as well as subject marking. The first two examples can be classified as Open SVCs. The sentence in (107) has been classified as a three-verb serial. However, the first verb looks like a verb that usually licenses a verbal complement or argument, i.e. *preferred to go* or *preferred going*, which was excluded from the definition of SVCs in the previous chapters. Though this may be true for English, the example shows that the long form of *prefere* was chosen in contrast to the short form *prefer*. If indeed *sorti ale* were an infinitival verbal complement of *prefere*, the short form should appear. This SVC has been classified as an open SVC due to the appearance of *prefere*.

However, it could have also been classified as a Directional SVC due to *sorti ale* which indicates a movement away from something with the help of two verbs. Finally, (108) as well as (109) have been classified as directional, non-contiguous SVCs. What is particularly interesting in this case is that the first verbs in both sentences are each marked for aspect, whereas *monte desann* is only marked once on the first verb. The assumed reason for this is the potential status of *monte desann* as a lexicalized verb, which will be discussed and elaborated on in chapter (11.2). It could also be discussed whether (109) is an Aspectual SVC due to the occurrence of *fini* as the final verb in the SVC. *Pas* is not counted as a verb that is part of the SVC, as it may be a verb complement of *fini* and, as such, these were excluded from the analysis as described in the methodology chapter (5.1). However, these two examples in (108) as well as (109) could also be classified as Open SVCs, since they describe a complex event in a series of sub events which contain verbs of motion or aspectual verbs. This idea will be revisited in chapter (11.2).

In the following subchapters, the SVCs in the written corpus will be presented and analyzed ordered by the types presented in table (3.2). An extensive discussion of their classification, distribution as well as structure will be given in chapter (11.) rather than in the following, since also data from the oral corpus can also be taken into consideration in the subsequent chapter.

7.1 Type 1 SVCs in the Written Corpus

As presented above in table (3.2), Type 1 SVCs consist of Directional, Argument Introducing 'give', Argument Introducing 'say', Aspectual as well as Degree serials. No Degree serials were identified in the written KS corpus of the present study. Turning to Directional SVCs, the following picture emerges concerning occurrences in the written corpus. First, in comparison to other SVCs of this type and in the other Types 2-4, Directionals are the most frequent serials in the written corpus with 52 tokens in total. In the following, only some Directionals in the corpus are exemplified. The comprehensive list can be found in the appendix (A5).

(110) Alor Manmzel Serpentine in arive vin Madanm Serpanten
So Miss Serpentine ASP arrive come Mrs Serpanten
'So, Miss Serpentine became Mrs. Serpanten.' (Accouche 1976: 97)

(111) Andrine i desann i al laboutik
Andrine PM descend PM go shop
'Andrine descends and goes the shop.' (Abel 1982: 4)

(112) Semenn i ale i vini
Week PM go PM come
'The week comes and goes.' (Abel 1982: 60)

(113) En fiy i mor apre ki i tonbe sorti dan en pick-up
D girl PM die after REL PM fall exit off D pick-up
'A girl dies after she falls out off a pick-up.' (Seychelles Nation 2007)

(114) ... mon ti war latet papa pe monte desann
... PRN TNS see head papa ASP ascend descend
'I could see my Dad's head going up and down.' (Choppy 2012: 40)

(115) I annan en bato par egzanp ki'n vini sorti Madagascar
PM have D boat for example REL.ASP came exit Madagascar
'There was a boat, for example, that came from Madagascar.' (National Assembly 2017: 10)

As can be seen above, Directionals exhibit concordant marking (111, 112) as well as non-concordant, i.e. single marking (110, 113, 114, 115). All of the examples above are contiguous SVCs. Slight meaning differences can be observed in the examples above. For instance, in (115) a movement from something is described, hence focusing on the directionality on the movement expressed by the first verb. In contrast, example (112) describes two movement processes, a coming and going. Finally, in (110) a rather figurative movement from a maiden name to a married name can be observed. This will be discussed again later in chapter (11.2). In addition to the semantic differences in Directional SVCs, also formal distinctions appear. For instance, non-contiguous, non-concordant Directionals can also be seen in the corpus, for example, in sentence (116), though they are rarer than the others.

(116) Regis in retourn en pe boner sorti travay
Regis ASP return D bit earlier exit work
'Regis returned a bit earlier from work.' (Abel 1982: 47)

Only one instance of Argument Introducing 'give' could be discerned in the written corpus, given below:

(117) ... par egzanp bann manze vitman ki nou kwi nou donn nou zanfan
... for example PL food fast REL PRN cook PRN give PRN children
oubyen nou konsonmen
or PRN consume
'... for example, fast food that we cook for our children or we consume?' (National Assembly 2017: 45)

The SVC is concordantly marked for present tense and for the subject. As no other material intervenes, this SVC can be classified as contiguous.

Argument Introducing 'say' is represented more frequently in the corpus with a total of 27 instances than Argument Introducing 'give', though it is mostly present in the oldest text that contained SVCs, i.e. in Accouche (1976) (23 instances). As was indicated in chapter (5.1), only instances of V_1 plus *dir* were counted iff no subordinator such as *pour* was present and both verbs exhibited the same configuration for TMA

marking. If instances of a verb not preceded by the modal marker *pou* plus *pou dir* had also been included in the corpus, then the amount of say serials would have been decidedly higher. However, the status of these constructions in KS remains unclear and, hence, were excluded. Nonetheless, 27 instances could be discerned, a selection of which is given below:

(118) Alors Konper Soungoula i mazinen i dir: "..."
So comrade Soungoula PM think PM say: "..."
'So comrade Soungoula thought that ...' (Accouche 1976: 15)

(119) i met en kou lanmen dan son leren i dir: "..."
PRN put suddenly hand on PRN hip PRN say "..."
'He suddenly put his hands on his hip and said: ...' (Accouche 1976: 17)

(120) Tang i reponn li i dir : "..."
Hedgehog PM reply PRN PM say: "..."
'The hedgehog answered ...' (Accouche 1976: 52)

(121) Madanm Marselien i pran laparol i dir: "..."
Mrs. Marselien PM take speech PM say: "..."
'Mrs. Marselien took the floor and said: ...' (Accouche 1976: 119)

(122) Manmzel Y ozordi mon pase mon dir li bonzour
Ms. Y today PRN pass PRN say PRN hello
'Today I passed Ms. Y and said hello to her.' (Valentin 2001: 6)

(123) E ou pou vwar Mr Speaker pou dir problenm pa ni bezwen en ta
And you MOD see Mr. Speaker MOD say problem NEG either need D lot
larzan, ...
money ...
'And you will see, Mr. Speaker, that the problem is neither a need for a lot of money ...' (National Assembly 2017: 65)

In examples (118-121), the second verb, which is always *dir*, introduces direct speech. Examples (122) and (123) introduce indirect speech and/or the content of what is being said. All examples of Say serials above exhibit concordant marking. (118) as well as (122) are contiguous SVCs in contrast to the others in which either direct objects or interjections, such as *Mr. Speaker*, intervene between the two verbs. In two examples above, (119) and (122), the verb *dir* does not follow a verb of thinking, saying or other perception verbs. Therefore, they could also be classified as Open-Ended SVCs rather than Argument Introducing 'say' serials. However, they have been classified as Say serials, as they also introduce the content of what is being said. In (121) V_1 *pran*, 'take' is also not a prototypical verb of saying, thinking etc. However, in combination with the direct object *laparol*, 'speech', it can be classified as a VP that predicates an act of speaking. In (123) it can also be argued that *pou dir* has evolved into a complementizer 'that', as indicated by the translation. This will be discussed in (11.2).

Finally, only one Aspectual SVC can be found in the written corpus. As indicated, all instances of *fini* + V were excluded due to the uncertain status of the second verb when it comes to complementation. However, one instance of V + *fini* is present, as is evident from the following example:

(124) …, i'n fimen i'n fini.
…, PRN.ASP smoke PRN.ASP finish
'…, he finished smoking' (Abel 1982: 28)

This SVC is a contiguous SVC and exhibits double concordant marking, since both the aspect marker as well as the subject pronoun are repeated before V_2. In this case *i* has to be a subject pronoun and not the 'mysterious i'/predicate marker due to the occurrence of the aspect marker[2].

7.2 Type 2 SVCs in the Written Corpus

Type 2 SVCs are Causative serials as well as Argument Introducing 'take' serials. In the present written corpus, this type of SVCs is not often represented, with one instance of a Causative SVC and two instances of Argument Introducing 'take'. However, in the case of the one observed Causative, it is possible that it may not be an SVC at all or should be classified differently. The putative Causative SVC that was found in the study is the following:

(125) Sak fwa i ti vin kot li i ti fer li pran lakoler.
Each time PRN TNS came to PRN_{object} PRN TNS make PRN_{object} take anger
'Every time he came to her he made her angry.' (Robert 1999: 27)

It has to be questioned whether this is in fact an instance of Causative SVC is due to a possible subordinator *sak fwa* and due to the possible infinitival status of the third verb *pran*. This will be discussed in detail in (11.2).

No instances of Argument-Introducing 'take' with the prototypically used verb *pran* were found. However, two SVCs, both of which introduce a Theme-argument, are exemplified below and may be classified as this subtype.

(126) ti parey pour nou, tir dan labarb met dan moustas
TNS seem to us, pull from beard put in mustache
'it seemed to us that we have to pull it out of a hat.' (Abel 1982: 60)

(127) I tir en pti morso avek son ledwa met byen anndan dan kwen son
PRN pull D small morsel with PRN finger put well inside in corner PRN
labous.
mouth.
'He pulled a small morsel with his finger and put it well inside the corner of his mouth.'

[2]In earlier literature SVCs with repeated subjects were excluded from SVCs. They are nevertheless counted as SVCs in the present study, cf. (3.2) as well as (11.2) and (11.4).

Even though in both examples the verb *pran*, 'take', is not used but rather *tir*, 'pull', they are classified as Take serials. This is due to the fact that the function of Argument Introducing 'take' is to "indicate [...] what is happening to an object (THEME)" as presented in table (3.2). This can, for instance, also be observed in (127). *Tir* introduces an object, *en pti morso*, to which something is happening, i.e. 'the morsel is put into the mouth'. Hence, they are classified as Take serials.

7.3 Type 3 SVCs in the Written Corpus

The third type of SVCs consist of Resultative serials. In total, 7 Resultatives could be discerned in the written data. A selection of these are given below:

(128) E i tonm mor ater
And PRN fall die floor
'And he fell dead to the ground.' (Accouche 1976: 71)

(129) Sa i'n fini i'n mor.
This PRN.ASP finish PRN.ASP die
'That is finished and dead[3].' (Abel 1982: 46)

(130) I ti mor riye
PRN TNS die laugh
'He died laughing/of laughter.' (Robert 1999: 35)

(131) Marselya ti tonm asize lo ros dan lari degre i ti'n fatige
Marselya TNS fall sit on rock in street as PRN TNS.ASP exhaust
'Marselya fell down/took a seat on a rock in the street as she was tired.' (Melanie 2012: 7)

With the exception of (129), all of these SVCs are non-concordant and contiguous serials. In the written corpus, only Resultatives that either have the verb *tonm* or the verb *mor* are present. The combination *tonm* + *mor* appears three times in the corpus, the combination *mor riye* twice, while *mor* is used with *fini* once, and *tonm* is used once with *asize*. The categorial status of *mor* is ambivalent: it can either be a verb or an adjective, 'to die/dead'. Likewise, *riye* could be a verb as well as a noun 'to laugh/laughter' in this context, as it appears in final position in (130) and, as such, the long form is used, which has the same shape as the noun. In (129) and (130) *mor* has to be classified as a verb due to the appearance of TMA markers. The case of (130) is more difficult to determine due to two reasons. First, in this case it cannot be ascertained whether *riye* is indeed a verb. Second, it is surprising that the verb that denotes the result ('dead') of the other action is in the first position, when it usually appears in the second position as in all other instances above. This will be revisited in (11.2) in comparison to the oral data. All of the verbs used in the resultative SVCs in

[3]Meaning: 'This is taken care of; this is settled.'

the written corpus exhibit the same transitivity value, i.e. all of them are intransitive verbs that do not license an object complement.

7.4 Type 4 SVCs in the Written Corpus

Finally, Type 4 SVCs, consisting of Open-Ended SVCs were also found in the present corpus and amounted to 25 instances. Some of them are exemplified in the following[4]:

(132) I vwar en bann dimoun pe manze bwar dan lotel ...
PRN see D PL people ASP eat drink in hotel ...
'He saw a lot of people eating and drinking in a hotel ...' (Accouche 1976: 15)

(133) I reste dormi dan sa fotey ...
PRN stay sleep in D armchair ...
'He stayed in his armchair and slept ...' (Accouche 1976: 45)

(134) Regis i leve i rod zalimet pour li alim nou pti fannal
Regis PM rise PM search match for PRN light.up PRN small lantern
'Regis got up to search for a match for him to light up our small lantern.' (Abel 1982: 25)

(135) Mon redi mon lalenn mon soufle
PRN pull PRN breath PRN whistle
'I draw my breath to whistle.' (Valentin 2001: 17)

(136) plitar lot i vini i demann ou menm kestyon
later another PM come PM ask PRN same question
'Later a different person comes and asks you the same question.' (National Assembly 2017: 62)

In the examples above, one can see that Open-ended serials come in many forms, i.e. they can be concordant (134) or non-concordant (132), contiguous (133) as well as non-contiguous (135). They all describe an action that consists of several sub-events that are closely connected and are described with two or more verbs.

7.5 Summary

As an intermediate summary concerning the written corpus, it can be said that all types of SVCs are present with the exception of Degree serials. In total, 114 putative SVCs have been discerned. After Directionals and Argument Introducing 'say' serials (both type 1), Open-ended SVCs (type 4) are the most common types found in the written corpus. However, some sentences that have been preliminary classified as SVCs have to be discussed again in comparison with other data concerning their status as well as their typology. It seems that SVCs are more predominant in the older publications

[4]Those classified as Open that contain more than 2 verbs are given above.

from the 70s and 80s than in other more recent written sources. Furthermore, the written publication of oral speech (National Assembly 2017) also seems to contain more SVCs than other present-day written sources. An in-depth discussion concerning their distribution can be found in chapter (11.3). Finally, it seems that SVCs in KS in the written corpus can be contiguous, non-contiguous, concordant as well as non-concordant. As Type 1 as well as Type 4 serials can be attested, SVCs in written KS can be asymmetric as well as symmetric.

8. Semi-Spontaneous Data

As described above in chapter (5.1) and (5.3), semi-spontaneous data were gathered during interviews. These data were transcribed and all of the putative SVCs were extracted. A complete list of all possible SVCs can be found in the appendix (A6.1). These putative SVCs were then categorized in accordance with Aikhenvald's (2006) parameters and were exported to PRAAT in order to investigate their intonation contour and in order to determine their status. Thus, some multi-verb structures found in the list in (A6.1) were rejected for the analysis of SVCs. In the following tables, only those that are deemed to be SVCs are included. The ones excluded from the class of SVCs will be described and discussed in the respective subchapters below and contrasted with those that are classified as SVCs.

The overall distribution of SVCs across participants that took part in this task can be depicted as in the following table:

Table 8.1: Distribution of SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

SVCs	Participants	Participants who use SVCs	Mean SVCs p.p.	Mean SVCs male	Mean SVCs female
44	33	22	1.3	1.3	1.3

In total, 44 SVCs were uttered by 22 participants out of 33. Hence, 11 participants did not utter any SVCs during the semi-spontaneous task. 4 SVCs were used by 2 male participants and the rest (40) by the 20 female participants. Given that only 3 male participants took part in the study in general, this distribution is not surprising. Furthermore, the mean use of SVCs per person is the same (i.e. 1.3 per person, no matter whether all participants are considered or whether the means for the respective genders are calculated). The table below first shows the total number of participants that talked about a given topic. The next column indicates the distribution and number of SVCs per topic. Finally, the last column gives the number of participants who uttered one or more SVC in the respective topic:

Table 8.2: Distribution of SVCs across Topics in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

Topic	No. of participants	Total No. of SVCs	Participants who use SVCs
Recipe	29	29	18
Christmas	18	13	10
Flood	2	2	2

The topic 'Activity' as well as 'Wedding' did not yield any SVCs. The number

of participants as well as the number of participants who uttered an SVC per topic deviates from the overall number given above as some participants talked about more than one topic and produced more than one SVC. For instance, participant 19 (age group 4) produced 6 SVCs in total, 3 while talking about a recipe, 3 while talking about Christmas.

As can be seen from the table below (8.3), only Directional, Aspectual, Argument Introducing 'take', Resultatives and Open-Ended SVCs are present in the semi-spontaneous data. Argument Introducing 'give' and 'say', as well as Degree and Causative SVCs were not produced. In the following table, the types of SVCs that were present in the semi-spontaneous data are ordered according to age group.

Table 8.3: Types and Tokens of SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

Age	Directional	Aspectual	Take	Resultative	Open	Total
2	1	–	3	–	3	7
3	1	–	1	–	10	12
4	–	1	–	–	8	9
5	–	1	2	–	3	6
6	2	–	–	3	5	10
Total	4	2	6	3	29	44

Open SVCs are the most prominent SVCs in the spoken semi-spontaneous data as is evident from the table above (65.9% of all SVCs), followed by Argument Introducing 'take' (13.6%) and Directionals (9.1%). Resultative SVCs appear in 3 instances, which amounts to 6.8% of all SVCs. Finally, Aspectuals are the type least used in the semi-spontaneous data with 2 items (4.5%) Most Directionals were uttered in connection with the topic 'Christmas'. All Take SVCs were used in the description of a recipe. This distribution is not surprising given the semantics of these topics and was expected. No clear age distribution concerning types can be found in semi-spontaneous data, though Aspectuals and Resultatives are predominantly used by older participants (Groups 4, 5 and 6).

In absolute numbers, age group 3 used the most SVCs, followed by groups 6 and 4. The fewest SVCs were used by age group 5, though it has to be stated that from group 5 only 3 participants completed the task in contrast to the other groups. If the mean of SVCs per person in each age group is calculated, the following picture emerges:

Table 8.4: Mean use of SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

Age Group	Total SVCs	No. of participants	mean SVC p.p.
2	7	11	0.6
3	12	7	1.7
4	9	5	1.8
5	6	3	2
6	10	7	1.4
2-6	44	33	1.3

Hence, relatively speaking, most SVCs were uttered by age group 5, followed by 4 and 3. The least SVCs in the semi-spontaneous data per person were uttered by age group 2. As is evident from the table below, only in the use of Open SVCs a difference between the age groups can be observed if the mean use of SVCs across types is calculated. Age group 2 uses only 0.4 Open SVCs in the mean in comparison to the other age groups.

Table 8.5: Mean Use of SVCs across Types in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

Age	Directional	Aspectual	Take	Resultative	Open
2	0.1	–	0.4	–	0.4
3	0.4	–	0.1	–	1.4
4	–	0.2	–	–	1.2
5	–	0.3	0.7	–	1.0
6	0.3	–	–	0.4	0.7

The following tables give an overview of the form of SVCs concerning Aikhenvald's (2006) concordant marking and contiguity parameter ordered by type:

Table 8.6: (Non-)Concordant SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data across Types

	Concordant	Non-Concordant	Total
Directional	4 (100%)	–	4
Aspectual	2 (100%)	–	2
Take	6 (100%)	–	6
Resultative	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	3
Open	28 (96.6%)	1 (3.4%)	29
Total	42 (95.5%)	2 (4.5%)	44

Table 8.7: (Non-)Contiguous SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data across Types

	Contiguous	Non-Contiguous	Total
Directional	4 (100%)	–	4
Aspectual	2 (100%)	–	2
Take	–	6 (100%)	6
Resultative	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	3
Open	7 (24.1%)	22 (75.9%)	29
Total	15 (34.1%)	29 (65.9%)	44

As can be seen, concordantly marked SVCs are clearly preferred with 95.5% of all SVCs. Furthermore, non-contiguous SVCs are also preferred in 65.9% of the cases. Concordant marking and contiguity coincide in the case of Directional and Aspectuals. They are all concordantly marked as well as contiguous. Furthermore, in Resultatives the two concordant SVCs are also those that are contiguous, and the one non-concordantly marked is the one that is also non-contiguous. All Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs are concordantly marked and since per definition they introduce an additional argument, they are all non-contiguous as expected[1]. Concerning Open SVCs, it can be seen that concordantly marked SVCs are clearly preferred (in 96.6% of SVCs). Non-contiguous Open SVCs surface three times as often as contiguous SVCs.

As stated above, in chapter (7.), concordant marking in KS can be divided into three categories: double concordant marking of TMA and subject, second, only concordant TMA marking (overt or covert) and third, only concordant subject marking (overt and covert) is present. These subdivisions yield the following results in the semi-spontaneous data:

Table 8.8: Double Concordant Marking in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

	TMAo/SUBo	TMAo/SUBc	TMAc/SUBo	TMAc/SUBc	Total
Directionals	1 (50%)	–	–	1 (50%)	2
Aspectual	–	–	1 (100%)	–	1
Take	–	–	4 (100%)	–	4
Resultative	–	–	–	–	–
Open	2 (10.0%)	–	9 (45.0%)	9 (45.0%)	20
Total marking	3 (11.1%)	–	14 (51.9%)	10 (37.0%)	27

In this table, all of the SVCs are displayed that exhibit a double concordant marking. Out of a total of 42 concordantly marked SVCs, 27 (64.3%) exhibit both

[1]Though this statement has to be relativized, cf. chapter (8.2) below.

marking of TMA as well as the subject on all verbs. In the two Directionals that were doubly concordantly marked, the one marked overtly for TMA was also simultaneously marked overtly for a subject as well, whereas in the other neither the TMA marker surfaced nor was the subject pronoun present before both verbs. In the one Aspectual, the subject pronoun was present before V_1 and was repeated before V_2, but no overt TMA marking appeared since the SVC was set in the present tense. This is also true for the Take SVCs that are marked for both categories. No Resultatives are present in the corpus of semi-spontaneous data that are simultaneously marked. Finally, 20 out of 29 Open SVCs (69.0%) are marked for TMA as well as subject. All of the TMA markers except for two are covert since all utterances are located in the present and describe general aspects or habitual actions. In 11 cases (55%) the subject pronoun surfaced overtly and in 9 cases (45%) it did not.

Since in 27 SVCs the verbs are marked for both TMA as well as subjects, 15 SVCs (35.7%) were only marked for one of the two categories. Their distribution concerning overt and covert marking can be seen in the following two tables:

Table 8.9: Single Concordant Marking in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

	TMA only		SUB only		Total
	overt	covert	overt	covert	
Directional	–	2 (100%)	–	–	2
Aspectual	1 (100%)	–	–	–	1
Take	–	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	–	2
Resultative	–	2 (100%)	–	–	2
Open	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	–	–	8
Total	2 (13.3%)	12 (80%)	1 (6.7%)	–	15

As is evident from the table, if only one category is concordantly marked, it is almost always TMA marking. The one SVC that was not concordantly marked for TMA but for subjects is the following:

(137) Ou pou pran ou piman ou kraze
PRN MOD take PRN chili PRN grind
'You will take your chili and grind it.'

However, this sentence will be discussed further in chapter (8.2) as its status as an SVC is not clear due to its intonation contour. Furthermore, table (8.9) shows that, in the semi-spontaneous data, 87.5% of TMA concordant marking is covert. This can be explained, once again, due to their present, habitual or general nature and the zero marking of these categories in KS.

All of the 44 SVCs uttered, be they concordant or non-concordant, contiguous or non-contiguous, are multi-word SVCs. Furthermore, symmetric as well as asymmetric

SVCs are present. Finally, most of them are SVCs with two verbs. In the following, all of the SVCs will be presented, described and analyzed in greater detail ordered by type.

8.1 Type 1 SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

Type 1 serials in the semi-spontaneous data consist of Directionals and Aspectuals in KS and, as mentioned above, no Argument Introducing 'give', 'say' and Degree is present. In total, 4 Directionals can be observed that were uttered while talking about the topics 'Recipe', represented in the 1st example, and the topic 'Christmas', given in the other 3 examples:

(138) ...Epi mami anmennen sorti travay
...after mother bring exit work
'After my mother has brought this from work.'

(139) Letan retournen sorti dan lanmes, ..., nou get televizyon
when return exit from mass, ..., PRN watch TV
'When we come back from mass, we watch TV.'

(140) ler nou nou vini sorti lanmes, ...
time PRN PRN come exit mass, ...
'When we come from mass, ...'

(141) ..., mon pe desann pe al kot XY
..., PRN ASP descend ASP go at XY
'I descend (and go) to XY.'

Examples (138), (139) and (140) involve the juxtaposition of two verbs of motion, the second one being *sorti*, 'exit' to indicate movement away from something. Hence, it is translated with the help of the preposition *from*. On the one hand, all of these SVCs display concordant marking in the sense that no overt TMA marker appears on both verbs (hence, they are concordantly not marked overtly). On the other hand, they all display partial subject marking as the subject PRN is only given once before V_1. Nonetheless, all three have been classified as concordantly marked due to concordant TMA marking. Example (141) is not as readily classified as a Directional in comparison to the examples above. It contains two verbs of motion, i.e. *desann/al*. However, the example differs in form and slightly in function. In contrast to the former examples, it is overtly marked for aspect on both verbs and it has a different meaning. It describes two sub-events of a larger event rather than indicating whether the motion is directed towards or from somewhere/something. The directionality towards someone in this example is expressed by the preposition *kot*. Hence, it can be questioned whether it should instead be classified as an Open SVC. This has already been noted for written Type 1 Directionals in subchapter (7.1) and will be discussed again in chapter (11.2).

Even though Examples (138-140) differ formally as well as semantically from (141), all of the sentences above were uttered without a pause in intonation contour and without a considerable rising or falling. This can be discerned in the picture below that shows the intonation contour (141), created with the help of PRAAT. For comparison, the graphic representation of (138) and (139) are given first.

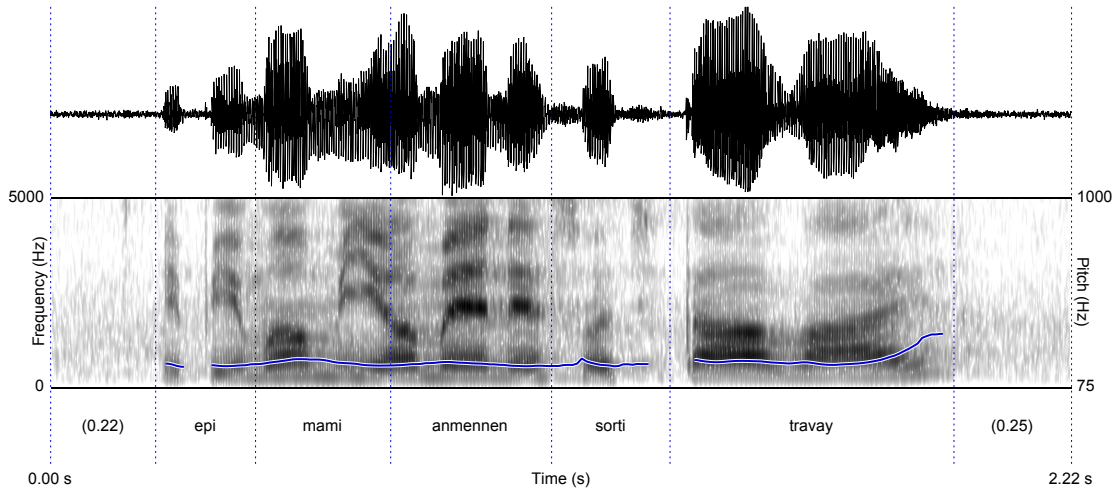


Figure 8.1: Intonation contour of (138)

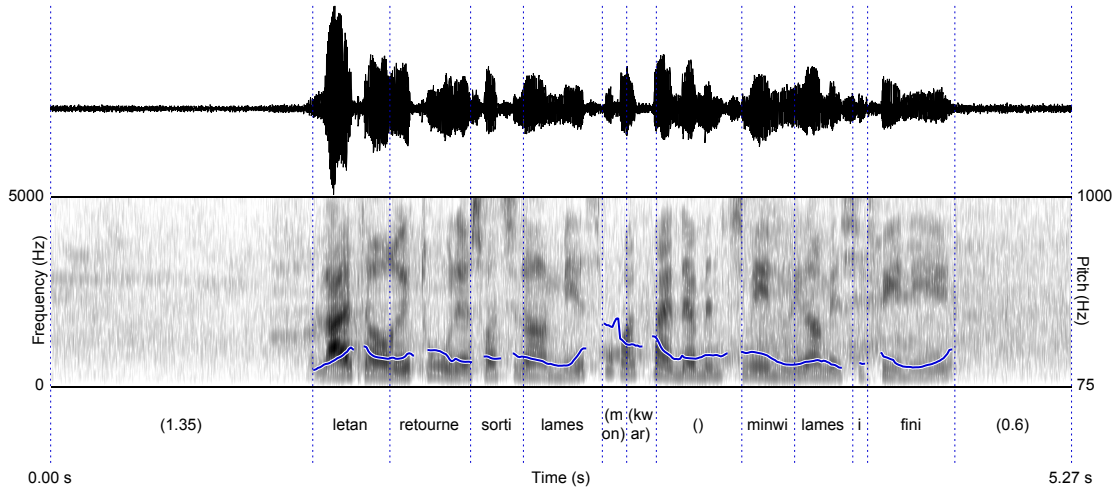


Figure 8.2: Intonation contour of (139)

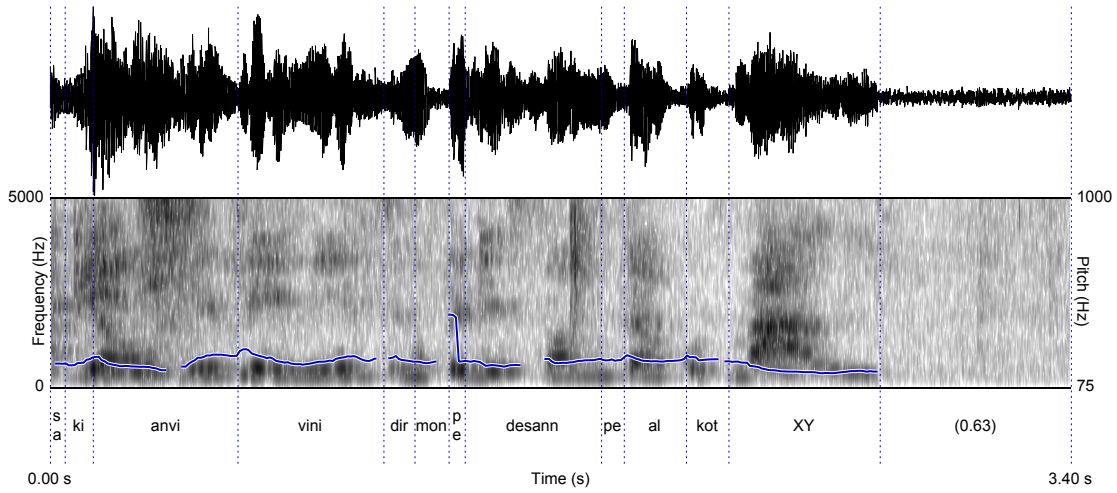


Figure 8.3: Intonation contour of (141)

Hence, all of the examples above fulfill the identificational criteria for SVCs as proposed by Aikhenvald (2006) and others. They include more than one verb, do not exhibit markers of sub- or coordination, describe one event, have the same TMA/NEG configuration and are uttered with the same intonation contour without pauses.

This is in contrast to example (142), given below. This is one of the examples that was identified as a putative SVC based on the occurrence of two verbs of motion within one sentence, the missing marker of sub-or coordination as well as the same TMA/NEG configuration, akin to example (141). However, this cannot be classified as an SVC due to the break in intonation contour, as is obvious from the picture below the example. The sentence exhibits a pause of 0.33 second, given in brackets in the annotation and hence should rather be seen as an asyndetic coordination.

(142) Prezan, sa madanm in sorti dan lakaz in vin regarde obor semen
Then, D woman ASP exit from house ASP come watch above street
'Then, that woman exited her house to watch [the flood] from above the street.'

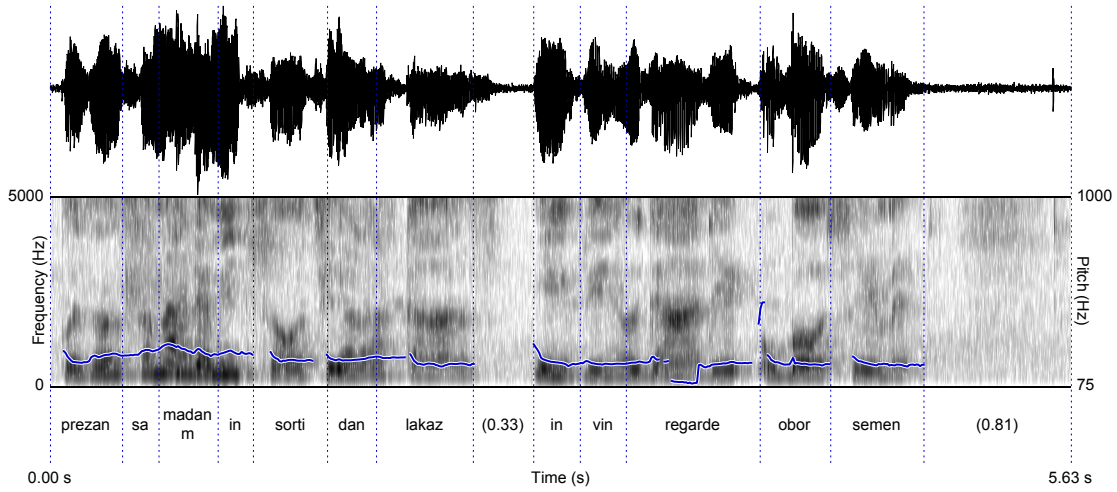


Figure 8.4: Intonation contour of (142)

When turning to Aspectual SVCs the following picture emerges: In total, only two Aspectual SVCs were produced, both are given below in examples (143) and (144).

(143) Apre nou al- aswar al lanmes nwel. M'ale mon fini, nou pran ...
After PRN go- evening go mass christmas. PRN.go PRN fnish, PRN take ...

'After that, we attend Christmas Mass. When I have finished attending, we take ...'

(144) Ou ganny sans reflesir lo bann keksoz ki'n passe in fini prezan.
PRN get chance reflect on PL things REL'ASP pass ASP finish now.

'One gets the chance to reflect on things which have passed until now.'

Both SVCs are contiguous and are concordantly marked. In the first example, no TMA marking is present (hence, concordantly non-marked) and the subject PRN is repeated. In the second example, the aspect marker *in* is repeated. Furthermore, this example is especially interesting since the SVC is contained within a relative clause introduced by *ki*. Both examples do not exhibit a break in intonation contour, as can be seen from the following two pictures:

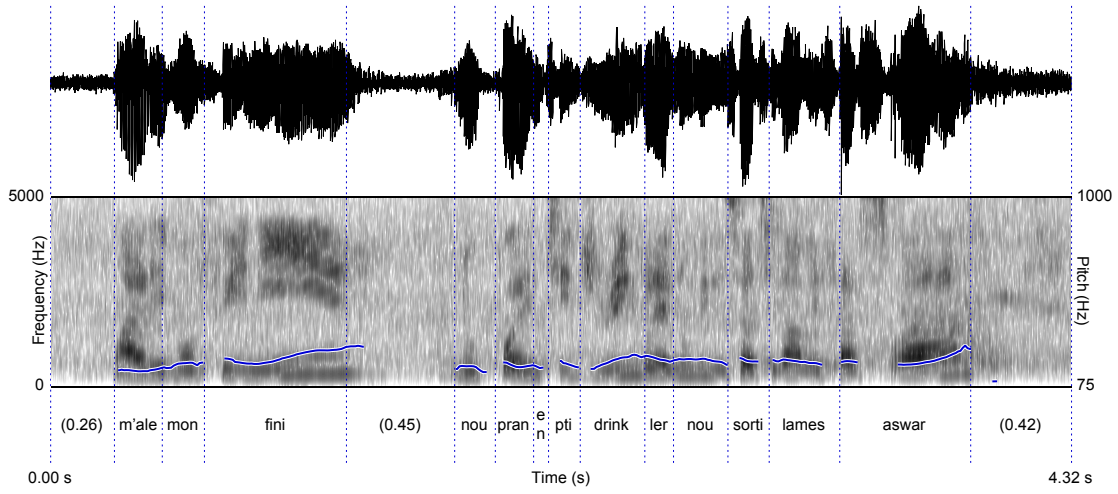


Figure 8.5: Intonation contour of (143)

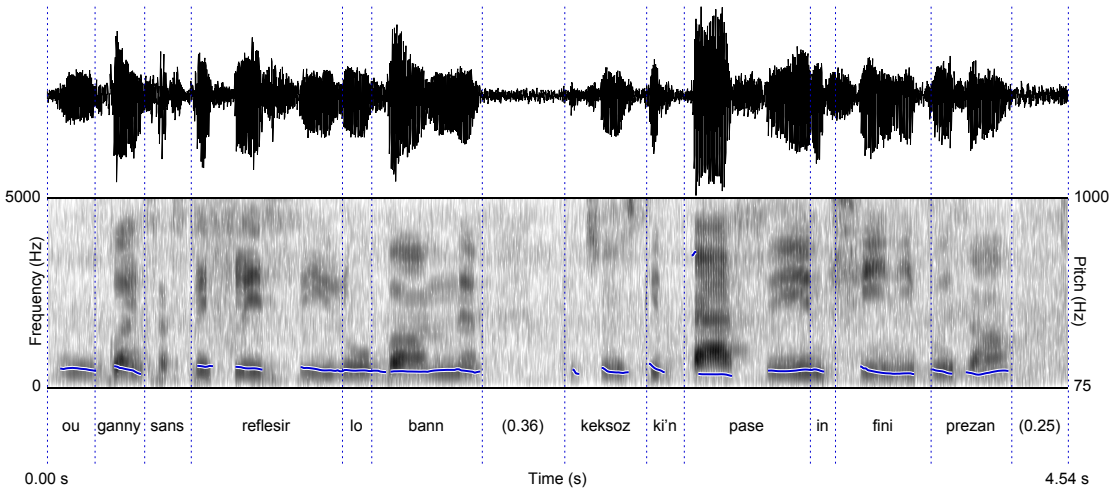


Figure 8.6: Intonation contour of (144)

The intonation contour of the first example also illustrates the difference between SVCs and other phenomena. The first clause, in which the SVC is present, is uttered without a pause between the two verbs but a second clause containing another verb *pran* is attached with a pause of 0.45 seconds. Michaelis (1993) calls this technique comma-intonation and subsumes this under asyndetic constructions. The relation between the first and the second clause is one of temporal relations; i.e. a subordinator 'when' could also be present as illustrated in the translation.

Finally, the two aspectual SVCs above have to be distinguished from the alternative construction *fini* + verb that is also available in KS and often used. The latter is an instance of subcategorization, i.e. the finite verb *fini* licenses a non-finite VP complement. Hence, the two verbs differ in finiteness/TMA configuration and are excluded per definition from SVCs. This is different to the sentences above which exhibit the same TMA marking on both verbs.

8.2 Type 2 SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

In the semi-spontaneous data, only Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs were present in Type 2 SVCs. In total, 6 Take SVCs with a Theme argument were uttered, all of them displayed in the following examples:

(145) Ou pran pwason ou sizle li
PRN take fish PRN sizzle PRN
'You take the fish and sizzle it.'

(146) Ou pou pran ou piman ou kraze
PRN MOD take PRN chili PRN grind
'You will take your chili and grind it.'

(147) Ou pran par kwiyer ou met li dan sa bann trans
PRN take $e_{Obj.}$ with spoon PRN put PRN in these PL slices
'You take [the mixture of spices] with a spoon and put it in these slices [of the fish].'

(148) Ou pran ou pwason sale met bwi
PRN take PRN fish salted put boil
'You take the salted fish and boil it.'

(149) Ou pran bilenbi ou rape
PRN take Bilenbi PRN grind
'You take the bilenbi [sour fruit] and grind it.'

(150) Mon pran li mon rousi mon zak
PRN take PRN PRN roast PRN Jackfruit
'I take it and roast my Jackfruit'

All of these are THEME serials, and no INSTRUMENTAL 'take' SVC is present. As mentioned above, all of these are non-contiguous SVCs, which was expected since *pran* introduces an internal argument (as the name implies). However, interestingly, in (147) the object is not present after V_1, but only appears after V_2. Nonetheless, this SVC has to be classified as non-contiguous as the prepositional phrase *par kwiyer* intervenes between the two verbs in this SVC. Furthermore, in examples (146), (148) and (149), the internal argument, i.e. the object, is shared as it only surfaces in post V_1 position. As can be seen, examples (145) and (150) do not exhibit syntactic internal argument-sharing (though semantically the object is shared) as either the object pronoun *li* in the former or even the DP *mon zak* in the latter example is a complement of V_2.

With the exception of (146) all of the SVCs above exhibit concordant TMA marking, i.e. no overt marking is present on all of the verbs, though, once again, this is a consequence of the fact that the present tense is not overtly marked in KS. Furthermore, the subject pronoun is concordantly marked, i.e. repeated on all of the verbs except in (148). This SVC is also interesting since it potentially constitutes one of the few examples of a serial with more than two verbs in the semi-spontaneous data.

Concerning the intonation contour, several aspects can be observed. Not all 6 pictures of intonation contour will be given here, as they all are included in the appendix in (A6.2). In the following, one clear-cut example concerning the lack of pauses as well as the lack of rising or falling intonation contour is displayed in (8.7). The other three examples provided here have to be discussed concerning their suprasegmental properties.

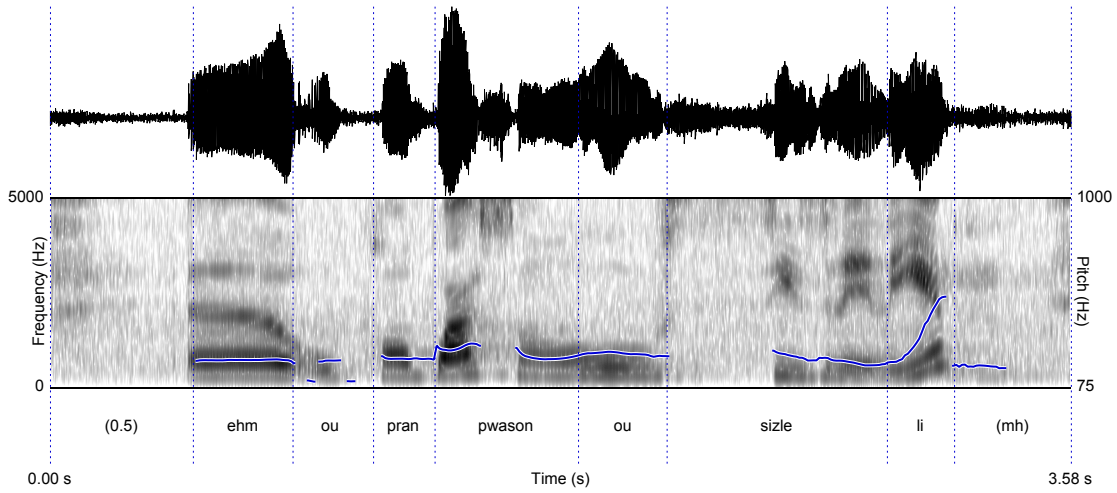


Figure 8.7: Intonation contour of (145)

In this graphic representation of the first example, the pitch contour, represented by the blue line, seems to break off between the second *ou* and V_2, *sizle*. However, it is evident from the spectogram that, immediately after *ou*, the participant voices the first sound of the following word, the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, displayed in the top half of the spectogram but not captured by the pitch line drawn by Praat. Hence, neither a pause nor a rising nor falling intonation contour can be discerned between V_1 and V_2. In comparison, the intonation rises considerably at the end of the displayed structure.

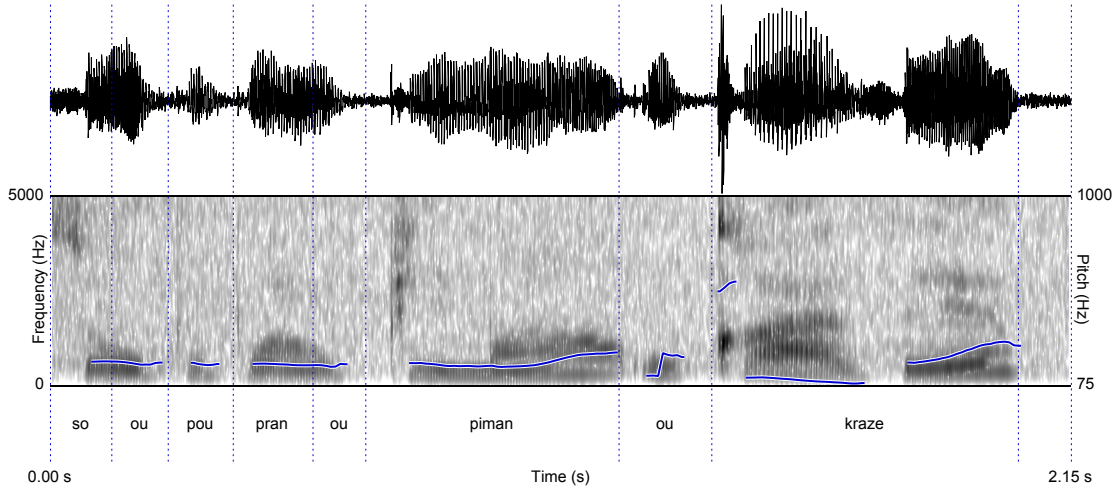


Figure 8.8: Intonation contour of (146)

In this figure, a slight pause of 0.05 seconds may be present between *piman* and *ou*. However, this is a very short break and is not noticeable in the audio and was thus not annotated in Praat. However, what is noticeable in the picture as well as in the audio is a slight change in intonation contour quality, i.e. a falling intonation contour can be observed when comparing the end of *piman* and the beginning of *ou*. Hence,

the question is whether this is indeed an example of an SVC. This is also the only SVC in the corpus of semi-spontaneous data that is only concordantly marked for subject in contrast to all of the other single marked SVCs. The latter all are concordantly marked for TMA. As such, this may be a further reason not to include this sentence in the classification of SVCs.

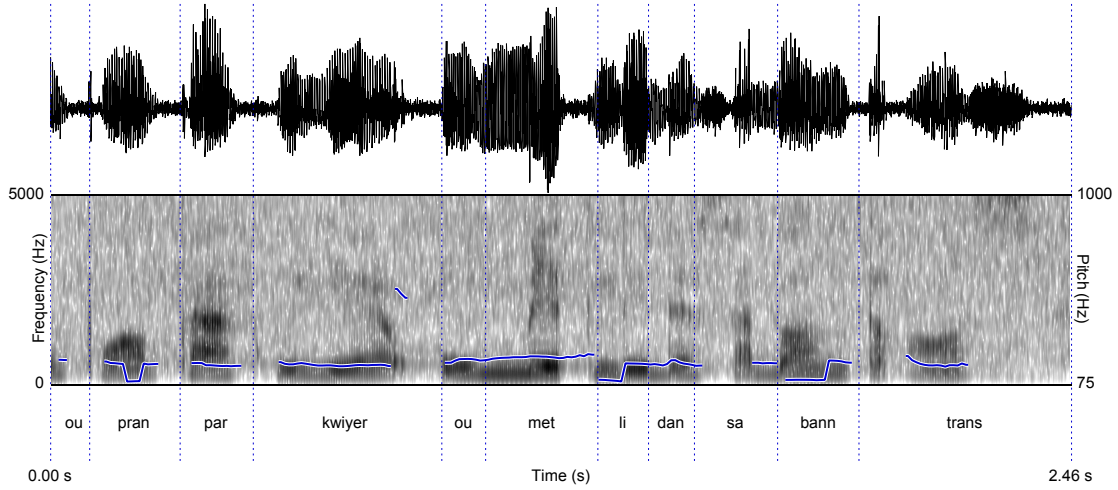


Figure 8.9: Intonation contour of (147)

In contrast to the example above, the intonation contour in this representation of example (147) does not change between V_1 and V_2. However, a slight pause may be discerned in the picture above between *kwiyer* and *ou*. This may be due to the combination of *-er* plus a following vowel sound. In the audio recording no discernible pause can be heard and, thus, once again, it has not been annotated.

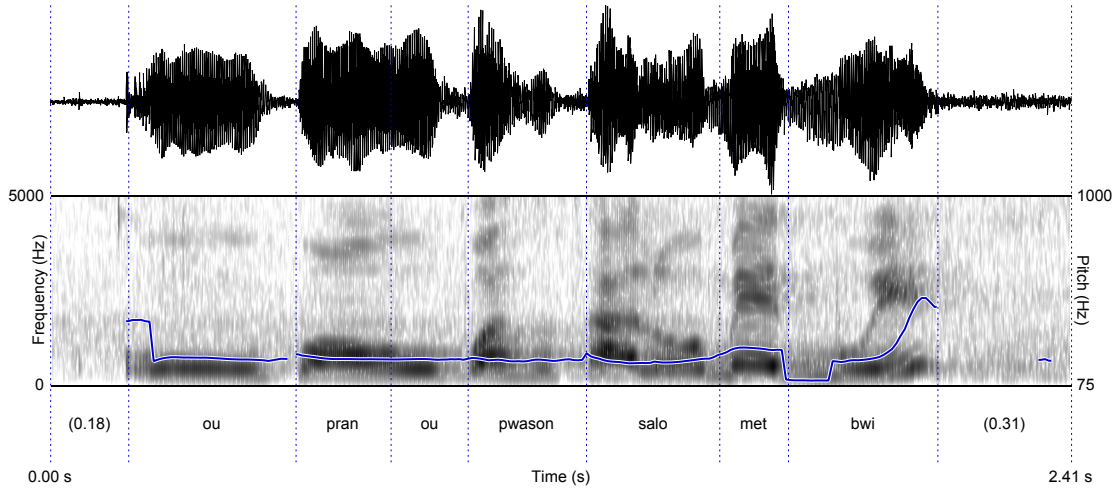


Figure 8.10: Intonation contour of (148)

This picture displays the intonation contour of example (148), a potential 3 Verb Serial with *pran, met, bwi*, 'take, put, boil'. As can be seen from the picture, no pause or change in intonation contour can be discerned between V_1, *pran* and V_2, *met*. However,

between V_2, *met*, and V_3, *bwi*, a falling intonation contour, though no pause, can be discerned. Once again, the question is whether this can the in fact be classified as an SVC overall or whether only the first two verbs constitute the serial. The construction *met+bwi* will also surface later in Type 4 serials and will be discussed again there.

In general, one can say that in most Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs in the semi-spontaneous data a slight change in intonation contour (falling intonation contour) can be observed. This is not only true for the examples discussed above with the help of the pictures but also for examples (149) and (150), though in the latter there is only a very minimal intonation contour fall. As shown above, (146) and (147) may exhibit very slight pauses between the VPs. However, these examples can be contrasted with the following example that was originally also included in the list of putative SVCs (cf. table (A6.1) due to the similarity to other examples.

(151) Prezan ou pran li met li dan en pwalon.
Now PRN take PRN put PRN in a pan
'Now you take it and put it in a pan.'

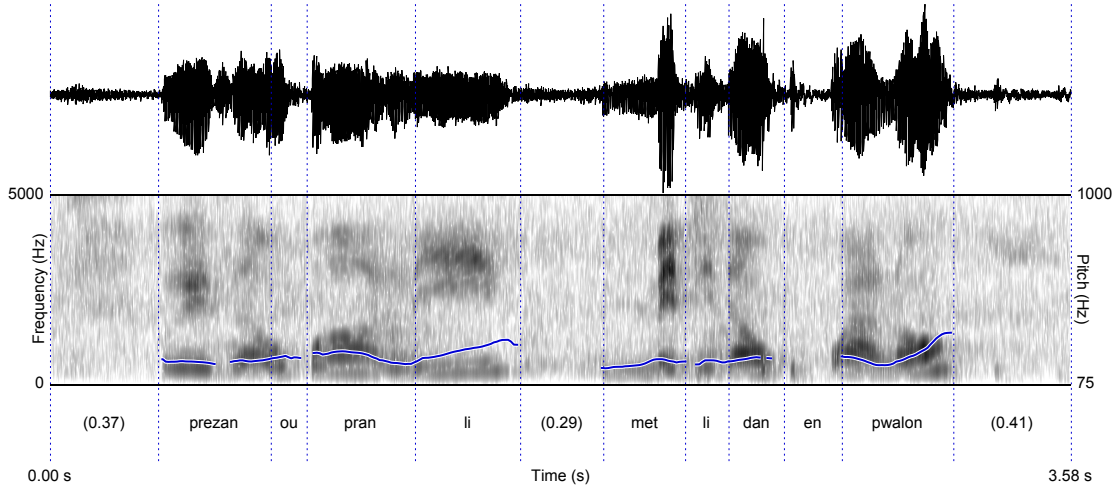


Figure 8.11: Intonation contour of (151)

In the picture above it becomes apparent that there is a clear intonation contour break as well as a discernible pause of 0.29 seconds. This can be classified without doubt as an asyndetic construction that exhibits comma intonation. If the examples (145-150) are compared, it seems that they are located between SVCs, such as Directionals in (8.1), and clear-cut coordinated sentences with comma intonation, such as (8.11). This will be discussed further in chapter (11.2) after elicitation and judgment data have also been presented.

8.3 Type 3 SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

In total 3 Resultative SVCs are present in the semi-spontaneous data corpus. All of these, including the graphic representation of intonation contour, are listed below.

Since (152) and (153) exhibit the same SVC in two separate utterances by the same person, only one of the PRAAT analyses is given.

(152) ...nou veye pangar i monte tonb dan dife
...PRN watch pay attention PRN rise fall in fire
'We have to watch it to make sure it does not boil over.'

(153) Nou veye, tap, tap, tape pangar i monte tonb dan dife
PRN watch, hit, hit, hit pay attention PRN rise fall in fire
'You watch it, hit it repeatedly and make sure it does not boil over.'

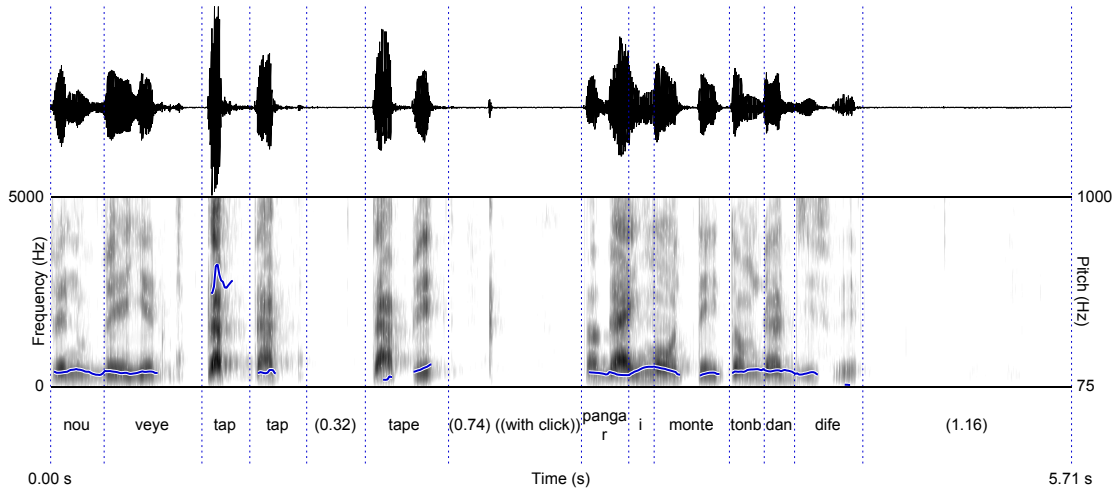


Figure 8.12: Intonation contour of (153)

As can be seen, no pause or rise or fall in intonation contour intervenes between V_1, *monte*, and V_2, *tonbe* in contrast to the verbs such as *veye* or *tape*, which all exhibit a shorter or longer pause after each and therefore were transcribed with a comma. In the case of the aforementioned examples it is highly likely that *i* is a 3rd person PRN rather than a PM as no R-expression or DP precedes it. The second verb in the SVC *monte tonbe* describes a result of the first verb, i.e. the Ladob[2] rises and, as a result, it may boil over. This SVC was translated by a native speaker of KS with the expression containing only one verb as 'it falls in the fire'. Potentially, this may also be analyzed as a directional SVC as it indicates a direction ('down') after a verb of motion. However, since verbs such as 'fall' are often cited as examples of Resultatives, this is also assumed in the present thesis.

The third example of a Resultative SVC was uttered by a different person, though it has to be noted that both participants are over 60 and hence belong to age group 6. In this example, *tonbe* is also the second verb in the SVC and describes a result of the first verb.

[2]A special dish of the Seychelles that is prepared by cooking different vegetables, such as potato or sweet potato, and fruit, such as bananas, in coconut milk and sugar.

(154) Bato i tap li tonbe
Boat PM hit him fall
'The boat knocked him over.'

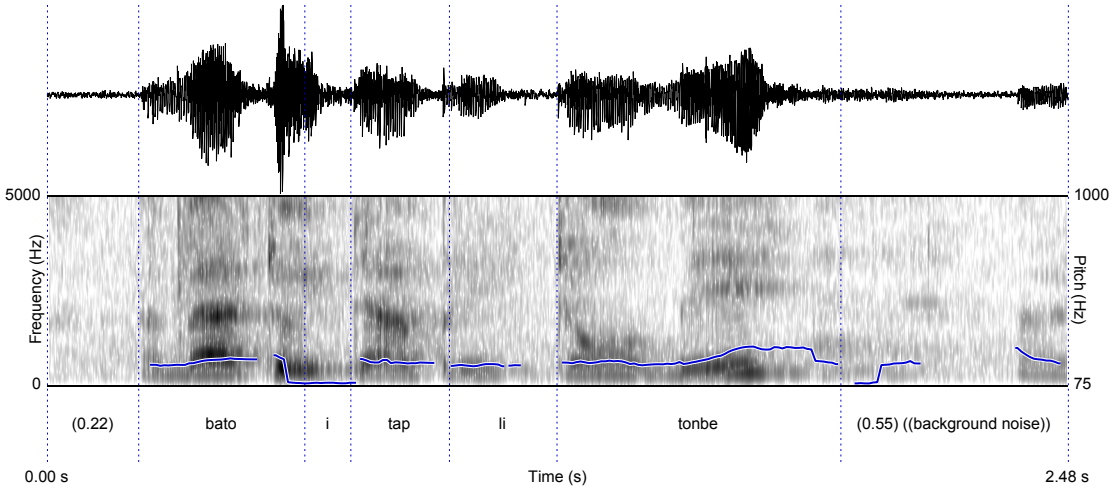


Figure 8.13: Intonation contour of (154)

Even though all of the examples of Resultatives have *tonbe*, 'fall' in second position, there is a difference concerning argument structure in the two constructions. In the first two examples, both verbs are intransitive. This is in contrast to the third example, in which the first verb in the SVC is transitive, but the second intransitive. Furthermore, the latter is an instance of a switch subject SVC since the object *li*, 'him' of V_1 is the subject of V_2, i.e. he is the one being knocked over by the boat.

Furthermore, these Resultatives also differ in other structural aspects. Whereas the first two are concordantly (not)marked, the third does not exhibit concordant marking since the predicate marker *i* appears only on the first verb. In addition, the first two are contiguous whereas the third one exhibits an intervening objective PRN, *li*. Finally, Resultatives are usually classified as symmetric SVCs as no restriction seems to be imposed on the second verb. This can be confirmed from a structural point of view as the combination of transitive + intransitive V is possible in KS as shown by example (154). From a semantic point of view, only *tonbe*, 'fall' surfaces as the second verb in semi-spontaneous data. However, also other verbs appear in second position as was shown above in chapter (7.) and as will be shown in chapter (9.) below.

8.4 Type 4 SVCs in the Semi-Spontaneous Data

The final type of SVCs, Open-Ended SVCs, is the most prominent in the semi-spontaneous data. Originally, 35 putative Open SVCs were assumed and included in table (A6.1). However, some of these have to be discussed concerning their status as SVCs and the number adjusted accordingly. Due to their definition, they range over a variety of topics and include diverse verbs in first or second position. This is also one of the

reasons why Open SVCs are not always easy to identify and their status in KS may be controversial.

One verb that often appears, either in first position (9 times) or in second position (6 times) is *met*, 'put'. In the case of the 'Recipe' task this was expected, yet *met* was also used twice in the description of Christmas. In the first two examples, the combination *met/bwi* is displayed, which has already been mentioned above in chapter (8.2).

(155) ou met ou lapol latet reken bwi
PRN put PRN skin head shark boil
'You boil the skin of a shark's head.'

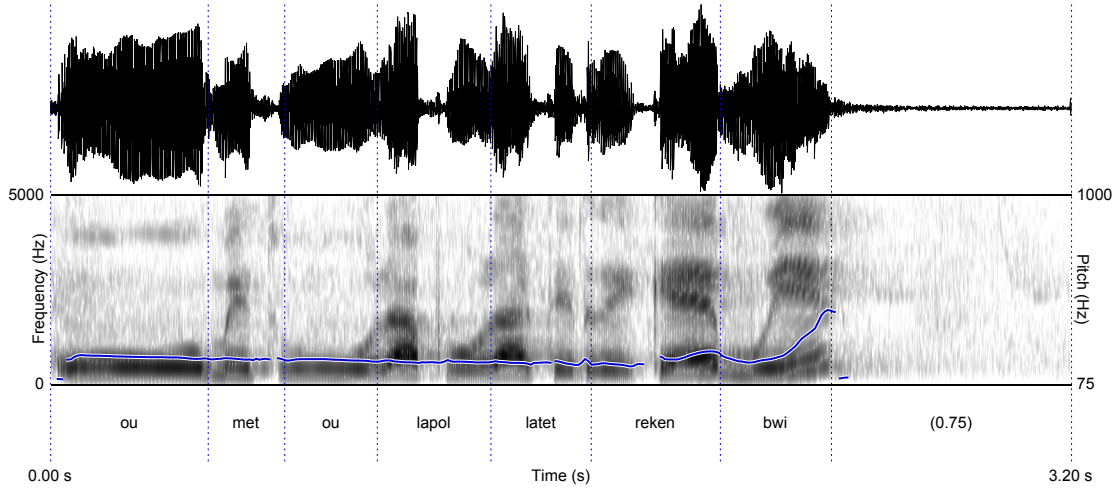


Figure 8.14: Intonation contour of (155)

(156) Ou vin ou met li bwi
PRN come PRN put PRN boil
'You come and boil it.'

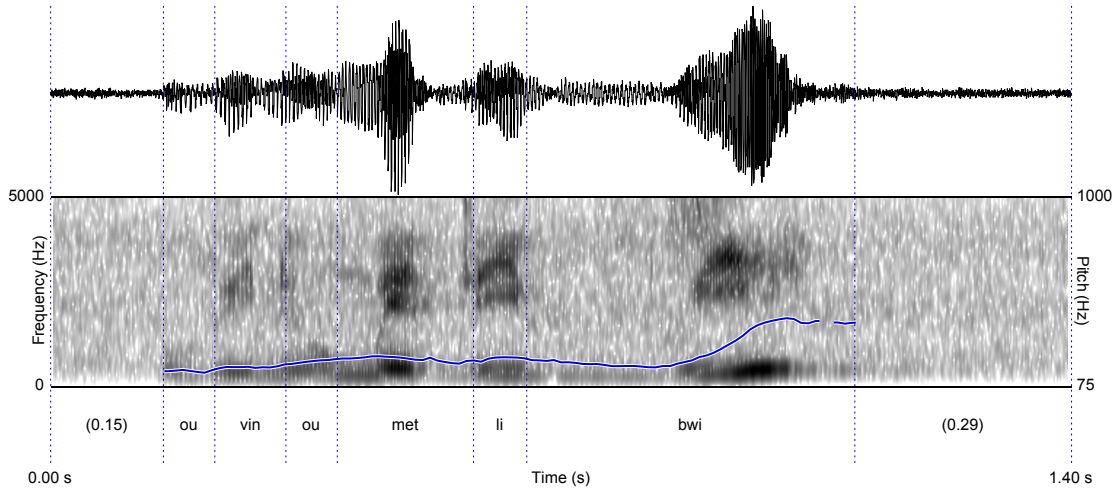


Figure 8.15: Intonation contour of (156)

In the Take SVC (148) above, it is unclear whether it is a 2 verb SVC with *pran, met* or a 3 verb SVC with *pran, met, bwi* due to the change in intonation contour between the last two verbs. In examples above (155), which was also uttered by the same person, a slight change in intonation contour can be discerned, though this is not as prominent as in (148). In (156) the same construction is used by a different person and the intonation contour between V_1 and V_2 is almost the same. Hence, it is evident that there is variation in the realization of this construction. In the corpus it also appears with a pause of 0.37 seconds after the first VP. This is displayed in the following example/figure:

(157) met li bwi en pti pe dan son kastrol
put PRN boil D small bit in PRN pot
'Boil it a bit in a pot'

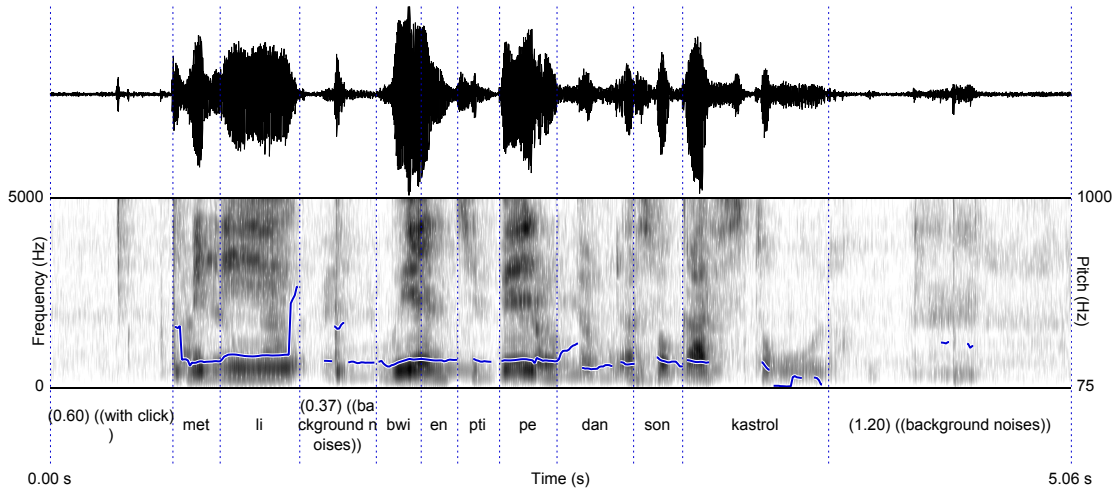


Figure 8.16: Intonation contour of (157)

However, when listening to the recording, it seems that the person is searching for a word rather than using intonation and pause to indicate clause structure or clause boundaries. Hence, this example may not be indicative of whether or not *met bwi* can be analyzed as an Open SVC. Furthermore, this is also the reason why this sentence should not be included in the corpus of SVCs in the present thesis even though it may have been one had the person not hesitated.

Based on these examples, the status of *met bwi* cannot be fully determined. For the time being, they are counted within the class of SVCs, though it is acknowledged that they are marginal examples. Other cases of *met* in first position are evident in the following two examples:

(158) met li marinade dan en pe limon.
put it marinade in a bit lemon
'Marinade it in a bit of lemon.'

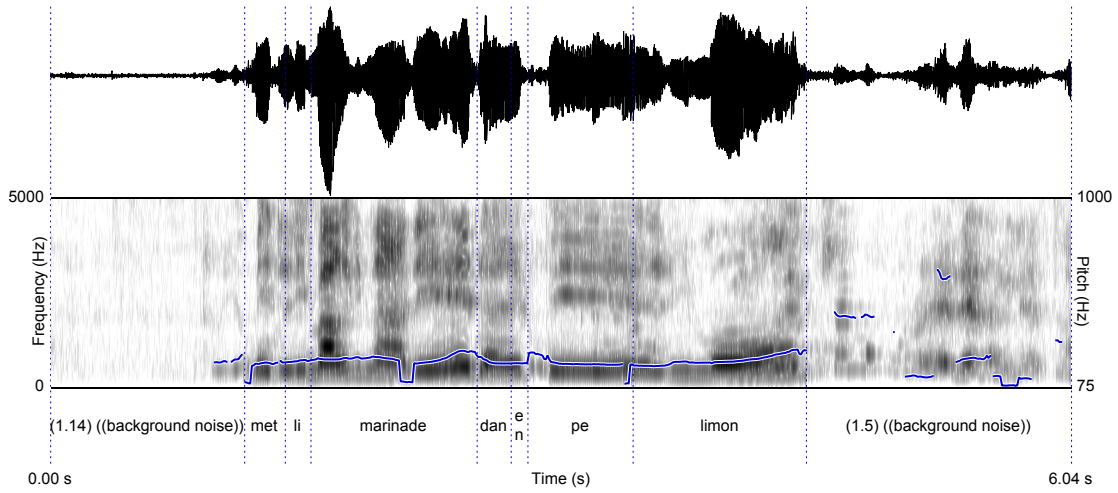


Figure 8.17: Intonation contour of (158)

(159) apre, ou met li sode
After, PRN put PRN simmer
'After that, let it simmer.'

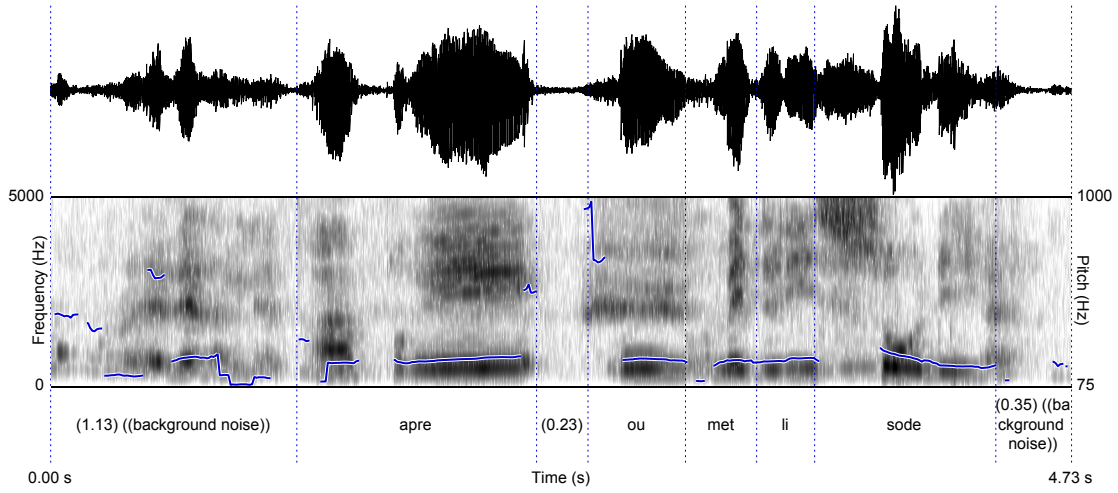


Figure 8.18: Intonation contour of (159)

These examples seem to be more unambiguous concerning intonation contour than the others above. These instances have been classified as Open SVCs. However, another possibility would be to classify these as Argument Introducing SVCs akin to Take serials, as they introduce a further argument into the structure and are semantically similar. For the time being, they are taken to be Open SVCs.

Other examples of Type 4 SVCs are the following: They describe an event that consists of several sub-events, are not connected by sub- or coordinators, exhibit no pause nor a considerable break in intonation contour and are ordered iconically.

(160) Salad mang, ou plis ou mang ou lave, ou kapab koup koup ...
Salat mango, PRN peel mango PRN wash, PRN can cut cut ...
'For a mango salat, you peel the mango and wash it, you can cut it ...'

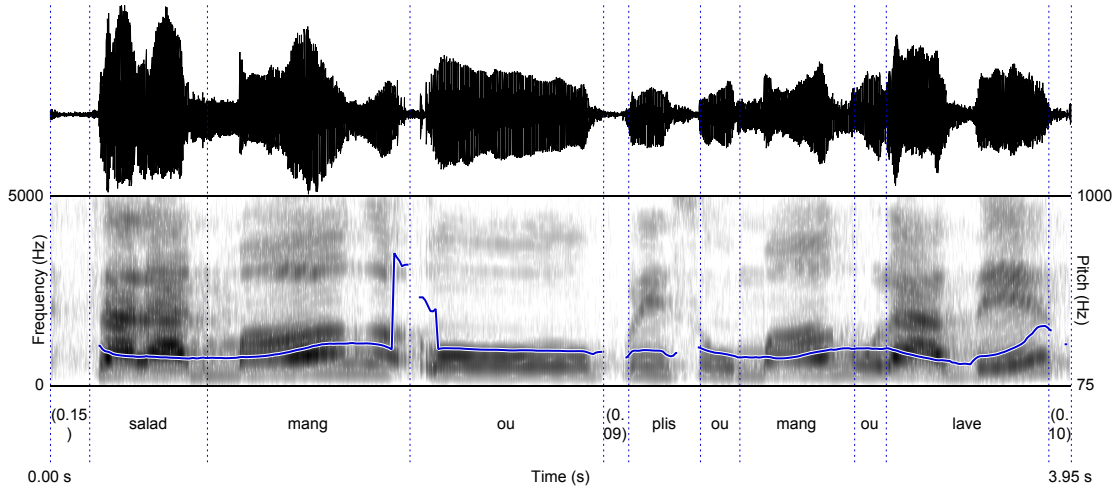


Figure 8.19: Intonation contour of (160)

(161) mon dir zot bononm nwel in pase in anvoy la par lafnet
PRN say them father christmas ASP pass ASP throw D in window
'I told them that Santa Clause has thrown them [the gifts] into the window in passing.'

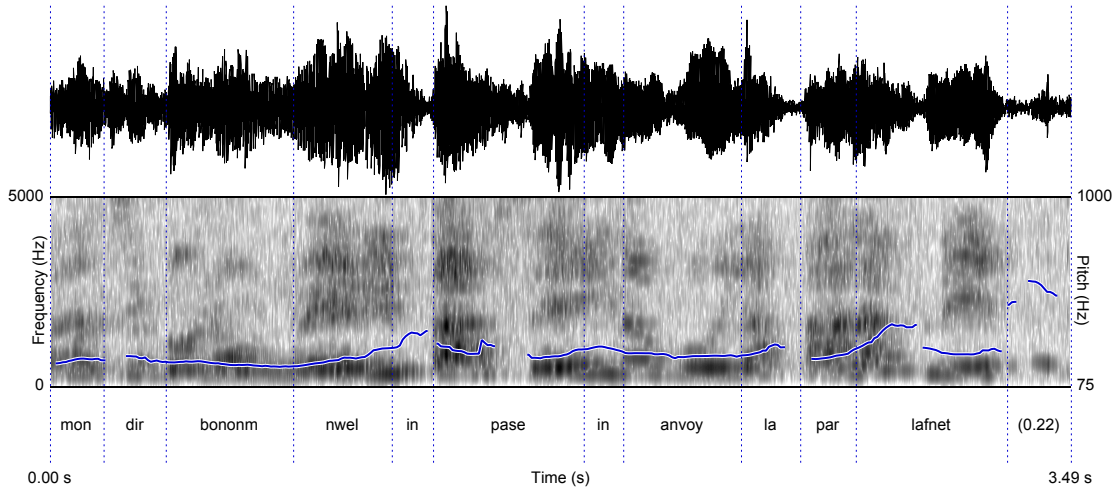


Figure 8.20: Intonation contour of (161)

(162) Nou fer nou dezennen, nou fer party, bwar manze
PRN make PRN lunch, PRN make party, drink eat
'We have lunch, have a party, drink and eat.'

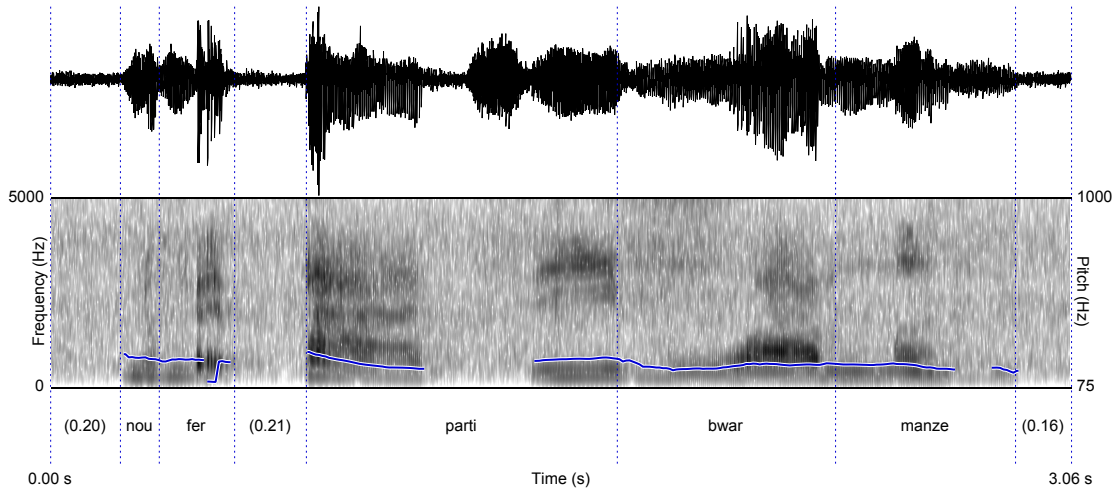


Figure 8.21: Intonation contour of (162)

The last SVC was also noted in the written corpus, though in this instance the order of the verbs was reversed. According to Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018), the order of the verbs is not fixed but a slight difference in meaning can be observed in the respective order. If *bwar* is the first verb of the structure as in the example above, the emphasis is on the drinking, thus implying that one is getting drunk during the activity. The SVC in (162) was the basis for originally classifying the word combination *kwi-manze*, 'cook-eat' within the group of SVCs. This combination appeared 4 times in the semi-spontaneous corpus, one of which is given below.

(163) Nou spend nou lazourne kwi manze ansanm. Manz ansanm ...
PRN *spend* PRN day cook ʔeat together. Eat together ...
'We spend our day cooking and eating together. Eat together.'

However, several problems with this preliminary classification of *kwi-manze* as an SVC arise. *Manze* in fact has the same shape when it is a noun and when it is a verb. Hence, the categorial status cannot be decided based on the form. Furthermore, in the present corpus, *manze* is not preceded by a TMA marker if it occurs with *kwi*. The only indication of its categorial status is the long or short verb form alternation. The noun is unchangeably *manze*, whereas the verb can also appear as *manz*. As can be seen from the example (163) above, *manze* appears twice, followed both times by *ansanm*. Since there is an alternation between *manze* and *manz* within the same utterance by the same participant, it can be assumed that the first one is a noun and hence a direct object of *kwi*, meaning 'cook food'. Therefore, this should not be seen as an SVC and has to be excluded from the list of Type 4 SVCs in KS.

8.5 Summary

As an intermediate summary, it can be stated that all mayor Types 1-4 of SVCs are represented in the semi-spontaneous corpus, though not all sub-types are present, as,

for instance, Argument Introducing ‘give’ or ‘say’ or Causative SVCs are missing. No significant distribution of age concerning the different subtypes could be discerned with the exception of Resultatives and possibly Aspectuals. However, it seems that age groups 5 (2 SVCs per person), 4 and 3 (1.8 and 1.7 SVCs per person respectively) make use of more SVCs in general than the other age groups, especially when compared to age group 2 (0.6 SVCs per person). Not all assumed SVCs in (A6.1) could be analyzed in detail concerning their form, function as well as intonation contour. However, in general, it can be said that Open-Ended SVCs in KS exhibit more variation concerning intonation contour than the other SVCs described above. Hence, in many cases it can actually be discussed whether these are instances of SVCs or should instead be taken to belong to neighboring syntactic phenomena. Concordantly-marked SVCs are clearly preferred and, within concordant marking, more SVCs are present that mark both categories, TMA as well as subjects. If only one category is concordantly marked, then it is TMA markers. Finally, contiguity depends on the type of SVC - whereas Directionals and Aspectuals are all contiguous in the semi-spontaneous data, Take and Open-Ended serials are most likely to be non-contiguous in KS.

9. Elicitation Data

In total, 135 putative SVCs were uttered within the elicitation task, all of which can be found in table (A7.1) in the appendix. 116 SVCs in the elicitation data corpus consist of two verbs, whereas only 17 cases of three or more verbs can be discerned. One SVC is present in the data in which the number of verbs cannot be determined due to an unintelligible word between V_1 and V_2[1].

The analysis of these putative SVCs proceeded similarly to the analysis of the semi-spontaneous data, i.e. they were categorized with respect to Aikhenvald's (2006) parameters and were exported to Praat in order to analyze their intonation. Of the 135 putative SVCs, none exhibit a pause or break in intonation contour between the verbs in question. While 109 of them display a constant intonation contour, 26 putative SVCs exhibit a potential rise or fall in intonation contour when the Praat pictures are examined. However, they are nevertheless included in the following tables, analyses and statistics due to several reasons. First, sometimes background noise, such as utterances on the part of other participants, the interviewer or, for instance, lawn mowers, have an effect on the pitch display created by Praat. However, when listening to the recordings, no rise or fall can be discerned. Second, often the same structure including the same verbs is uttered by the same participant and this leads to a more distinct intonation contour with regard to SVCs. Likewise, a comparison of clear-cut syndetic and asyndetic structures of the same participant often shows differences to the 135 sentences that include SVCs. The 26 cases in which intonation contour is not as unambiguous as in the other 109 cases can be explained and captured by the continuum approach to SVCs. As will be discussed in the following subchapters as well as in chapter (11.), this observation leads to the idea that not only SVCs in themselves can be located on a continuum, but a continuum between SVCs and other structures such as asyndetic sentences also exists.

As can be seen from the table below, 26 participants (2 males, 24 females) took part in the elicitation task, and 21 of these made use of SVCs. 3 participants, all from age group 2, did not utter any SVCs during this part of the interview. In the mean, 5.2 SVCs were uttered per person in this elicitation task.

Table 9.1: Distribution of SVCs in the Elicitation Data

SVCs	Participants	Participants who use SVCs	Mean SVCs p.p.	Mean SVCs male	Mean SVCs female
135	26	21	5.2	7.0	5.0

Of the 135 putative SVCs, 14 were uttered by the 2 male participants, while the remaining 121 putative SVCs were uttered by the 24 female participants. Hence, the

[1]This SVC will be presented in section (9.1).

mean use of SVCs per person in this task is 7.0 SVCs for the male participants, and 5.0 for the females. However, it has to be noted in reference to the 2 male participants that only 1 SVC was uttered by participant number 1, and all of the other 13 SVCs by participant number 26. Hence, it cannot be maintained that the difference of SVCs used by male and female participants is compelling and no further inference can be made from this observed difference in the mean use of SVCs in the elicitation data.

In general, it can be said that some videos elicited more SVCs than others and proved to be more fitting for this kind of task and environment or culture. Some of the videos that were used did not elicit any SVCs from the participants and, finally, some videos did elicit SVCs, though not the targeted SVCs, which are described in the appendix in table (A3). Hence, in the following table, first the total amount of produced SVCs (pSVCs) per video is indicated and, below this, the number of target-consistent SVCs (tSVC) uttered by the participants. If the exact verbs from the targeted structure indicated in the table are not used but nevertheless stem from a similar semantic field and the SVCs are of the same type as the targeted SVC, they are counted as target consistent.

Table 9.2: Distribution of SVCs across Elicitation Videos

V	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
pSVC	2	–	7	6	–	3	15	1	4	5	4	3	1	5	7	2
tSVC	–	–	5	6	–	1	15	1	4	2	3	1	1	3	6	1
V	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
pSVC	9	8	7	4	2	4	2	5	5	8	9	1	4	2	–	
tSVC	7	7	7	3	–	–	–	5	5	6	8	–	4	2	–	

As is evident, videos 2, 5 and 31 did not elicit any SVCs. For this reason videos 2 and 31 were discontinued in the second research trip and no longer shown to participants. Video 5 was maintained for the second round of recordings, as it displayed a very common SVC, i.e. *taye-ale* 'run away'. As will be shown in the judgment data chapter (10.) below, this is an SVC that is also accepted by native speakers, even though it was not actively produced. Furthermore, the three videos, 21, 22 and 23, that were included to elicit Aspectual SVCs with *X-fini*, 'X-finish', produced no target SVCs. For this reason, one of the videos (21) was no longer used in 2015. As indicated in chapter (5.3), additional videos were created for the second research trip based on occurrences of SVCs during the first stay. For instance, the SVC containing *ouver-ferme*, 'open-close' was used in 2014. Thus, a separate video, number 4, was created to show this event more prominently. All of the SVCs that were produced while watching the video were target consistent.

Similar to the semi-spontaneous data, not all of the types of SVCs that are iden-

tified in the literature on SVCs were present in the elicitation data. Degree, Argument Introducing 'say' and Aspectual SVCs were not uttered by the participants during the elicitation task. All of the other types were present as shown in the following table.

Table 9.3: Types and Tokens of SVCs in the Elicitation Data

Age	Directional	Give	Causative	Take	Resultative	Open	Total
2	3	1	–	5	2	6	17
3	10	7	–	12	3	15	47
4	3	3	–	8	2	9	25
5	3	3	1	7	4	15	33
6	1	2	–	4	1	5	13
Total	20	16	1	36	12	50	135

Open SVCs are most prominent in the elicitation data (in 37.0% of the cases), followed by Argument Introducing 'take' (26.7%) and Directional (14.8%). Give serials were present in 11.9% of the cases and Resultatives in 9.0%. The one SVC (0.7%) in the data that has been classified as a Causative SVC has to be examined and discussed concerning its classification since it may not be a Causative but rather an Open SVC (cf. below). In 4 instances, *pran*, 'take', is the first of 3 or more verbs. In these cases, the SVCs were nevertheless classified as Open serials rather than Argument Introducing 'take' since they usually displayed an event in iconic order and other verbs could have been used in these instances.

In absolute numbers, age group 3 seems to use the most SVCs, similar to the observation concerning the semi-spontaneous data. However, if the mean usage of SVC per person in an age group is calculated, a different picture emerges:

Table 9.4: Mean use of SVCs in the Elicitation Data

Age Group	Total SVCs	No. of participants	Mean SVC p.p.
2	17	9	1.9
3	47	8	5.9
4	25	4	6.25
5	33	3	11
6	13	2	6.5
2-6	135	26	5.2

As clearly indicated, age group 5 uses the most SVCs with a mean of 11 per person. Age groups 3, 4 and 6 are similar concerning the mean utterances of SVCs. Age group 2, however, only uses 1.9 serials per person, which is significantly lower

than the other age groups. The mean use of SVCs distributed across the types can be depicted as following:

Table 9.5: Mean Use of SVCs across Types in the Elicitation Data

Age	Directional	Give	Causative	Take	Resultative	Open
2	0.3	0.1	–	0.5	0.2	0.7
3	1.3	0.9	–	1.5	0.4	2.3
4	0.8	0.8	–	2	0.5	2
5	1	1	0.3	2.3	0.3	5
6	0.5	1	–	2	0.5	2.5

Within age groups 3-5, no clear distinction concerning the types emerges with the exception of Open SVCs, which are used more often by age group 5. Once again, age group 2 differs from the other age groups with respect to Directional, Give, Take and Open SVCs. In Resultative SVCs, similar means can be observed in all age groups.

Concerning Aikhenvald's (2005) four parameters, the 135 putative SVCs in the elicitation data can be classified as follows: all of the SVCs are multi-word SVCs, once again due to the status of KS as a rather isolating/analytic language. Since all four superordinate types of SVCs are represented, asymmetric (i.e. Directional, Argument Introducing 'give' and 'take' and Causative) as well as symmetric (Resultative and Open) SVCs can be found in the elicitation data corpus.

Contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs are also present. Their distribution across the different types can be seen in the following table:

Table 9.6: (Non-)Contiguous SVCs in the Elicitation Data

	Contiguous	Non-Contiguous	Total
Directional	16 (80%)	4 (20%)	20
Give	5 (31.3%)	11 (68.7%)	16
Causative	–	1 (100%)	1
Take	3 (8.3%)	33 (91.4%)	36
Resultative	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	12
Open	22 (44%)	28 (56.0%)	50
Total	47 (34.8%)	88 (65.2%)	135

As is evident, a preference for non-contiguous SVCs (65.2%) in contrast to contiguous SVCs (34.8%) can be seen in the elicitation data. Furthermore, a slightly different picture in contrast to the semi-spontaneous data emerges. Whereas in the semi-spontaneous data, all Directional SVCs were contiguous and all Take SVCs were

non-contiguous, there is no such clear-cut distinction in the elicitation corpus. Four Directionals are non-contiguous, whereas three Take serials are contiguous; one example of each is given in the following two examples:

(164) Wi, i'n mont peron i'n desann
Yes, PRN.ASP ascend stairs PRN.ASP descend
'He has gone up and down the stairs.'

(165) En msye in anmas en gran portre ater e i'n pran i'n akros
A man ASP pick up D big picture ground and PRN.ASP take PRN.ASP hang
li lo miray
it on wall
'A man has picked up a big picture from the ground and he has hung it up on the wall.'

In example (164), the direct object, *peron*, 'stairs', intervenes between V_1 (*monte*) and V_2 (*desann*) and, thus, this SVC has to be classified as a non-contiguous SVC. As will be shown below in chapter (9.1), this SVC can also take the form of a contiguous SVC. However, it will be argued that slight semantic differences arise due to the occurrence of the object as well as the concordant setting of this SVC. In example (165), the first verb in the SVC, *pran*, which is usually used to introduce objects into the SVC (hence the label 'Argument Introducing SVC') does not appear with an overt object. This may be due to two reasons. First, the object *en gran portre* was already introduced in the first part of the sentence, before the coordination conjunction *e*, 'and'. Second, the object pronoun *li*, 'it', referring back to the picture mentioned in the first part of the conjoined sentences, appears after V_2. Hence, the object is shared and appears after the last verb in the SVC. Therefore, this SVC can be classified as a contiguous SVC even though it belongs to the type of SVCs that introduce arguments into the structure and are predominantly non-contiguous SVCs.

Similar to contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs, both types of SVCs concerning the concordant marking parameter can be found in the elicitation data. Before going into detail concerning the distribution of concordant and non-concordant SVCs, some other remarks have to be made. The question as to whether a repeated subject pronoun is present on the second verb arose during the transcription and analysis of some of the SVCs in the elicitation data. This is due to the homophonous nature of *in* as an aspect marker and *i'n* as 3rd person singular pronoun *i* plus cliticized aspect marker *'n*. For instance, the same sentence could be orthographically represented and glossed either as in example (166) or as in example (167).

(166) I'n kas dizef i'n met dan bol
PRN.ASP break egg PRN.ASP put in bowl
'He has cracked the egg into a bowl.'

(167) I'n kas dizef in met dan bol
PRN.ASP break egg ASP put in bowl
'He has cracked the egg into a bowl.'

A third alternative for the structural analysis of the sentence above is also possible. Since KS seems to be a null subject language as shown in Adone, Gabel, and Choppy (2017), the gloss could also only include the aspect marker before both verbs and no subject pronoun, as exemplified in the following:

(168) In kas dizef in met dan bol
ASP break egg ASP put in bowl
'He has cracked the egg into a bowl.'

In the written corpus the exact structure could be discerned based on the orthography chosen by the author of the respective text (*in* vs. *i'n*). In the semi-spontaneous data this problem did not arise since either the 3rd person singular pronoun was not used or the utterance was placed in the present tense and, hence, the aspect marker *in* did not appear.

However, two preliminary conclusions concerning the repetition of subjects could be drawn based on the written as well as the semi-spontaneous oral corpus. First, the data suggest that after R-expressions, such as names or full DPs, the subject pronoun or the R-expression is not repeated. There is only one exceptions to this in the written corpus, and none in the semi-spontaneous data. Hence, if an R-expression appeared in the elicitation data before V_1, the following *in* was analyzed as the aspect marker only, without a repeated subject before V_2.

Second, if a PRN is present in the written or semi-spontaneous data before V_1, there is a slight preference for overtly repeated subject pronouns on V_2. In the written data the pronoun was repeated in 71.7% of concordantly marked SVCs, while in the semi-spontaneous data it was repeated in 67.9% of the cases. The data therefore suggest that subject pronoun repetition is preferred but nevertheless not obligatory. Hence, all of the sentences in which the concordant subject marking was not clear have been transcribed and coded with a repeated subject for the time being, as displayed in example (166). Of course, this procedure has consequences for the overall statistics of concordant subject marking in KS since the actual number of repeated subjects may be fewer. Hence, in the final discussion in (11.4), these will be indicated separately.

In the elicitation corpus 56 SVCs were identified in which the concordant marking of the subject on V_2 is unclear, whereas in 75 cases the question concerning the repetition of the subject was clear, either because a different pronoun or TMA marker was used or because the SVC contained an R-expression before V_1 and hence, no repeated subject was assumed, as described above. In total, 31 R-expressions were present in the SVCs, and in 104 cases the subject before V_1 was either a pronoun or a null subject. Even though it is possible to have a null subject in KS, the unclear SVCs were nevertheless not transcribed as suggested in (168). This is due to the fact that only 25 SVCs (i.e. 33%) contained null subjects before V_1 in the 75 clear cases. Hence, even though this is a possible grammatical option, it does not seem to be the preferred choice and was therefore not assumed for the 56 unclear cases.

Finally, if an overt subject pronoun was present on both verbs in Resultative SVCs, they were considered to be concordantly marked from a syntactic point of view. However, from a semantic point of view, the subject PRN does not necessarily have the same referent, i.e. there are some cases of switch-subject Resultatives in KS in which the object of V_1 is the subject of V_2. This can be exemplified by the following SVC.

(169) ...e i zet li ater i tonbe
...and PRN_i throw PRN_j ground PRN_j fall
'He_i threw him_j to the ground.'

This SVC has been coded as a concordantly-marked SVC since both verbs are preceded by a subject pronoun in the syntax. However, as can be seen above from the indices, the second subject pronoun is semantically understood to refer to *li*, the object of V_1.

This method of transcription and coding of the elicitation data yields the following results concerning concordant marking:

Table 9.7: (Non-)Concordant SVCs in the Elicitation Data

	Concordant	Non-Concordant	Total
Directional	15 (75%)	5 (25%)	20
Give	15 (93.7%)	1 (6.3%)	16
Causative	–	1 (100%)	1
Take	33(91.6%)	3 (8.3%)	36
Resultative	10(83.3%)	2 (16.6%)	12
Open	42 (84.0%)	8 (16.0%)	50
Total	115 (85.2%)	20 (14.8%)	135

It has to be noted that the decision to code instances of repeated subject pronouns as such does not have an effect on the statistics concerning concordant and non-concordant marking in KS with regard to elicitation data. This is due to the fact that, within the unclear cases described above, the TMA marker always appears on the second verb. Thus, if the subject in fact was not repeated, these SVCs would nevertheless be categorized as concordantly marked due to the repetition of the TMA marker on V_2. Therefore, it can be stated for certain that concordantly marked SVCs in the elicitation data are clearly preferred (85.2%) in contrast to non-concordantly marked SVCs (14.8%).

As described in chapters (7.) and (8.) above, concordant marking can be further subdivided into double concordant, TMA only and subject only marking. In addition, marking can be overt as well as covert in KS. These subdivisions are depicted in tables (9.8) and (9.9) below.

Table 9.8: Double Concordant Marking in the Elicitation Data

	TMAo/SUBo	TMAo/SUBc	TMAc/SUBo	TMAc/SUBc	Total
Directionals	5 (45.5%)	–	–	6 (54.5%)	11
Give	10 (76.9%)	–	2 (15.4%)	1 (7.7%)	13
Causative	–	–	–	–	–
Take	24 (80.0%)	2 (6.7%)	2 (6.7%)	2 (6.7%)	30
Resultative	6 (85.7%)	–	1 (14.3%)	–	7
Open	12 (57.2%)	–	2 (9.5%)	7 (33.3%)	21
Total marking	57 (69.5%)	2 (2.4%)	7 (8.5%)	16 (19.5%)	82

In this table, it becomes apparent that double concordant marking with overt TMA as well as overt subjects are preferred in the elicitation data. Furthermore, of all the concordantly marked SVCs (115 instances), 82 are double concordantly marked, which amounts to 71.3%. Hence, this is also the preferred option assuming that the decision to transcribe the phonemic sequences of /ɪ/ and /n/ before the second verb as *i'n* and consequently to assume a repeated subject is correct.

As indicated above, this decision only has an effect on the preceding table as well as the following table, (9.9). The assumption that all 57 unclear cases do not contain a repeated subject pronoun would reduce the sum of double concordantly-marked SVCs to 25 and increase the number of overt TMA only marking in the following to 81.

Table 9.9: Single Concordant Marking in the Elicitation Data

	TMA only		SUB only		Total
	overt	covert	overt	covert	
Directional	1 (25.0%)	–	–	3 (75.0%)	4
Give	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	–	–	2
Causative	–	–	–	–	–
Take	3 (100%)	–	–	–	3
Resultative	3 (100%)	–	–	–	3
Open	16 (76.2%)	1 (4.8%)	–	4 (19.0%)	21
Total	24 (72.7%)	2 (6.0%)	–	7 (21.2%)	33

As is evident in the two preceding tables, if both or all of the verbs in an SVC are not marked for TMA as well as for subjects (in 33 cases), the repetition of only the TMA is preferred (in 26 cases, i.e. 78.8%) in contrast to subject only marking (7 cases, 21.2%). Furthermore, whereas overt TMA only marking is predominant in the elicitation data, covert subject only marking is always used. The preference of overt

TMA marking as well as covert subject marking can be traced back to the nature of the elicitation task. Overt TMA marking is present since most of the sentences that were uttered after watching the videos were either set in the past or described an action as finished with the help of the ASP marker *in*. This is in contrast to, for instance, the sentences uttered during the semi-spontaneous task, which describe general or present actions/states without referring to their duration.

Covert subject only marking can, for instance, be observed in the description of video number 4, given below:

(170) Pe ouver ferme
ASP open close
'He is opening and closing [the door].'

Here, the SVC contains a null subject before V_1, and no repeated subject pronoun is present before V_2. Hence, it is concordantly not marked on both verbs with respect to the subject, whereas the aspect marker *pe* appears only on the first verb and is not repeated. This structure was observed seven times in the elicitation corpus. Likewise, this can be explained due to the nature of the videos since one and the same person could be observed in most videos, which may have led the participants to omit the agent more likely due to the clear referent[2].

Having given an overview of the formal features of SVCs in the elicitation corpus, the next sections will examine the SVCs ordered by type and will provide further information on their respective form, intonation contour and their semantics.

9.1 Type 1 SVCs in the Elicitation Data

In the elicitation data, only two subtypes of Type 1 serials were present, namely Directionals and Argument Introducing 'give'. 20 Sentences were uttered that contained Directional SVCs. Though not all of them can be given in the following, a complete list can be found in table (A7.1) in the appendix followed by their intonation contour. Among the 20 Directionals, the verb combination *monte-desann* 'ascend-descend', or the similar combination *retournen-desann*, 'return-descend', was used 15 times, while the combination *entre-sorti*, 'enter-exit', or *rentre-resorti* was used 3 times, and the combinations *antre-tourne*, 'enter-turn' and *ouver-antre*, 'open-enter' were used once each.

Concerning the combination *monte-desann*, it can be observed that it appears in different syntactic configurations, all displayed in the examples (171-173) below with the respective intonation contour following the example sentence. All three sentences were uttered by the same person.

[2]As indicated above, KS seems to be a null subject language and, thus, the option is given not only pragmatically but also grammatically.

(171) eh, mont peron desann peron
eh, ascend stairs descend stairs
'He goes up and down the stairs.'

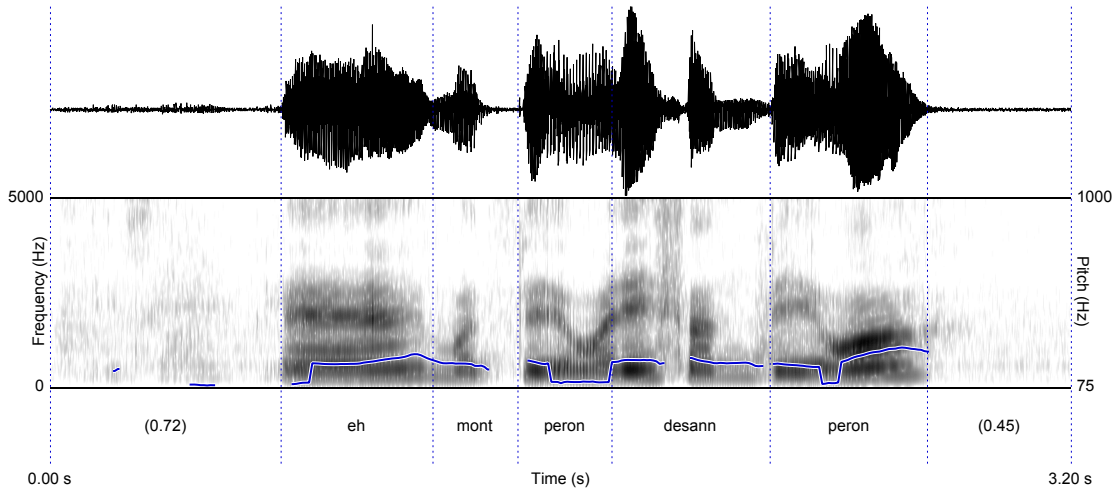


Figure 9.1: Intonation contour of (171)

(172) Wi, i'n mont peron i'n desann
Yes, PRN.ASP ascend stairs PRN.ASP descend
'Yes, he was going up and down the stairs.'

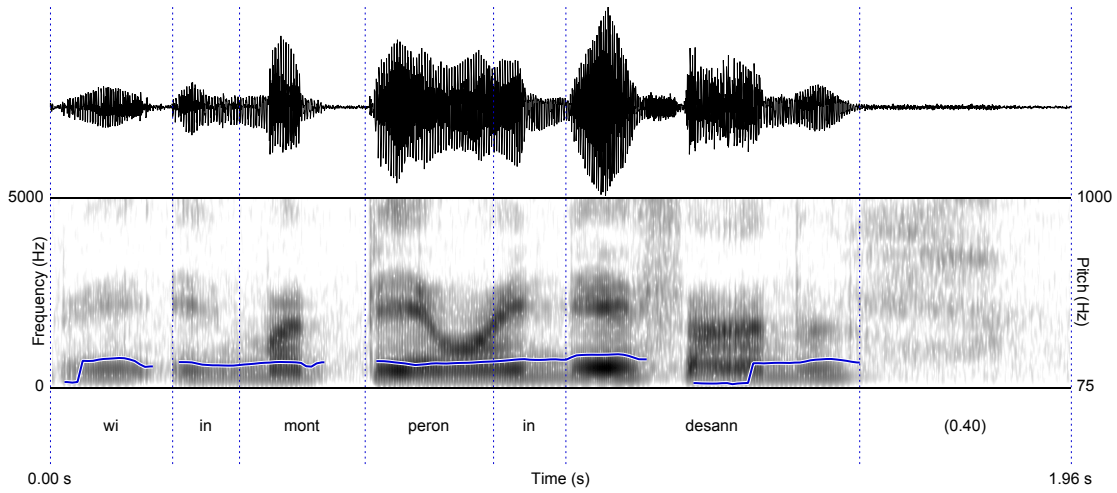


Figure 9.2: Intonation contour of (172)

(173) Wi, I pe monte desann
Yes, PRN ASP ascend descend
'He is going up and down.'

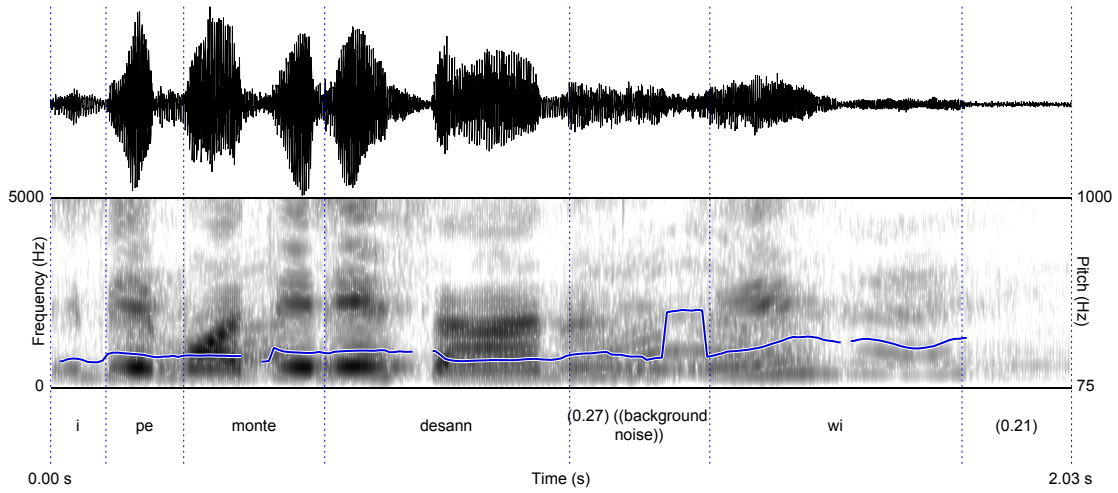


Figure 9.3: Intonation contour of (173)

The example in (171) exhibits concordant TMA and subject marking in that neither grammatical markers appear on the two verbs. This SVC is not contiguous since the direct object *peron* intervenes between V_1 and V_2. The same object in its full DP is repeated after the second verb. This is in contrast to example sentence (172), in which the object does appear after the first but not after the second verb, and, hence, it is still classified as a non-contiguous SVC but the shared object only appears once. This SVC also exhibits concordant TMA and subject marking but, here, both categories are overt. Finally, in (173), no object intervenes between the two verbs and the SVC is therefore classified as contiguous. Furthermore, the subject pronoun and the aspect marker only appear before the first verb which is why this SVC is non-concordant. Differences can also be observed when the intonation contours of the three SVCs are compared. In the first one it seems as if there is a sharp fall in intonation contour within the direct object *peron* before the 2nd verb phrase. However, this falling intonation can also be seen within the same word at the end of the sentence, even though the overall sentence ends in a rising intonation contour. This is barely noticeable in the pitch line drawn by Praat, but in the recordings it is more prominently perceivable. Hence, the question is raised as to whether the fall of intonation that can be observed in the pitch line drawn by Praat in the first instance of *peron* should indeed indicate a clause boundary or whether this can be traced back to the appearance of the approximant /r/ in the word. When compared with the picture of the intonation contour in (9.2), it becomes obvious that no such fall is present in the word *peron* in this SVC. Nevertheless, no pause can be discerned between V_1 and V_2 in either of the sentences. Finally, the intonation contour of (9.3) exhibits neither pause nor a fall or rise in intonation. Hence, the status of example (171) is one of the 26 ambiguous cases mentioned above in contrast to the example in (173), which is classified as an unambiguous SVC. Consequently, since the same participant also uttered an SVC that is also contiguous and concordant without a fall or rise and without a pause, the first sentence has also been counted as

an SVC. However, these configurations may hint at the fact that the nature of SVCs can best be viewed and described as occupying different positions on a continuum, also taking neighboring syntactic phenomena into consideration.

In two instances, *monte desann* also appears in the elicitation corpus with a different finiteness in comparison to the other 13 instances. In one case it appears as an infinitival complement of *bezwen*, 'must, have to', and in one case the expression is used as a gerund *an montan-desann* which can be established because of the suffix *-an* on *monte*[3]. A similar non-finite status of *monte-desann* can be observed in the written corpus in which a gerund is also formed with the help of this SVC and, hence, a nominalization can be assumed.

Furthermore, a slight difference in meaning may be assumed depending on the different forms of the SVC. Whereas (171 and 172) may describe the action as an event consisting of two subevents (i.e. going up once and then going down once), the sentence in (173) could also be understood as a repetitive action consisting of more than two subevents. This also holds true, for instance, for the following SVC that was elicited with the help of video number 3 in which a man repeatedly enters and exits an apartment.

(174) I pe entre sorti
PRN ASP enter exit
'He is coming and going.'

Similar to (173) and in contrast to (171 and 172), this SVC is non-concordant as well as contiguous.

A third semantic reading of Directionals is also available in KS in the form of a figurative interpretation of *monte-desann* that expresses a frantic going back and forth (P. Choppy, p.c.). The differences with regards to literal as well as figurative meaning have also been described in Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018) and will also be discussed in chapter (11.2).

The second subtype - Argument Introducing 'give' SVCs - surfaced 16 times in the elicitation data. This type has been argued to be non-existent, for instance by Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b). However, the structures produced by the participants in this study fulfill the definition and criteria proposed for the identification of SVCs in chapter (3.1). For instance, the following three examples (175, 176, 177) from three different participants can be adduced for this claim:

(175) I'n al aste en bouke fler? I'n anmennen i'n donn ou
PRN.ASP go buy a bouquet flower? PRN.ASP bring PRN.ASP give you
'He has bought a bouquet of flowers. He has brought and given it to you.'

[3]The ending cannot be observed on *desann* as it does not take the gerundival ending, which is most likely due to phonological blocking **desannan*.

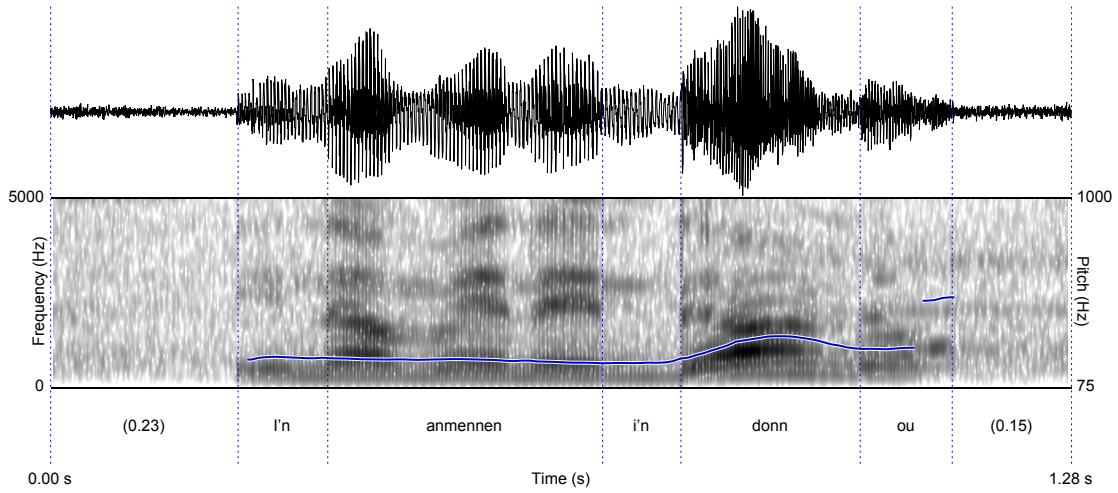


Figure 9.4: Intonation contour of (175)

In this example, two verbs, *anmennen* and *donn*, which can be used independently, are contained within one clause without coordinators or subordinators present. No complement relationship exists between V_1 and V_2 since the first verb appears in its long form, *anmennen*, in contrast to its short form, *anmenn*. They have the same TMA as well as NEG value and share a subject (*i*, 'he',) as well as an object (covert direct object, referring to *en bouke fler*, 'a bouquet of flowers', from the preceding sentence). Since the object is not overt, this structure can be classified as contiguous. Both verbs are marked for aspect and the subject pronoun is repeated on the second verb. Hence, this SVC is concordantly marked. With the help of the second verb, an additional argument *ou*, 'you', is introduced into the structure that indicates a RECIPIENT θ-role. Finally, when the intonation contour is analyzed, it can be seen that no pause is included after V_1. Furthermore, no rise or fall of intonation contour can be discerned after *anmennen*. Within *donn*, a rise in intonation contour can be seen since the participant stresses the word. However, this rise does not appear between V_1 and the following pronoun+aspect marker belonging to V_2. Hence, this clause fulfills all the defining specifications for SVCs.

The same can also be said of the following example, in which the verb combination *aste-donn* appears.

(176) I'n aste fler i'n donn son zanmi
PRN.ASP buy flower PRN.ASP give PRN friend

'He has bought some flowers and has given it to his friend.'

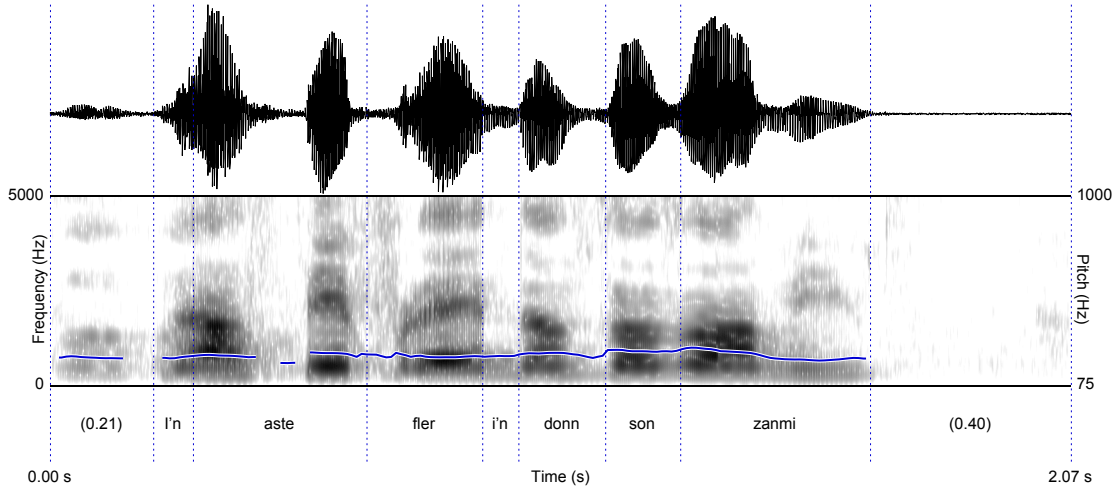


Figure 9.5: Intonation contour of (176)

Once again, both verbs exhibit concordant marking. In contrast to example (175), this structure is non-contiguous since the direct object, *fler*, 'flower', intervenes between V_1 and V_2. However, the intonation contour in (9.5) indicates that neither a pause nor a rise or fall in intonation contour is included between the two verbs. TMA and NEG configurations on both verbs are the same and no complement or linking relationship exists between the two verbs. Hence, this can also be classified as an SVC. Finally, the last example given here in the text shows a structure in which 3 verbs are combined within one clause, the last one being *donn*, 'give'.

(177) I'n marse i'n pran en liv i'n donn en (.) en dimoun.
PRN.ASP walk PRN.ASP take D book PRN.ASP give D (.) D person
'He has walked and taken a book and given the book to somebody.'

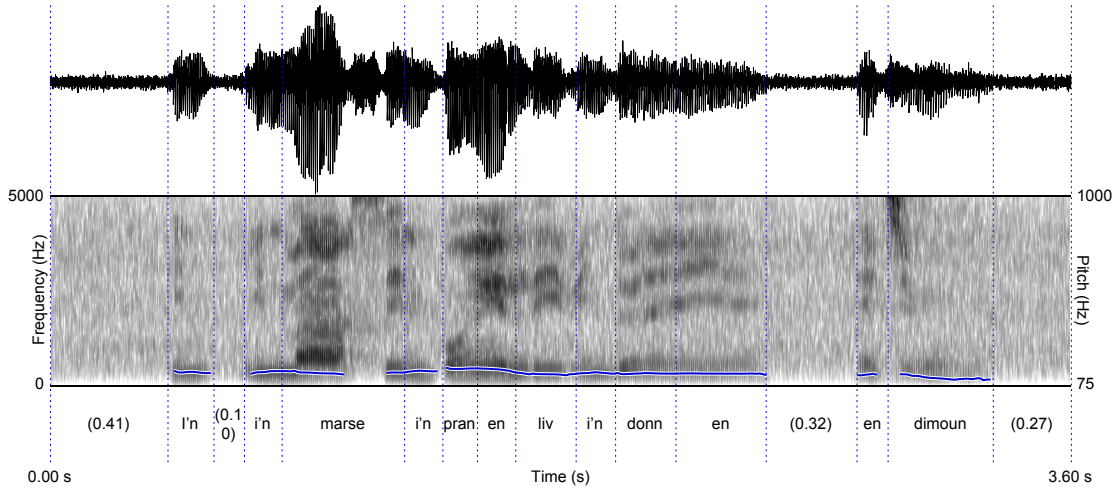


Figure 9.6: Intonation contour of (177)

A slight pause of 0.32 seconds can be observed in the intonation contour. However, this pause follows the last verb in the serial before the DP and can be traced back to a

hesitation concerning the description of the person who receives the book. Apart from this, no other pause or change in intonation contour can be observed between the three verbs in this structure. Once again, the SVC is concordant and non-contiguous and exhibits argument sharing of the subject as well as the object. A further RECIPIENT argument is introduced into the structure by *donn*, 'give'.

In addition to these clear-cut examples of Give serials, other sentences are also present in the corpus which are not as readily classified as SVCs. The following example has a similar structure and partly the same verbs as in (177):

(178) e i pran sa liv i donn en dimoun.
and PRN take PRN book PRN give D person
'He takes the book and gives it to somebody'

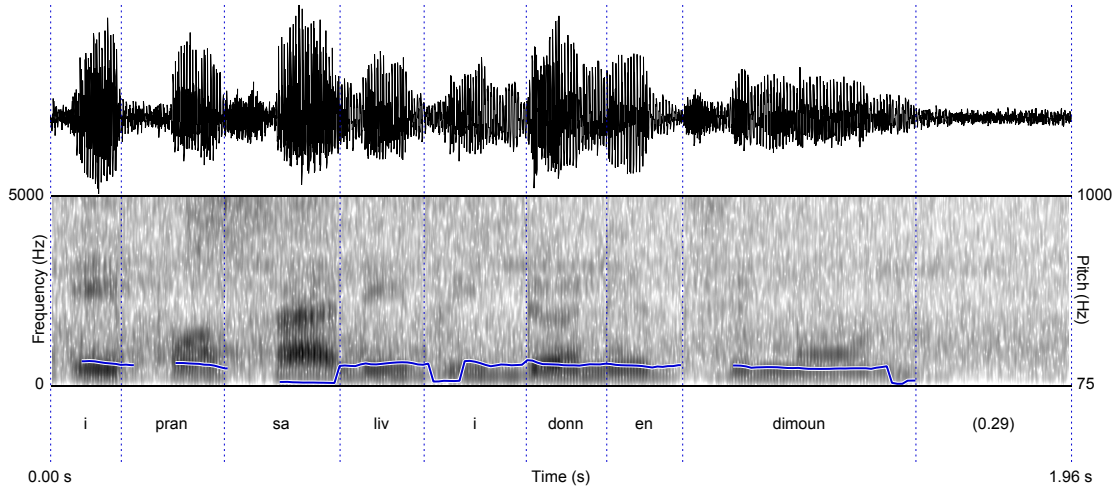


Figure 9.7: Intonation contour of (178)

It is concordantly marked, it is non-contiguous and exhibits argument sharing. However, in contrast to example (178), the pitch line drawn by PRAAT exhibits a fall in intonation contour after the direct object, *liv*, 'book'. Yet, this change in intonation contour can hardly be heard when listening to the recording. In any case, no pause is observable between the object and the second verb phrase headed by *donn*. The same person also uttered the following structure involving the verb 'give' in final position:

(179) En msye pe tir larzan dan ATM (.) i fini tire i pran sa larzan
D man ASP pull money from ATM (.) PRN finish pull PRN take D money
i ale i donn en madanm
PRN go PRN give D woman
'A man is withdrawing money from an ATM, he finishes withdrawing, takes the money, goes and gives it to a woman.'

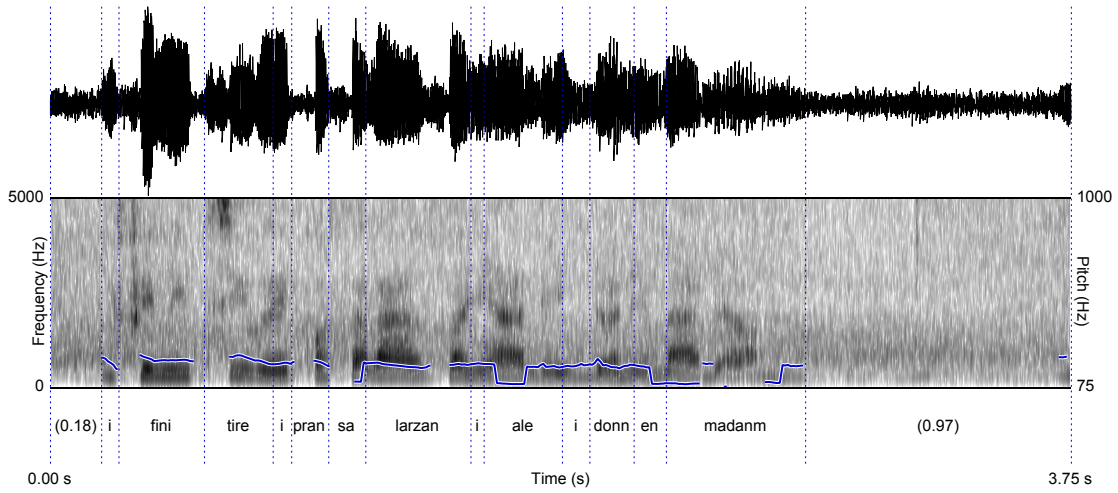


Figure 9.8: Intonation contour of (179)

This potential SVC can be classified as a structure containing four verbs, one of which (*fini*) has a verbal complement (*tire*). It has not been classified as an SVC containing five verbs since the PRN[4] is repeated before all of the verbs with the exception of *tire*. Hence, this verb is different from the others and can possibly be taken as an infinitival complement. However, all of the other four verbs exhibit concordant subject and covert TMA marking and hence make up the SVC. Once again, the line by Praat exhibits a fall within the word *ale*, 'go'. However, since no such fall or pause is apparent between *ale* and *donn*, or between the other verbs, this can be classified as a 4-verb SVC. Hence, the example (178) uttered by the same person, can, in analogy, also be classified as such.

Two utterances were present in the corpus that contained *give* in final position, but, due to unintelligible articulation, the exact structure remains unclear. In the first example (180) it is unclear whether the first verb appears in short or long form. However, the long form is more likely since *peye* does not usually license a VP complement headed by *give*. In the second example, (181), the word between the two verbs was not recognizable for both the transcriber and a consulted native speaker. Nevertheless, this can be seen as an SVC since the first verb appears in long form. What cannot be determined for certain is whether this is a serial with 2 or 3 verbs. Both intonation contour pictures show that no pause or break is observable in these two sentences.

(180) Ya pe pey(e) donn larzan sa madanm
PRN ASP pay give money D woman
'He is paying, giving money to the woman.'

[4]Potentially, this could also be a case of the 'mysterious i', which is taken to be a predicate marker in this thesis.

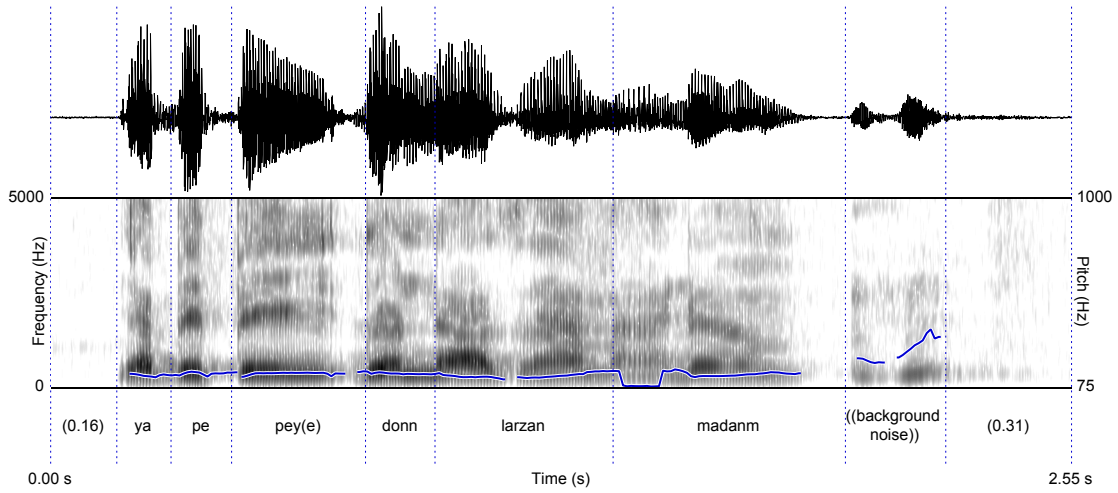


Figure 9.9: Intonation contour of (180)

(181) I ape tir larzan lo masin ATM. Ale () donn son madanm
PRN ASP pull money from machine ATM. Go () give PRN woman
'He is withdrawing money from the ATM. He goes () and gives it to his woman.'

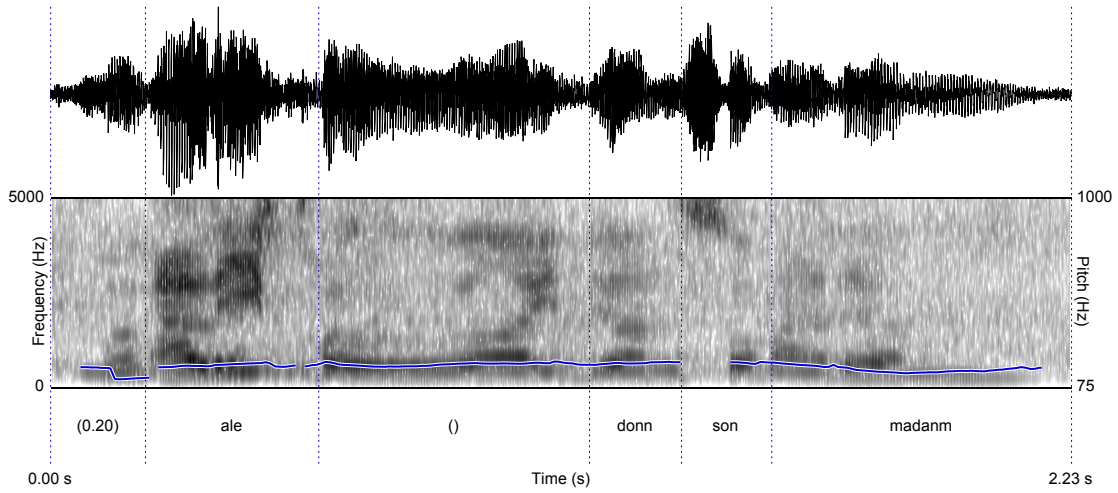


Figure 9.10: Intonation contour of (181)

Finally, the following utterance by one participant is particularly interesting since final 'give' appears in a slightly different setting. It is a complement of *al*, the short form of the verb 'go'.

(182) I'n pran papye, i'n ale i'n al donn en fyi
PRN.ASP take paper PRN.ASP go PRN.ASP go give D girl
'He has taken the paper, walked over and has given the paper to the girl.'

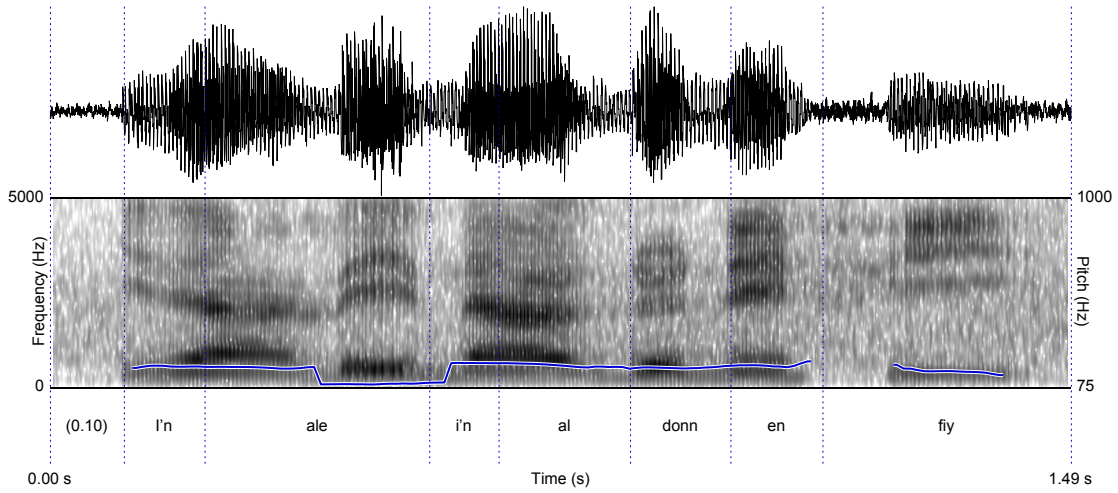


Figure 9.11: Intonation contour of (182)

Between the first (*pran*) and the second verb (*ale*) in the sentence, a pause of 0.10 seconds can be discerned, indicating, that this part should probably be classified as an asyndetic structure rather than a serial. However, no pause can be observed between *ale* and *al donn*. Both verbal expressions are concordantly marked for subject and tense, mood and aspect. The pitch line drawn by PRAAT exhibits a fall in intonation within *ale*, though this cannot be confirmed by listening to the audio. It sounds as if there is no pause or break. The question arises as to whether this can be classified as an Argument Introducing 'give' SVC since 'give' may be the infinitival complement of *al* and, hence, has a different TMA setting from the first *ale*. This classification depends on the nature and analysis of *al* before other verbs, which is a highly common structure in KS (M.T. Choppy, p.c.). This will be discussed below in chapter (11.2).

9.2 Type 2 SVCs in the Elicitation Data

The Type 2 SVCs found in the elicitation corpus consist of one potential Causative SVC as well as 36 instances of Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs. The one Causative SVC that contains the verb combination *fer-aret*, 'make-stop' is given in the example below:

(183) . . . i'n ganny en douler dan son sevir ki'n fer li aret marse
. . . PRN.ASP get D pain in PRN ankle REL.ASP make him stop walk
'He has got a pain in his ankle which has made him stop walking.'

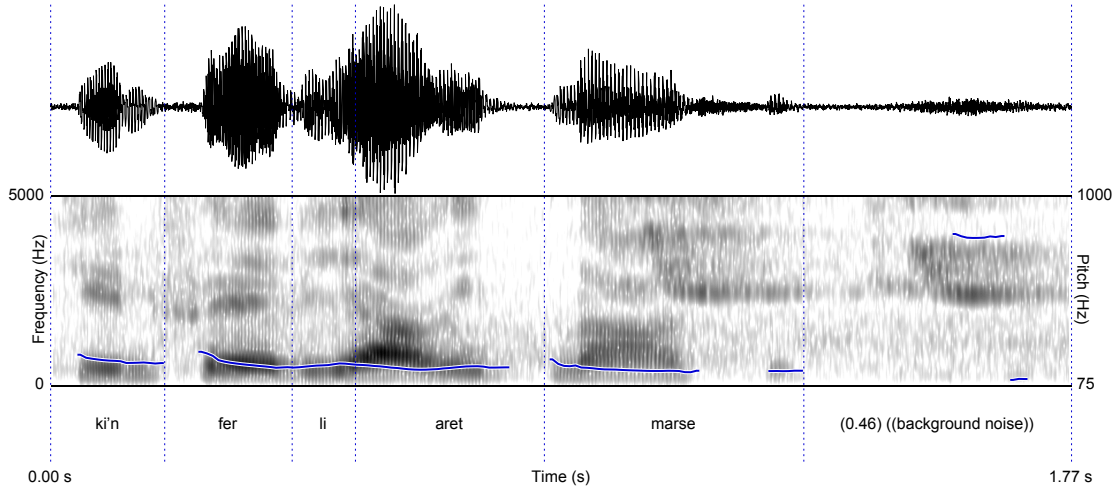


Figure 9.12: Intonation contour of (183)

It is debatable whether this structure can in fact be classified as an SVC due to several reasons. First, as per definition, the verb 'make', which appears in these serials, usually connects two events expressed by two verbs. Hence, 'make' in the example above should be the second of three verbs, which is not the case. Second, since only *fer* is marked for aspect, it is not clear whether *aret*, 'stop', is a bare infinitival that, for instance, can also be observed in the English translation 'made him stop'. If indeed this is an infinitival, then it is a complement of 'made' and the TMA setting would be different for the two verbs. This syntactic structure is excluded from the definition of SVCs suggested in chapter (3.4). A similar problem has already been noted for the one Causative SVC identified in the written corpus. Finally, the combination *aret marse* is also not a serial since *aret* appears in its short form and, as such, licenses a verbal complement, similar to structures such as *fini + V* which have been excluded from the analysis of SVCs in this thesis. For the time being, the combination *fer-aret* will nevertheless be counted as an SVC based on analogy to Adone (2012: 58) who gives a similar sentence as an example of Causative SVCs.

The more prominent exponent of Type 2 serials in the elicitation data is Argument Introducing 'take', the structure, which was uttered 36 times. Among the Take SVCs, once again, clear and unclear cases can be discerned. First, some sentences that can be classified as SVCs without doubt will be given. A complete list can be found in the appendix in table (A7.1).

Prototypically, Take SVCs are non-contiguous since they introduce a direct object into the structure and, thus, are called Argument Introducing. Furthermore, the introduced object can either have a THEME or an INSTRUMENTAL θ-role. However, in the present corpus THEME serials are more prevalent than INSTRUMENTAL serials. These two properties can be observed in the following four examples:

(184) I'n pran bannann i'n plisse, i'n manze
PRN.ASP take banana PRN.ASP peel, PRN.ASP eat
'He has taken a banana, peeled it and has eaten it.' THEME

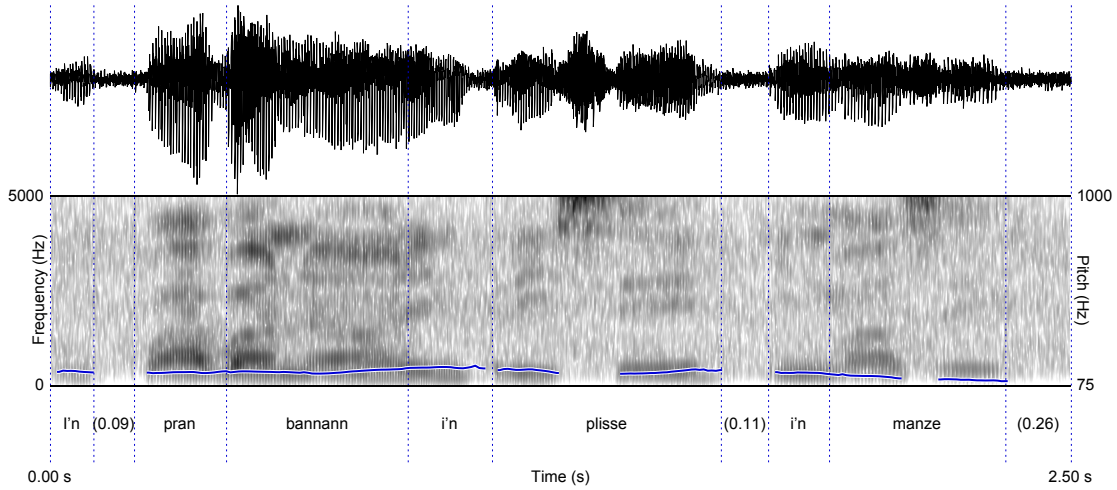


Figure 9.13: Intonation contour of (184)

(185) ...i'n pran ha tomat i'n met dan bol
...PRN.ASP take D tomato PRN.ASP put in bowl
'He has taken a tomato and put it in a bowl.' THEME

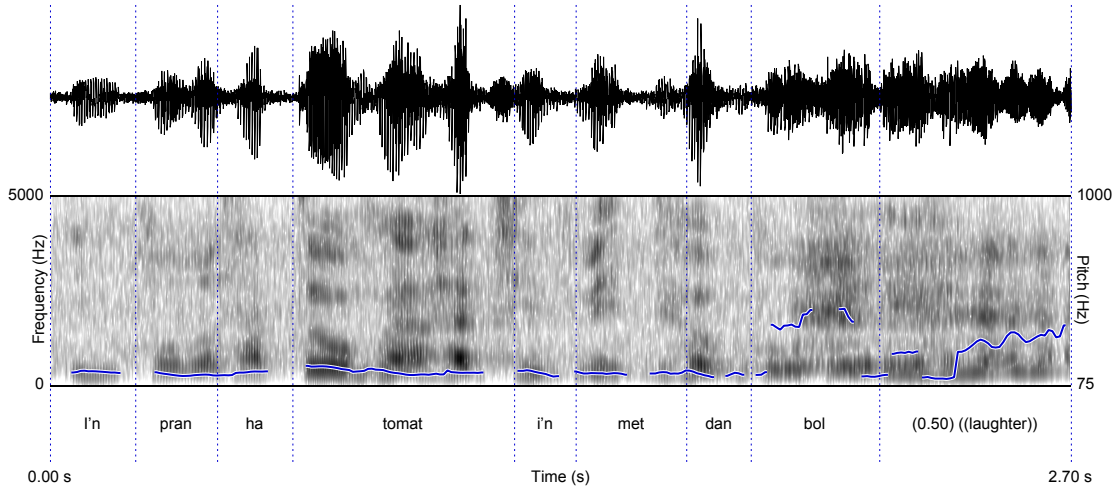


Figure 9.14: Intonation contour of (185)

(186) I'n pran son baget tanbour i'n tap lo son tanbour.
PRN.ASP take PRN stick drum PRN.ASP hit on PRN drum
'He has taken his drumsticks and hit the drum/He hit his drum with his drumsticks.' INSTRUMENTAL

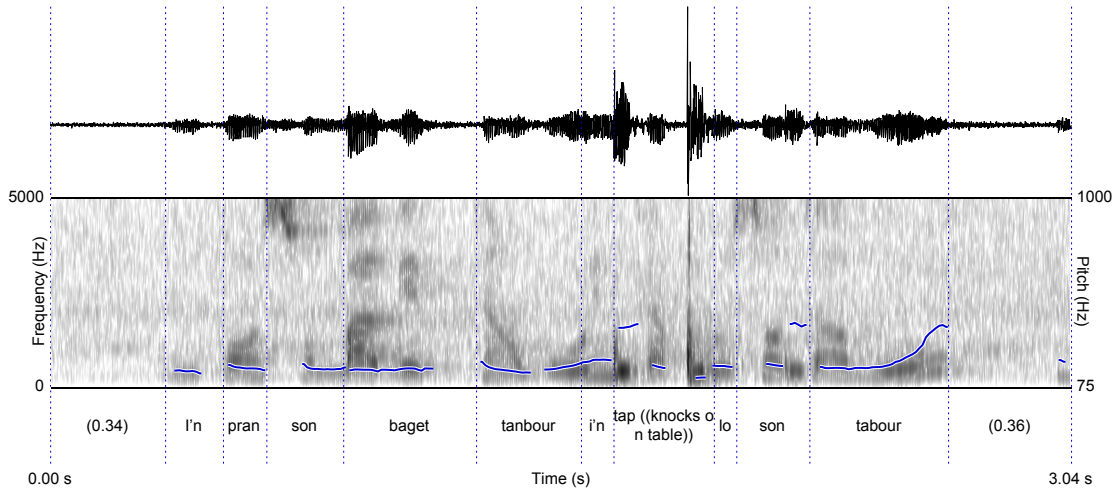


Figure 9.15: Intonation contour of (186)

(187) ...i'n pran kouto i'n koup dipen
...PRN.ASP take knife PRN.ASP cut bread
'He has taken the knife and cut the bread/He has cut the bread with the knife.'
INSTRUMENTAL

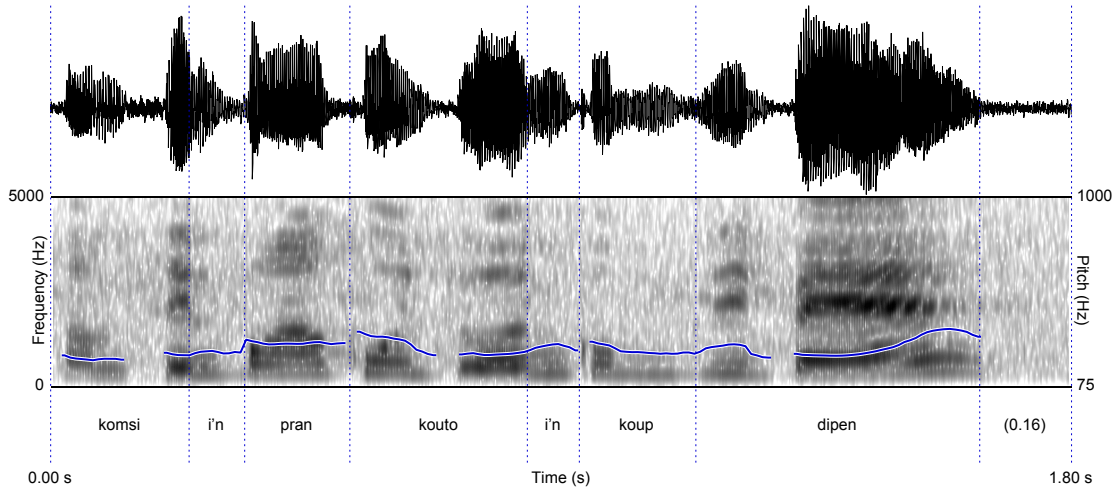


Figure 9.16: Intonation contour of (187)

As mentioned above, all of the examples are non-contiguous, as the first verb *pran*, 'take', introduces various objects, which are either THEME arguments, as is the case in (184) and (185), or INSTRUMENTAL arguments as in (186) and (187). Furthermore, all of the verbs in these SVCs are concordantly marked for subject as well as TMA and exhibit the same negation value. The intonation contour of all of the uttered sentences reveals that there is no pause nor a considerable rise and fall. This can, for instance, be contrasted with the third verb phrase in example (184) which is not part of the SVC since it is uttered after a pause of 0.11 seconds, and, hence, is instead seen as

an asyndetic coordination. As such, a comma was inserted between the SVC and the clause *i'n manze* in the transcription.

In addition to these rather prototypical cases of Argument Introducing 'take', which have the verb *pran* in first position and are non-contiguous, other semantically similar verbs are also used in KS to introduce arguments into the SVC. The alternative verbs used in first position include *anmase*, 'collect, gather', (7 times), *(a)trape*, 'seize', (twice) and *tir*, 'pull, drag' (once). This is exemplified in the following two examples:

(188) en dimoun in vini, i'n trap sa de baget i'n tap sa tanbour
D person ASP come, PRN.ASP seize D two sticks PRN.ASP hit D drum

'Somebody has come, he has seized two drumsticks and hit the drum/He has come and hit the drum with the drumsticks.' INSTRUMENTAL

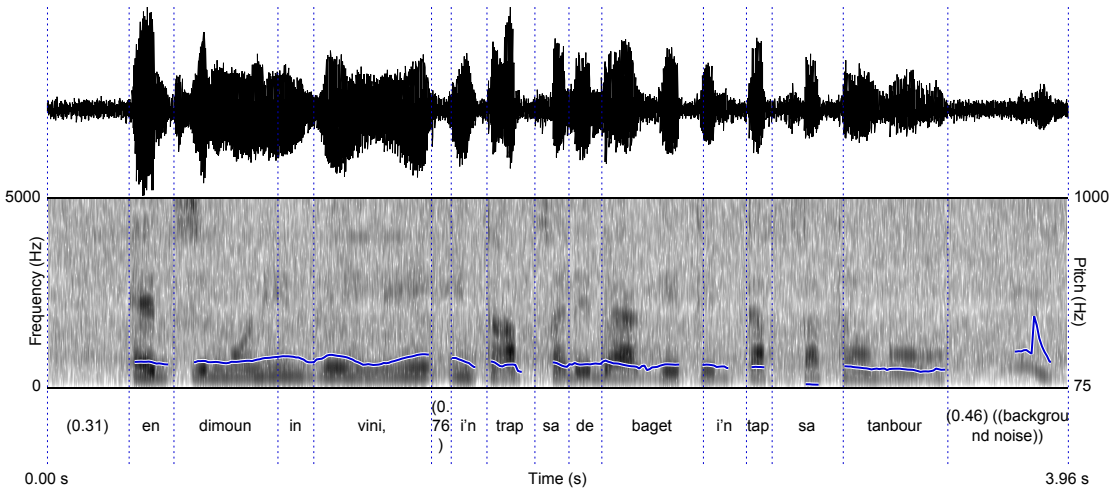


Figure 9.17: Intonation contour of (188)

(189) I'n anmas en boul i'n anvoye
PRN.ASP gather D ball PRN.ASP throw

'He has gathered a ball and thrown it.' THEME

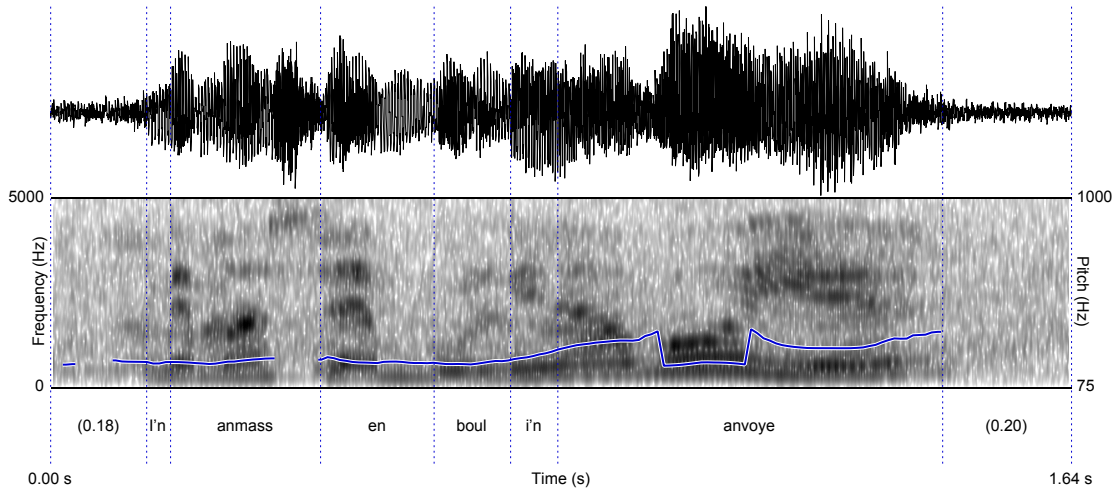


Figure 9.18: Intonation contour of (189)

These two examples also exhibit concordant marking as well as non-contiguity. As is evident from the pictures below the examples, both sentences are uttered with one intonation contour and no pauses occur between the verbs. Hence, even though the prototypical *pran*, 'take', is not used, they can nevertheless be classified as Take SVCs. In the present corpus of elicitation data other utterances can also be found that either do not exhibit prototypical features of Take serials or are difficult to classify as SVCs as such since their intonation contour is not as clear-cut as in the examples given above.

The example in (190) below is not a prototypical Take SVC since it is a contiguous SVC and no overt argument is present between V_1 and V_2. However, a covert object argument may be assumed since *pran* is a transitive verb in KS that requires an object. Therefore, it is open to discussion whether, even if no object is present, this SVC could nonetheless be classified as non-contiguous.

(190) I'n pran i'n anvoye
PRN.ASP take PRN.ASP throw

'He has taken [the ball] and thrown it' THEME

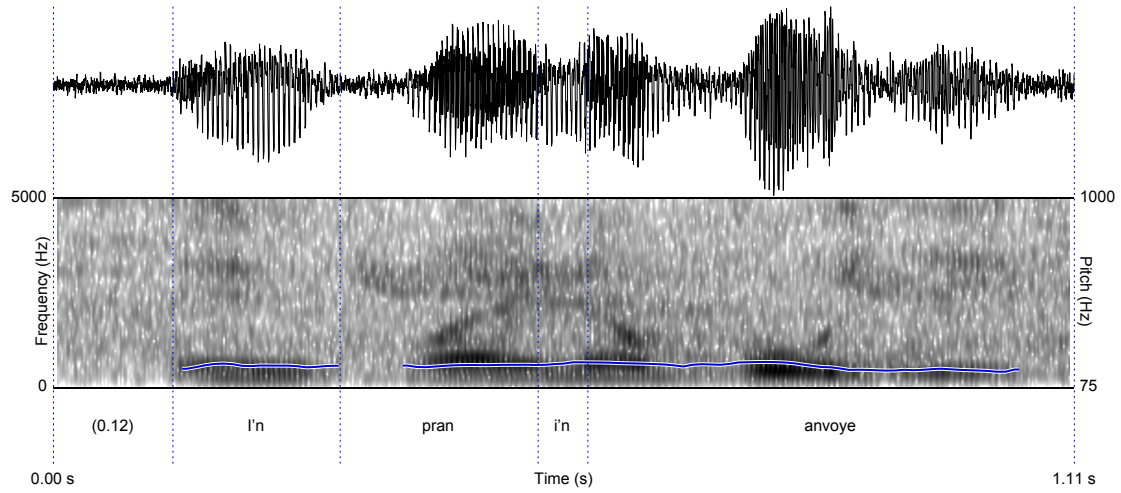


Figure 9.19: Intonation contour of (190)

Once again, this SVC exhibits concordant marking since the subject pronoun as well as the aspect marker is repeated before V_1. Only three Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs surface in the corpus that do not exhibit concordant marking[5]. Two of these are given in the following, and their intonation pattern can be found in the appendix:

(191) I pe tir keso (=keksoz) montre ha madanm
PRN ASP pull something show D woman
'He is pulling something and shows it to the woman.' THEME

(192) Pran dizef i pe fri. I pe fri dizef
Take egg PRN ASP fry. PRN ASP fry egg
'He is taking the eggs and frying them. He is frying the eggs.' THEME

In the first example, only V_1 is marked for aspect, whereas the marker *pe* is not repeated on the 2nd verb in this series. In contrast, in example (192), only the second verb exhibits subject and aspect marking. This utterance is special in that it is the only one in the whole data corpus used for this study that has single TMA marking on the second verb only. However, this can be explained as a result of the nature of the conversation. The sentence preceding this SVC is the following: *Aprezan i pe pran dizef i pe bate*, 'After that, he is taking the eggs and beating them'. This in itself is also an Argument Introducing 'take' SVC that also has *pran* in first position. In this SVC, the subject and the aspect marker appear before the first verb. Since the same structure with the same verb is used in the following sentence, displayed in (192), it can be assumed that *i pe* has been left out due to repetition and brevity in conversation.

Within the class of Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs in the elicitation corpus some utterances also appear which are not as readily classified as SVCs in contrast to

[5]Assuming that the decision to code the phonological sequence /ɪn/ as *i'n* (PRN plus ASP) rather than *in* (only ASP) is correct.

those given above. This is due to the slight change in intonation contour (i.e. a rise or fall). In total, 10 out of 36 Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs exhibited a slight rise or fall of the pitch line drawn by PRAAT. Two of these are indicated in the following examples:

(193) I'n pran zalimet i'n alime e i'n alim labouzi
PRN.ASP take match PRN.ASP light and PRN.ASP light candle
'He has taken a match, has lit it and lit the candle' THEME

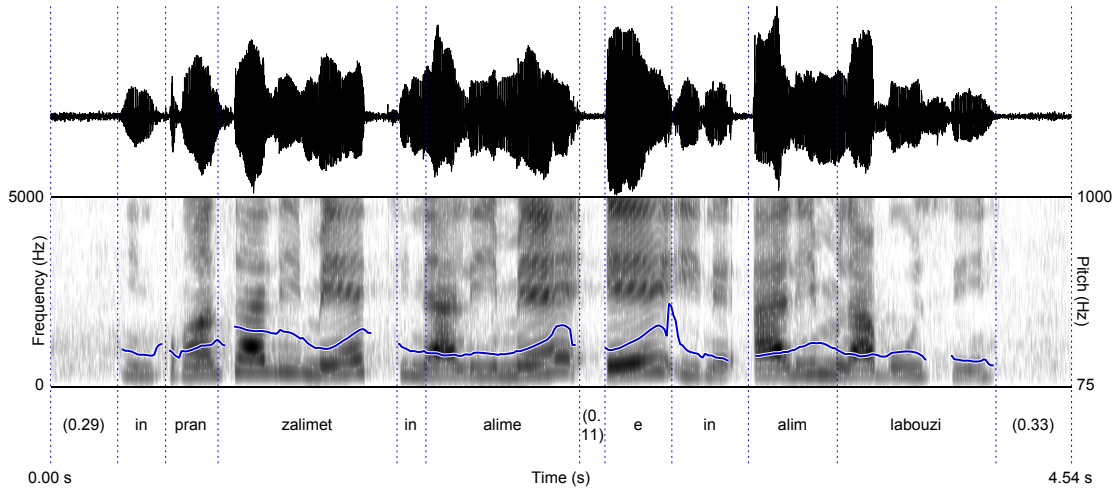


Figure 9.20: Intonation contour of (193)

(194) I'n anmas en portre ater i'n met anpadan
PRN.ASP gather D picture ground PRN.ASP put up
'He has gathered the picture from the ground and hung it on the wall.' THEME

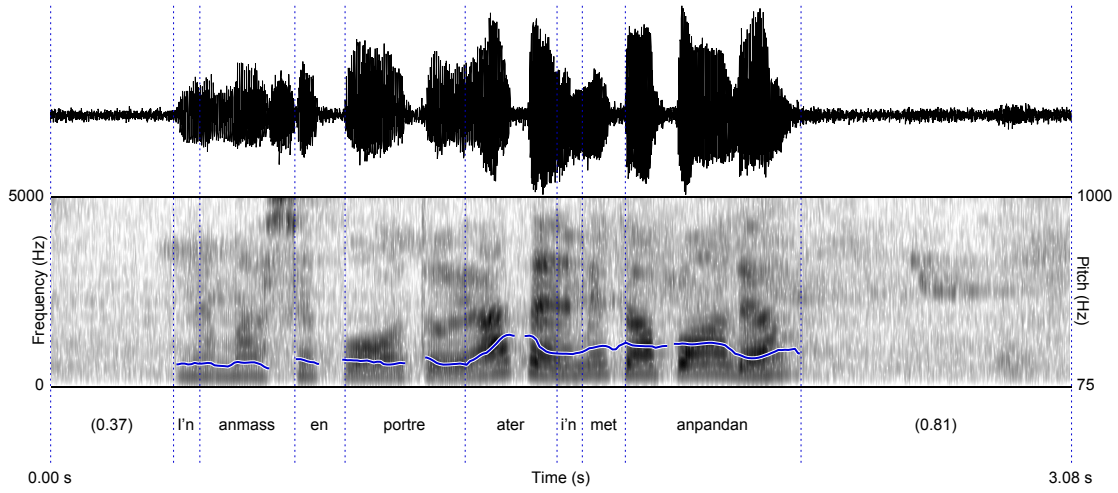


Figure 9.21: Intonation contour of (194)

As is evident from figure (9.20), the intonation contour displayed by the blue line first falls within the direct object *zalimet*, then rises towards the end of the word before

the subject pronoun + aspect marker *i'n*, similar to the rise that can be observed in *alime*. However, no pause can be discerned between these two verb phrases, in contrast to the third verb phrase which is connected to the potential SVC with the help of the overt conjunction *e*, 'and', and preceded by a pause of 0.11 seconds. In figure (194) a rise and fall in intonation contour can also be seen within the adverb *ater*, 'ground'. Once again, no pause or clear break can however be detected between VP_1 and VP_2. These 2 utterances, alongside the other 8 which exhibit a slight change in intonation curve, have nevertheless been classified as SVCs due to the reasons mentioned above in (9.). They are taken to be borderline cases on the continuum of SVCs and other structures and will be arranged alongside other cases in chapter (11.) below.

9.3 Type 3 SVCs in the Elicitation Data

Type 3 SVCs consist of Resultative serials, which are also present in the elicitation data of the current study. In total, 12 Resultatives can be found and these can be divided further based on their properties. On the one hand, SVCs can be found which exhibit the same subject and, on the other hand, there are SVCs in which a subject switch can be observed. Three instances of same subject Resultative SVCs are displayed below:

(195) Son tas i tonbe kraze
PRN cup PM fall break
'The cup falls and breaks.'

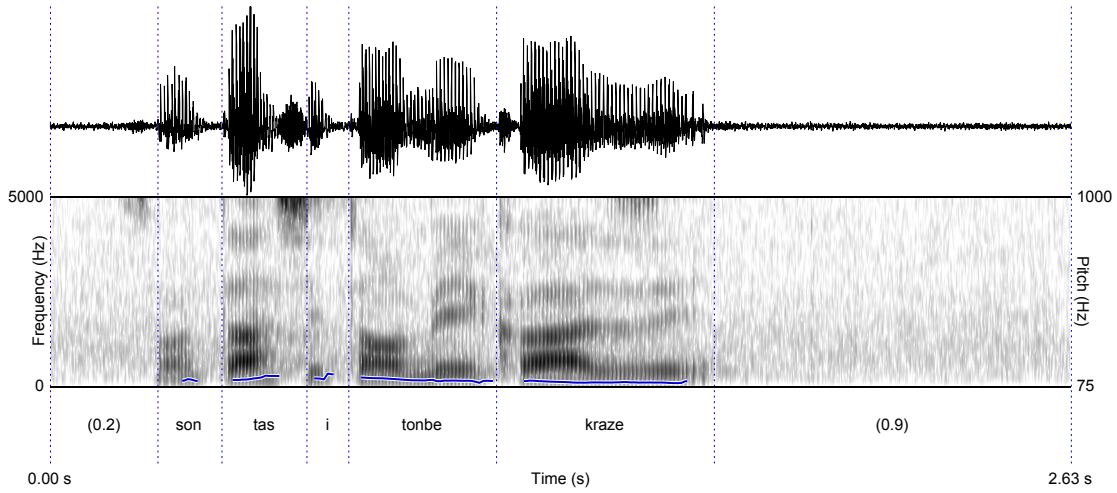


Figure 9.22: Intonation contour of (195)

(196) ...e sa tas i sap li tonbe kraze
...and D cup PM slip PRN fall break
'And that cup slips from him falls and breaks.'

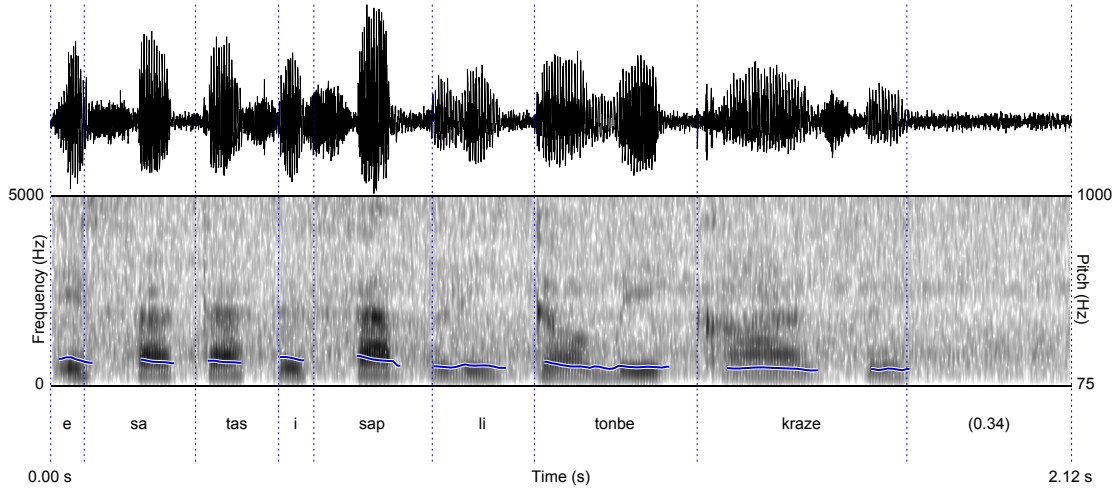


Figure 9.23: Intonation contour of (196)

(197) I'n pous li i'n zet li ater.
PRN.ASP push PRN PRN.ASP throw him ground
'He pushed him down to the ground.'

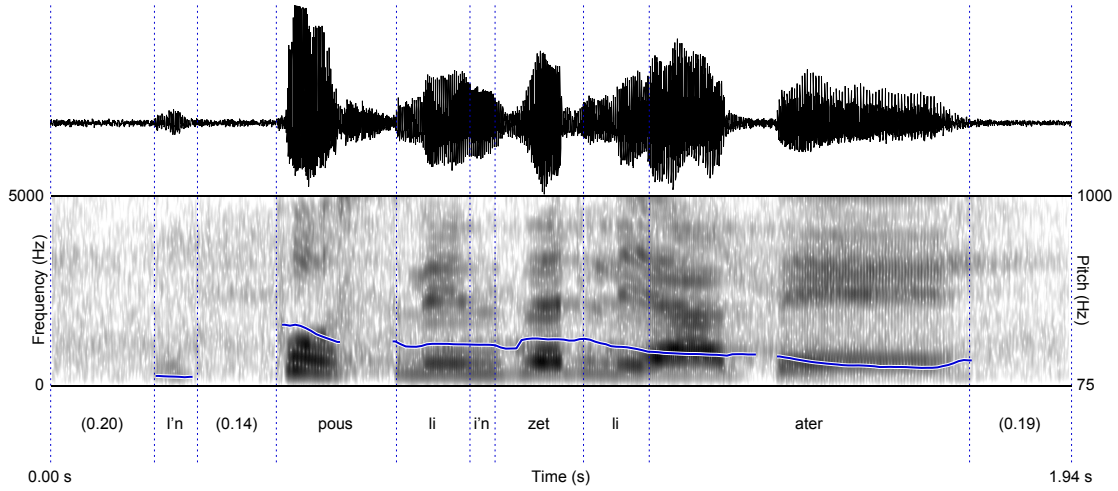


Figure 9.24: Intonation contour of (197)

Even if in all of the examples the subject is shared, there are other differences that can be observed between them. First, in example (195), both verbs in this SVC are intransitive in nature. This is in contrast to (196), in which the first verb introduces a pronoun into the structure that carries objective case. The other verbs are intransitive. Finally, in (197) all of the verbs are transitive and require a direct object, which in this sentence is again realized via the objective pronoun. The first two examples are non-concordant in contrast to the last example, which exhibits repeated subject and TMA marking on the second verb. Finally, the first example is contiguous, the second is partly contiguous (between V_2 and V_3) and the last is non-contiguous. Nevertheless, all of them can be classified as SVCs based on the intonation contour given below each

example. They all describe an action and its result (something is broken in the first two examples and someone is knocked over onto the ground in the third).

These three examples can be contrasted with the following, in which a subject switch is evident, that is, the object of V_1 becomes the subject of V_2:

(198) En zonm in pous en lot zonm ater in tonbe.
D man ASP push D other man ground ASP fall
'A man has pushed another man to the ground.'

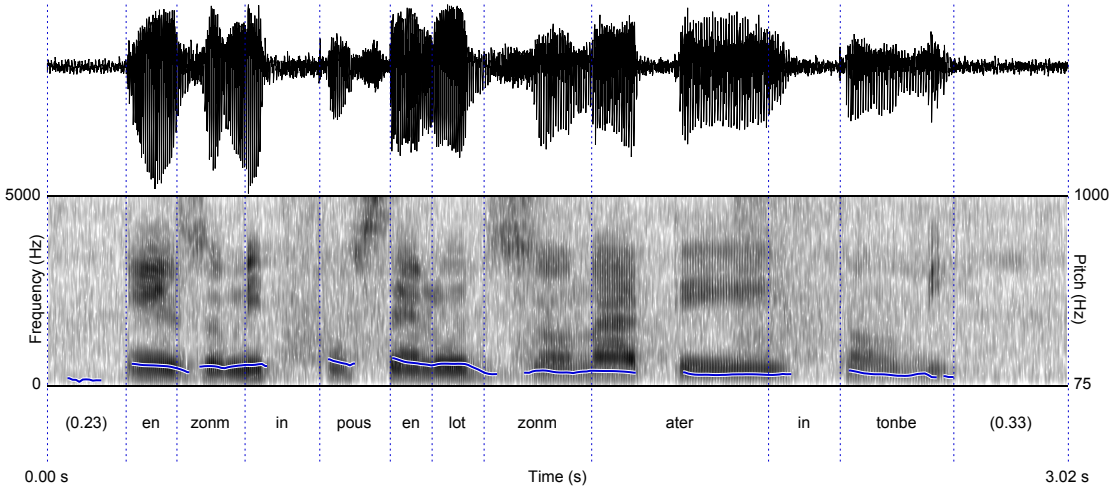


Figure 9.25: Intonation contour of (198)

Tonbe is an intransitive verb that does not license any objects, whereas *pous* licenses a direct object. Since it is unmistakable from the video that it is *en lot zonm*, 'another man', who falls, and not the one pushing, a subject switch can be observed, i.e. X pushes Y, Y falls. In total, 3 definitive subject switch Resultatives can be observed. In some cases, such as in (199) below, the transitivity and status of the arguments is not clear-cut.

(199) I'n larg en tas ater i'n kraze.
PRN.ASP let.go D cup ground PRN.ASP break
'He has let the cup fall on the ground and it has broken/he has broken it.'

As is evident, *larg* licenses a direct object in KS, realized by *en tas* in this case. The second verb in the series, *kraze*, can be transitive as well as intransitive in KS, similar to *break* in English (*It broke* and *He broke it*). In (195) and (196) it is used intransitively. In (199), however, it could potentially be classified in both ways. This also seems to be true for the similar verb, *kase*, which is also used in Resultative SVCs in the elicitation data. Nevertheless, one observation has to be made concerning the distribution of *kraze* and *kase* in this corpus. After the intransitive verb *tonbe*, only *kraze* appears, never *kase*. Four utterances of *tonbe+kraze* are present in the corpus. This could be a hint that *kraze* is predominantly used intransitively and *kase*

predominantly transitively. This would mean that the sentence in (199) would also be an instance of a switch subject Resultative SVC. However, this conclusion is highly speculative and cannot be ascertained for certain.

9.4 Type 4 SVCs in the Elicitation Data

Open-ended SVCs were most prominent in this data type. In total, 50 utterances that contained more than one verb which were not linked by a sub- or coordinator or had a complement relationship, that exhibited the same TMA and NEG setting and that were uttered without a considerable change or break in intonation contour, were classified as Open serials. Once again, the verbs used in these utterances were manifold and come from different semantic fields. It is in this type that most utterances with more than two verbs can be found. For instance, in the following example, the SVC potentially consists of 5 verbs:

(200) En msye in vini in roul en bisiklet in mont lo la in pedale in ale
D man ASP come ASP roll D bike ASP ascend on it ASP pedal ASP go
'A man comes, wheels a bike, mounts and drives away.'

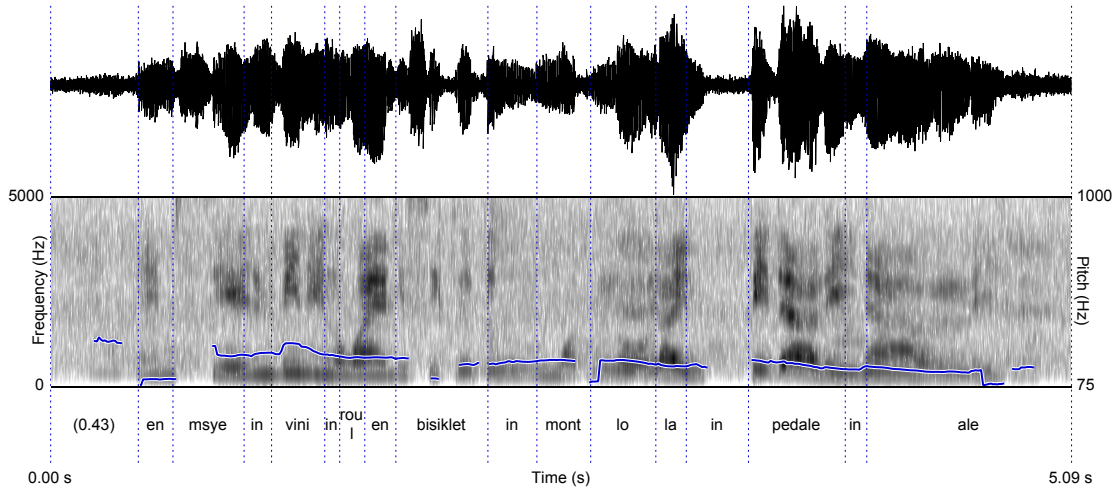


Figure 9.26: Intonation contour of (200)

Even though an overall fall in intonation contour can be observed as the sentence progresses, no pause is discernible in between the respective verbs. Hence, as per definition, this can be classified as an SVC that displays one event as a series of sub-events in chronological order. The last two verbs could potentially also be classified as a Directionals SVC but, since these two sub-events are part of a larger one, it has been taken to be an Open-Ended SVC. The verb *vini*, 'come', in first position, either in SVCs with two or more than two verbs, is fairly frequent in the elicitation data, occurring 14 times. Two further examples are given below:

(201) en dimoun i vini i pran en lot dizef ...
D man PM come PM take D other egg ...
'A man comes and takes a different egg ...'

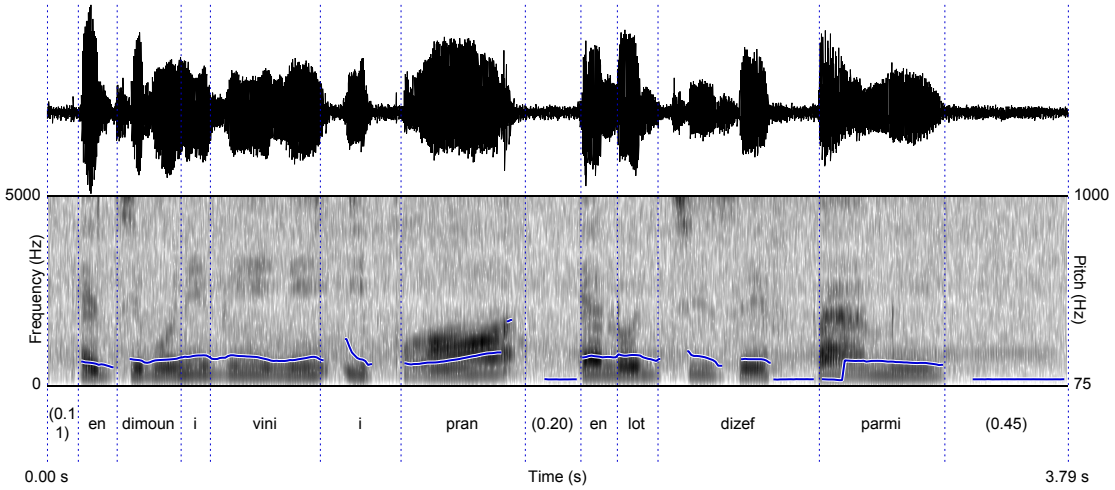


Figure 9.27: Intonation contour of (201)

(202) En msye in vini in ouver laport
D man ASP come ASP open door
'A man has come and has opened the door.'

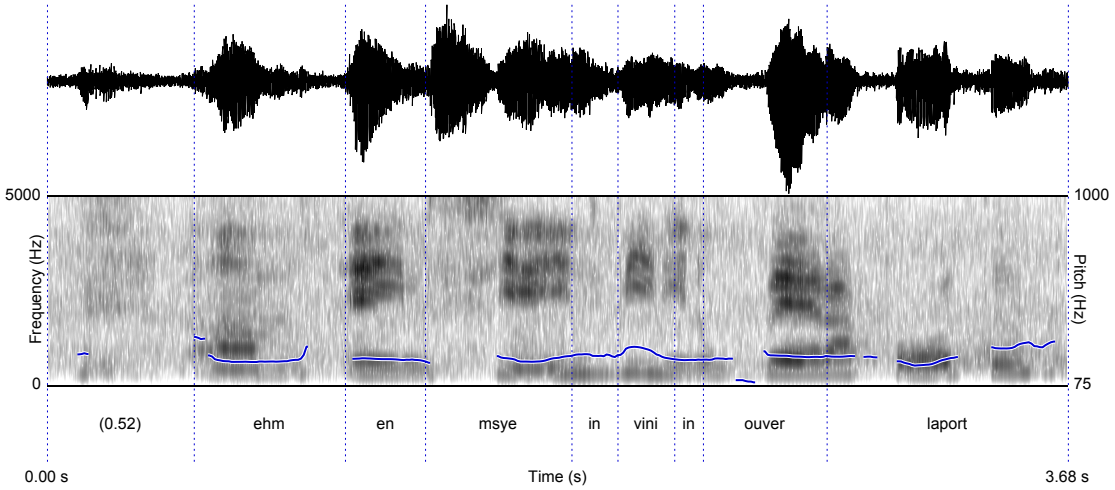


Figure 9.28: Intonation contour of (202)

Both examples are contiguous and exhibit concordant aspect/tense marking on both verbs, which seems to be the prototypical setting for these SVCs in KS. Only 2 out of 14 are non-concordantly marked and none of the SVCs exhibit material between *vini* and the following verb[6]. The first verb appears in its long form even though the

[6]However, there are nevertheless some SVCs that contain *vini* in first position that are classified as non-contiguous. This is due to material which intervenes between the other verbs present in the structure, such as in the sentence: *en msye in vini in pran en bann sa tomat in met dan sa bol* in which a direct object is present between V_2 and V_3.

short form *vin* is present in KS. This is different to a very similar construction that can be found in KS and that has already been hinted at. In structures such as *al* + another verb (such as *donn*, mentioned above), the first element appears in its short form and, thus, it is most likely that a complement relationship exists between these two verbs. This seems to be different in the case of *vini* + another verb and will be discussed below in (11.2).

Another verb combination that is fairly prominent in the data is *ouver-ferme*, 'open-close', with eight occurrences. Almost all of them (7 out of 8) are contiguous; only one is non-contiguous but also contains *referme* instead of *ferme*. Furthermore, in 6 out of 8 instances the subject pronoun is not repeated on the second verb, and in 5 utterances the subject is also not expressed on V_1. Two examples that exhibit these features of this verb combination are given in the following:

(203) I pe ouver ferme
PRN ASP open close

'He is opening and closing [the door].'

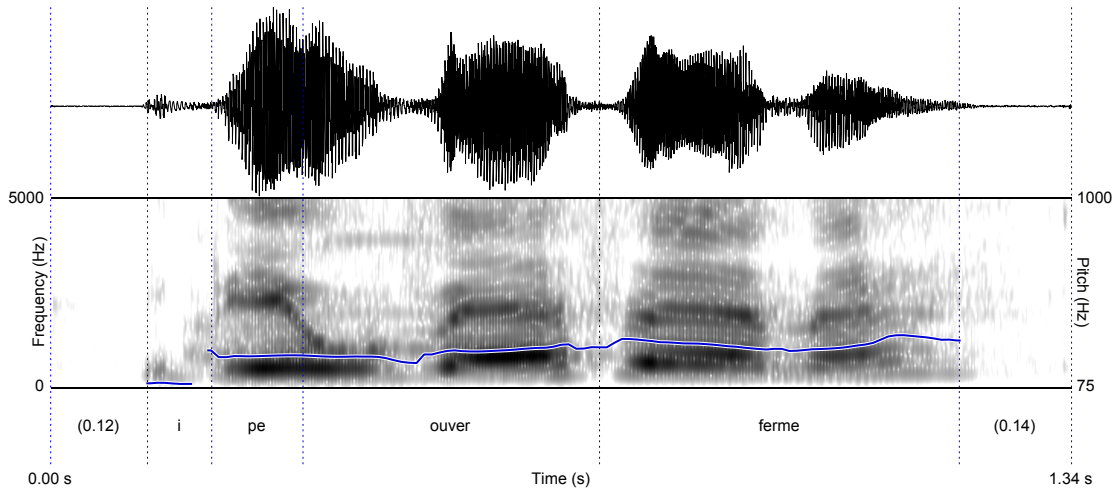


Figure 9.29: Intonation contour of (203)

(204) Pe ouver laport. Ouver ferme
ASP open door. Open close

'He is opening the door. Opening and closing.'

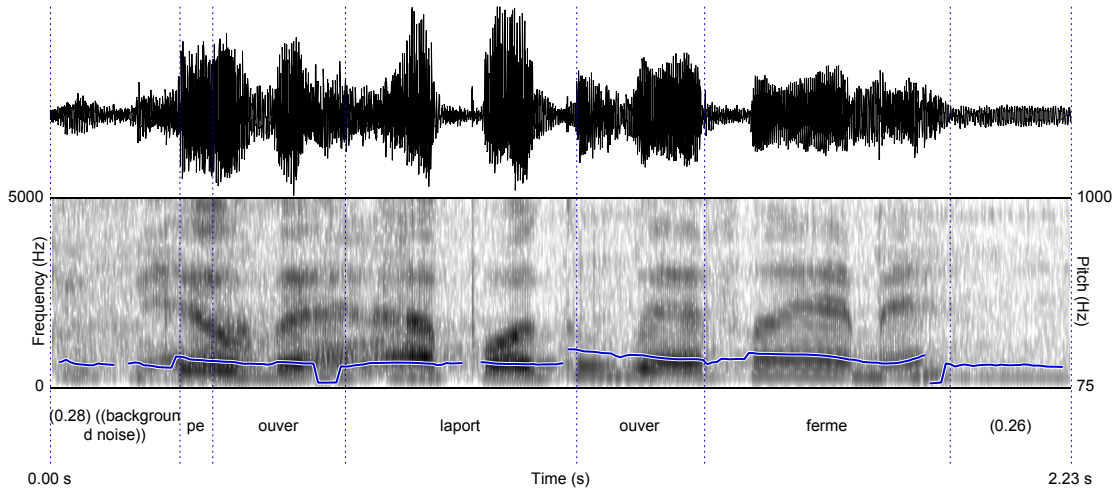


Figure 9.30: Intonation contour of (204)

The first of these two examples can be classified as a contiguous, non-concordant SVC. In contrast, the latter, albeit also contiguous, has to be classified as a concordant SVC since neither of the 2 verbs are overtly marked for the grammatical categories of subject and tense, mood and aspect.

The last two combinations that will be mentioned here are *kase-mete*, 'break-put', and *pran* or a similar verb, in V_1 position plus one or two more verbs. Both combinations appeared six times each. The first one in connection with video 18 in which a man took an egg, cracked it open and poured it into a bowl. This is exemplarily shown in example (205). The combination of *pran* or a comparable verb plus two or more verbs is exemplified in (206) and (207).

(205) I'n kas dizef i'n met dan bol
PRN.ASP break egg PRN.ASP put in bowl
'He has cracked the egg into a bowl.'

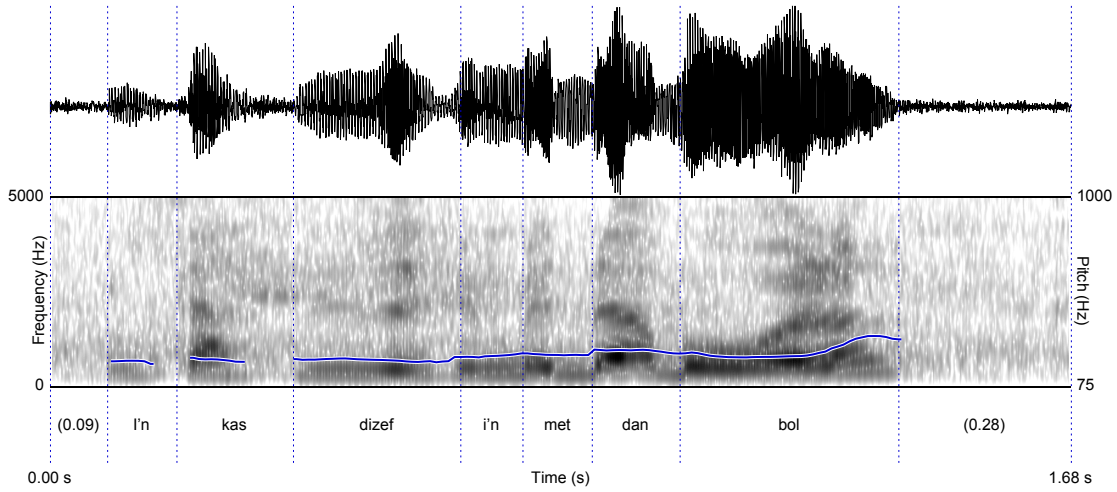


Figure 9.31: Intonation contour of (205)

(206) En zonm in pran en gro lobze ron in atrape in leve, i'n zet
D man ASP take D big object round ASP seize ASP lift, PRN.ASP throw
ater
ground
'A man has taken a big round object, seized it, lifted it and thrown it onto the ground'

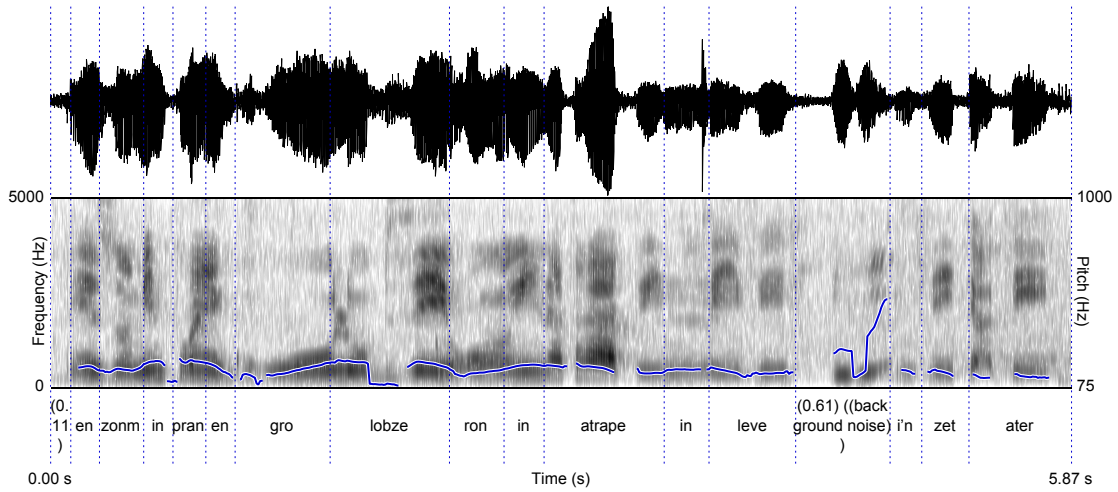


Figure 9.32: Intonation contour of (206)

(207) I'n anmas sa bannann i'n plisse i'n manze
PRN.ASP gather D banana PRN.ASP peel PRN.ASP eat
'A man has gathered a banana, peeled and eaten it.'

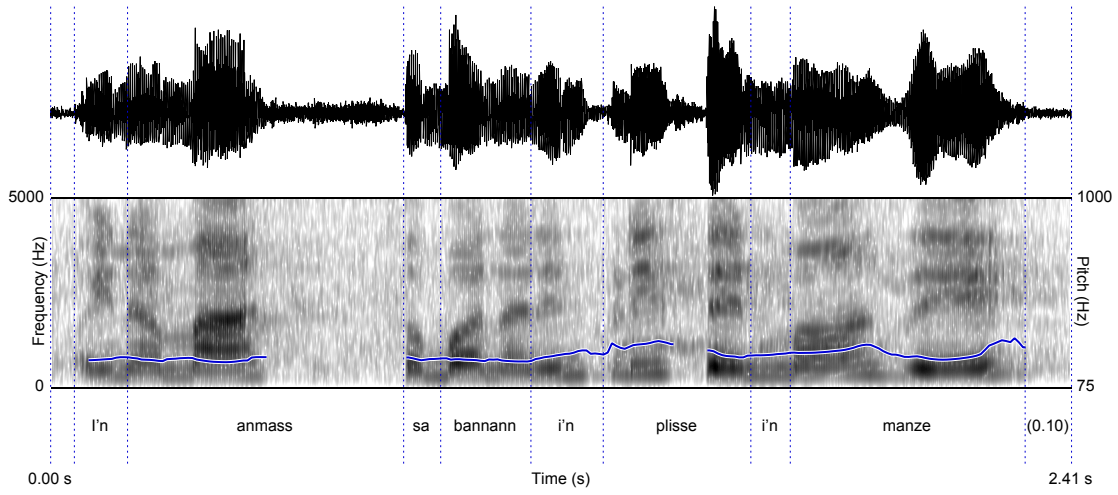


Figure 9.33: Intonation contour of (207)

All of the examples given in (205-207) are non-contiguous as well as concordant SVCs. They have in common that they introduce arguments into the structure but cannot be classified as prototypical Argument Introducing SVCs as given in the literature. The first of these three cannot be classified as Take, Give or Say serials as the

first verb is of a semantically unrelated class. Other verbs are also found in the Type 4 SVCs in the elicitation corpus that introduce a further argument into the structure but are not captured by the types mentioned in the literature, such as *bat*, 'beat [eggs]', *fer*, 'conduct [a race]', *met*, 'put [food]' and *roul*,'wheel [a bike]'. The latter two examples do have 'take' as a first verb, but as described in chapter (9.2), these have not been classified as Take SVCs since they usually describe a complex event in a succession of sub-events rather than aiming at increasing the valency of an SVC.

Finally, to conclude this section, 9 borderline cases can also be observed in the Open-Ended SVCs of the elicitation data with respect to intonation contour. For instance, in (208), the intonation rises before the second verb phrase, as is evident from the figure below. Yet, it should be noted that the rise in intonation contour is not as prominent in the audio as in the line sketched by PRAAT.

(208) I'n bat dizef i'n met uh dipwav ladan
PRN.ASP beat egg PRN.ASP put uh pepper in
'He has beaten the eggs and put pepper in it.'

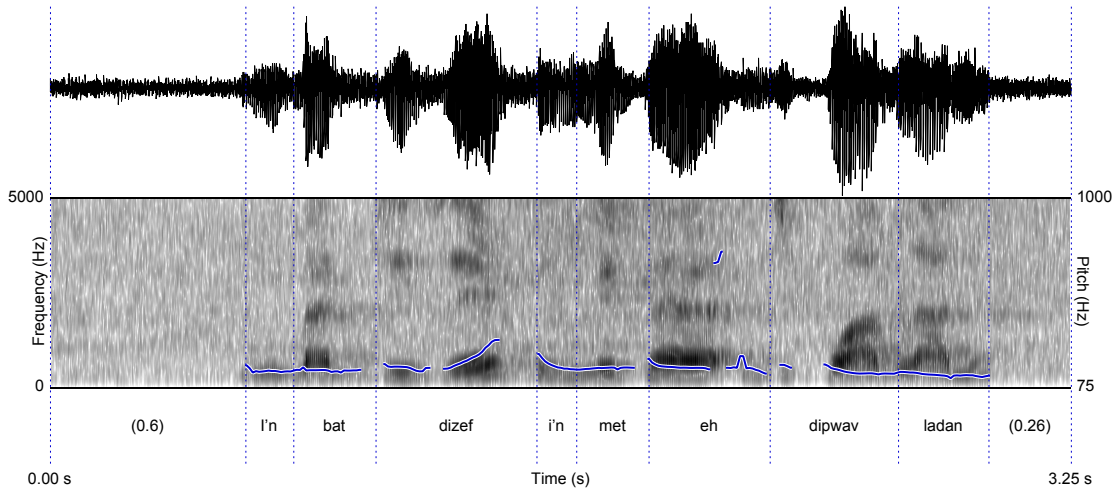


Figure 9.34: Intonation contour of (208)

Another borderline case is shown in the example and the figure below. In this example, a pause of 0.55 seconds is apparent between the aspect marker and the first verb, *vini*. However, since no considerable pause is evident between the first, second and third verb phrases, this could still be considered an SVC. Nonetheless, a slight intonation rise can be observed on the boundary between V_1 and V_2. Hence, it may be that the first two verbs are connected asyndetically rather than being part of an SVC. Yet, V_2 and V_3 may still be considered an SVC or the Argument Introducing 'take' type based on their intonation contour.

(209) Sa msye in (.) vini pran son manze manze
D man ASP (.) come take PRN food eat
'A man has come, taken his food and eaten it.'

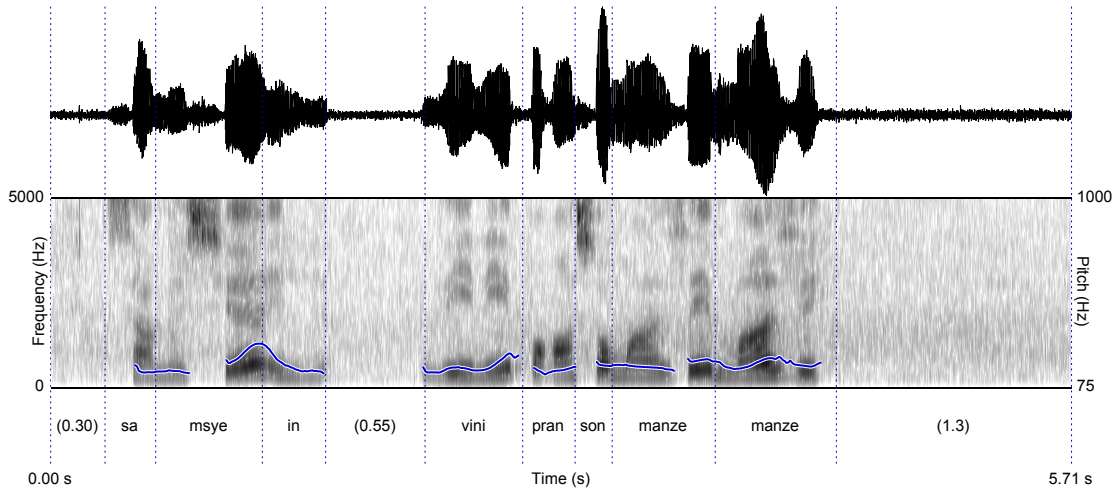


Figure 9.35: Intonation contour of (209)

9.5 Summary

As an intermediate summary concerning the SVCs in the elicitation data, it can be said that once again, all of the major Types of SVCs presented in the literature are present in the corpus, though not all subtypes can be found. No Argument Introducing 'say', Aspectuals and Degree SVCs were uttered by the participants during this task. The one Causative SVC that was uttered is somewhat debatable concerning its status as an SVC, though, as will be shown later on, this is true of many Causative SVCs, not only in KS. Age group 5 makes use of the most SVCs (11 per person), followed by 6 and 4 (above 6 per person). A stark contrast can be observed when compared to age group 2, in which the participants only utter 1.8 SVCs per person on average. A clear distribution concerning the age and type of SVCs could not be found with the exception of Open SVCs which seem to be used more often by age group 5 and with the exception of age group 2 which deviates from the average use of Directionals, Give, Take and Open SVCs in comparison to the other groups.

In general, non-contiguous SVCs surface almost twice as often as contiguous, and concordantly-marked SVCs are clearly preferred. SVCs that exhibit concordant TMA as well as subject marking are preferred to those that are only marked for either TMA or subject. However, this statement has to be seen in light of the decision to code /m/ as an aspect marker that has cliticized onto the 3rd person sg. pronoun, i.e. orthographically represented as *i'n* rather than *in*. If indeed the latter is correct, the number of SVCs that exhibit single concordant TMA marking would be considerably higher. However, this does not affect the status of concordantly marked SVCs in general. Finally, most cases in the elicitation corpus exhibit a consistent intonation contour without either a break or a raise or a fall. Some cases are not as clear-cut and have to be discussed in terms of their status as SVCs with regards to neighboring syntactic phenomena such as asyndetic covert coordinations.

10. Judgment Data

The final source of data in this study consists of acceptability judgments. As has been described above in (5.3), a selection of 91 sentences was presented to 37 participants and in total 1630 judgments were produced. To include all of these 1630 sentences would go beyond the scope of this thesis. Hence, only a relevant selection will be used and a summary of the findings will be presented.

Before turning to the general findings, it is necessary to make some short remarks and observations concerning the method. First, it was often highly beneficial that the judgments were collected during a face to face interview. For instance, a number of times the sentences were deemed unacceptable not based on their syntactic makeup but rather due to their semantics, their written representation, or concerning the choice of one lexeme. For example, during the first interviews, sentence 53 contained the word *bonnfanm*, 'wife', which is a rather old-fashioned term which is no longer used. Often the sentence was rejected because of this lexeme. However, after the interviewer changed the word to the more modern *madanm* or *son fanm*, 'wife, his woman', the sentence was accepted.

Second, all of the 37 participants exhibited no problems in solving the judgment task in general. On the one hand, this can be traced back to the rephrased scale that helped the participants to rate the sentences and, on the other hand, to the participants' general high level of literacy and familiarity with academic or educational contexts. However, some problems and questions concerning the orthographic representation of KS surfaced during the interviews. At times, the participants were asked how they would write a certain word, for instance whether they would write the phonemic form /ɪn/, which is present between *taye* and *ale* within the sentence *I'n taye in ale*, without or with an apostrophe (refers to judgment sentences 1 and 2). The difference between these two instances, which has been presented in the preceding chapters, is that one is the TMA marker only (without apostrophe) while the other is a subject pronoun plus a cliticized TMA maker (with apostrophe). This distinction is important when it comes to determining the double concordant marking status of SVCs in KS. Responses to this question varied considerably. Sometimes, both versions were accepted, sometimes only one version was chosen and sometimes the participants also indicated that they could not answer this question because they are not particularly proficient in writing KS. This, as will be shown below in chapter (11.3), can be connected to the sociolinguistic background also elicited in this study.

Third, even though the scale proved to be helpful in the completion of the judgment task, it has to be noted that most participants did not use the whole scale regularly but tended to give a 1 versus 7 judgment, i.e. a yes/no assessment of the sentences. In only 88 out of 1630 judgments was a number different to 1 or 7 given[1]. That is, the numbers 2-6 were indicated only in 5,4% of the judgements. Hence, a scale skew

[1]The other numbers were chosen with the following frequency: 2 = 33 times, 3 = 17 times, 4 = 10 times, 5 = 4 times, 6 = 24 times.

may be observed (Schütze and Sprouse 2013: 39). This fact, together with the general caveat that judgment data are not continuous, and other factors mentioned elsewhere, has contributed to the decision that the judgment data will only be analyzed with the help of descriptive statistics rather than applying inferential statistic tests.

Fourth, even though no particular problems with the task as such could be discerned, some sentences were not presented to many participants due to their complexity in nature. For instance, this applies to sentences 71-74, which deal with extraction out of SVCs, as well as sentences 78-81, which deal with binding phenomena. They were only given to participants if they exhibited a high level of metalinguistic awareness and if there was enough time to explain the meaning of the sentence if required and discuss alternatives. Nonetheless, some confusion did arise in response to these sentences, which confirms the complexity of these specific tokens on the list.

Finally, and most importantly, as a whole the sentences were judged to be unacceptable relatively often (i.e. a 7 was given on the scale). This choice was made 967 times in contrast to 575 sentences that were deemed perfectly acceptable (judged with 1)[2]. This means that 59.3% percent of the sentences listed in figure (A4) were rejected and only 35.3% were accepted as perfect. However, two things have to be remarked concerning these percentages. On the one hand, some sentences were either expected and designed to elicit a negative answer or did not contain an SVC and, on the other hand, even though many SVCs were not accepted as such, the alternative produced by the participants nevertheless constituted an SVC. Either a different SVC was produced, as in example (210) or the same SVC was produced but with overt TMA and sometimes overt subject marking, as in example (211)[3].

(210) a. target: Bann zwazo pe **tonbe vini** dan rekolt
b. produced: Bann zwazo pe **ale vini** dan rekolt

(211) a. target: I ti **pran** semiz **montre** mwan.
b. produced: <u>I ti</u> **pran** semiz <u>i ti</u> **montre** mwan.

In 387 cases (i.e. in 41.5% of the sentences judged with 7 on the scale) the sentences were deemed 'not acceptable at all' as presented to the participants but the alternative structure given nevertheless conformed to the defining criteria of SVCs as proposed in chapter (3.1). If the instances of sentences assessed with a 5 and 6 on the scale are added, a total of 406 produced SVCs after an initial rejection can be observed, which amounts to 43.5% of rejected SVCs. In many cases, the original SVCs either did not contain any TMA markers or the TMA marker as well as the subject pronoun was only present before the first verb. This was often rejected, as will be shown in (10.5). Hence, a qualitative analysis of these data seems to be more promising to

[2]The remaining 5.4% are distributed across judgments 2-6.
[3]The interlinear gloss and translation will be given in the subsections below, which analyze the respective type of SVC.

capture these notions and alternatives in contrast to an analysis based on parametric or non-parametric statistical tests as proposed by Schütze and Sprouse (2013: 43).

Therefore, all original judgments of the participants were incorporated into a spreadsheet but if an alternative sentence was given, it was also noted in the spreadsheet and categorized according to its structure. In the remainder of the chapter, a difference will be made between accepted SVCs, rejected SVCs and produced SVCs. The first refers to those sentences that contained an SVC and were accepted outright (and sometimes also repeated by the participants as a confirmation). The second refers to those sentences that contained an SVC but that were rejected. The last one refers to those SVCs that were indicated as an improvement after the rejection of the original SVC and are therefore counted as serials. Sentences that were explicitly designed to not be examples of SVCs are excluded from the following table, and, hence, the total does not amount to 1630. The following general picture therefore emerges concerning accepted, rejected and produced SVCs in the judgment data:

Table 10.1: General Overview of SVCs in the Judgment Data

Accepted SVCs (1-4)	Rejected SVCs (5-7)	Produced SVCs	Unclear
370	933	406	218

In this table, the 88 cases of judgments that received a 2 – 6 on the scale are categorized into either accepted (2, 3 and 4 on the scale) or rejected SVCs (5 and 6). This categorization was undertaken since both 3 and 4 were rephrased with either "acceptable but a bit strange" or "acceptable but very strange". The 218 unclear cases were coded as such since the status as an SVC is not yet clear and will be discussed in a following chapter. This refers to sentences containing *poudir*, 'say', and sentences containing *fer*, 'make', i.e. this pertains to Argument Introducing 'say' and Causative SVCs in KS. As a result, a total of 776 tokens that contained SVCs were either accepted or produced. Thus, in the mean, 21.0 SVCs per person were accepted or produced in the judgment data. This is in contrast to 527 cases (with a mean of 14.2 per person) in which an SVC was neither accepted nor produced as an alternative.

The alternative structures produced, if SVCs were neither accepted nor indicated as a correction, were manifold. In total, 6 other strategies can be discerned that were employed to express the same content of the originally presented sentence. Often, the sentence contained only one verb (1V), or exhibited an overt coordinator (CO) or subordinator (SUB). In some cases, a coordination without an overt coordinator, that is an asyndetic coordination (AC), can also be observed based on intonation contour or the explicit instruction by the participants to write the sentence with a comma. Alternatively, a complement (compl.) relationship between the two verbs was expressed (such as in *fini*+V_2) or a comparison (compa.) with adjectives was used

in Degree SVCs. Finally, in some cases, the participants did not give alternatives to improve the sentence, indicated with NA in the following table:

Table 10.2: Alternative Structures produced in the Judgment Task

	1V	CO	SUB	AC	compl.	compa.	NA	Total
Tokens	103	75	203	51	33	19	43	527
%	19.5	14.2	38.5	9.7	6.3	3.6	8.2	100

As is evident, subordination is the most-used structure if an SVC is not accepted or produced, followed by structures containing only one verb. Overt as well as covert coordination are used in 10-14% of the cases. Sometimes the sentences contained an asyndetic coordination between V_1 and V_2 as well as an overt coordinator or subordinator between V_2 and V_3. In these cases, they were counted as CO or SUB. The total number of accepted or alternatively produced SVCs across the respective age groups can be seen in the table below, in which first the number of tokens per group are indicated, then the number of participants and finally the mean of SVC per person:

Table 10.3: Mean acceptance or production of SVCs in the Judgment Data

Age Group	Total SVCs	No. of participants	Mean SVC p. p.
2	144	11	13.0
3	246	10	24.5
4	149	6	24.8
5	63	3	21
6	174	7	24.8
2–6	776	37	21.0

In general, it can be said that no significant difference can be observed between age groups 3-6 as they all accept or produce 21-24.8 SVCs per person. This is in contrast to age group 2, in which the participants only exhibited 13.0 SVCs per person. In contrast to the elicitation as well as spontaneous data, age group 5 does not have the highest mean in this task. If accepted and produced SVCs are separated, the following picture emerges:

Table 10.4: Mean Acceptance of SVCs in the Judgment Data

Age Group	Total SVCs	No. of participants	Mean SVC p. p.
2	85	11	7.7
3	111	10	11.1
4	80	6	13.3
5	20	3	6.7
6	74	7	10.6
2–6	370	37	10

Table 10.5: Mean Production of SVCs in the Judgment Data

Age Group	Total SVCs	No. of participants	Mean SVC p. p.
2	59	11	5.4
3	135	10	13.5
4	69	6	11.5
5	43	3	14.3
6	100	7	14.3
2–6	406	37	11.0

As is evident, age group 4 was most likely to accept the originally presented SVCs, followed by age group 3 and 6. Age group 5 accepted the least SVCs. These results are in contrast to alternatively produced SVCs during the judgment task. Here, age group 2 produced the least, and age groups 5, 6 and 3 produced the most.

An overview of the produced types will not be given here since often, the same type of SVC was used with the same verbs to clarify structural aspects such as concordant marking, extraction or other phenomena. Hence, for instance, Directional SVCs are represented fairly often, since it was used to test for subject as well as TMA repetition on the verbs (for instance, sentences 1-12 of the list presented in (A4)). However, in the following, all of the types are presented in the respective sub-section. An overview of the findings concerning structural aspects can be found in (10.5).

10.1 Type 1 SVCs in the Judgment Data

Within the judgment data, a number of sentences were included to test the following verb combinations which are categorized as Directional SVCs: *taye-ale*, 'run-go', *tonbe-vini*, 'fall/descend-come', *ale-vini*, 'go-come', *sorti-ale*, 'exit-go' and *monte-desann*, 'ascend-descend'. An example of each is given below:

(212) I'n taye i'n ale
PRN.ASP run PRN.ASP go
'He was running away.'

(213) Bann zwazo pe tonbe vini dan rekolt
PL birds ASP fall come on harvest
'The birds are descending onto the harvest.'

(214) Astrid in taye in vini
Astrid ASP run PRN.ASP come
'Astrid was running here.'

(215) Mari in sorti dan lakaz in al laboutik
Mari ASP exit from house ASP go shop
'Mari was exiting the house to go to the shop.'

(216) Msye ti monte desann
Man TNS ascend descend
'A man walked up and down.'

The first sentence in particular was used to conduct a series of structural tests, which will be described in (10.5). The combination of 'run-go' used in this example to express movement away from something seems to be a rather prototypical SVCs since it is often cited in the literature. The second example, (213), was first described in reference to KS in Bickerton (1989) and the aim was to test whether this SVC is still acceptable today. Example (214) is the opposite description of (212) as it describes a movement away. Example (215) was included in order to see whether Directionals can be non-contiguous in KS. Finally, the last SVC was included since this seems to be a very common SVC in KS.

The combination *taye-ale* in example (212) was accepted by all 33 participants who judged the sentence. One participant also provided the translation "She ran away." However, differences in judgment can be observed concerning the question as to whether the sentence should be represented with or without an apostrophe and, hence, whether a repeated subject is possible or obligatory. Both possibilities were given to the participants (sentence number 1 and 2 in the list in (A4). As a response to sentence 1, which contained *in*, 9 out of 33 (27%) explicitly indicated that the subject should be repeated, and the second *in* should actually appear in the form of *i'n*. This is in contrast to 3 out of 16 (18%) participants who judged sentence number 2, which contained *i'n*, as unacceptable and corrected it to *in*.

The second example given above in (213) was only accepted by 4 out of 32 participants, i.e. by 9.4% of those who rated the sentence. 3 participants chose to rate it with a 1 on the scale, while 1 participant chose the rating 4. All others rejected the sentence in this form. No age difference can be observed, since the four who accepted the sentence all come from age groups 2-5 each. However, even though this SVC was

rejected, in 24 out of 32 cases (75%) the alternative given for this sentence was another SVC. The alternative sentence proposed was the following:

(217) Bann zwazo pe ale vini dan rekolt
PL birds ASP go come on harvest
'The birds are descending onto the harvest.'

The combination *ale-vini* was also provided by two participants who had not been given this sentence as a judgment. After all the tasks were completed, the participants were informed of the aim of the tests and they suggested other verb combinations that can be classified as SVCs, of which *ale-vini* was one. The others will be indicated in the respective subsections. The combination *ale-vini* is very similar to the verb combination that was tested in (214), i.e. *taye-vini*, with the meaning 'run here' or, as indicated by two participants, 'come fast'. The sentence as it appears in the example with *i'n* was accepted by 7 out of 16 participants (43%). Another 3 participants accepted the sentence if it was written with *in* and, as such, without a repeated subject pronoun before V_2. Hence, the verb combination was accepted by 62.5% of the participants who judged the sentence. Another alternative indicated by 5 participants consisted of the verb *ale* plus a gerund *an tayan*, 'by/in running'.

The sentence in example (215) was accepted by 29 out of 32, i.e. by 87.5% of the participants. Furthermore, 2 participants also accepted the combination of 2 verbs plus the intervening prepositional phrase *dan lakaz* but included a repeated subject pronoun before the second verb. Hence, in total, only 1 participant from age group 2 rejected the sentence as such and did not produce an SVC as an alternative. This person corrected the sentence to an asyndetic coordination with comma intonation. Thus, this cannot be classified as an SVC. All of the others (96.9%) accepted or produced an SVC without pauses or comma intonation.

Finally, all of the 15 participants who were presented with the sentence in (216) judged it as 'perfect'[4]. This outcome is not surprising since this is a common SVC in KS which was also produced during the elicitation task. One participant also suggested this SVC after all tasks were completed and the interviewer talked about the aims of the study. The same participant additionally mentioned the SVC *leve-marse*, 'rise/wake up-walk', which can also be classified as a Directional or alternatively as an Open SVC.

The second subtype of Type 1 SVCs, Argument Introducing 'give', was also tested with the help of the judgment task. The combinations *aste-donnen*, 'buy-give' and *anmennen-donnen*, 'bring-give' were presented to the participants with the help of the following examples:

(218) Manman ti aste koko donn zanfan
Mother TNS buy coconut give children
'The mother bought the coconut and gave it to the children/ The mother bought

[4]2 participants indicated that the sentence is only acceptable if it reads *Sa msye i ti monte desann*. Since this does not affect the classification as an SVC from a typological or structural perspective, this judgment has been counted as 'perfect'.

the coconut for the children.'

(219) I'n anmenn liv donn nou
PRN.ASP bring book give us
'He has brought the book and given it to us/ He has brought the book for us.'

A slightly different picture to the tested Directionals above emerges concerning the judgments of Give SVCs. Only 4 out of 35 (11%) participants accepted the sentence in (218) as it was. Two of these even indicated that it was 'acceptable, but a bit strange', explaining their coice of 3 as the judgment for this sentence. In contrast, 31 rejected the sentence. However, 21 of these participants produced an alternative SVC, which also contained these two verbs. Either a TMA marker (in 12 cases), or a TMA marker plus a subject pronoun (in 9 cases) was added, as indicated in the following example[5]:

(220) Manman ti aste koko (i) ti donn zanfan
Mother TNS buy coconut (PRN) TNS give children
'The mother bought the coconut and gave it to the children/ The mother bought the coconut for the children.'

Similarly, sentence number 27, represented in example (219), was rejected 32 times in contrast to only 3 instances, in which it was accepted (i.e. in 91.4% of the cases in contrast to 8.6%). Yet, once again, in 21 cases, even though the original SVC was rejected, an alternative SVC was produced. This SVC is exemplified in (221) below:

(221) I'n anmenn liv i'n donn nou
PRN.ASP bring book PRN.ASP give us
'He has brought the book and given it to us/ He has brought the book for us.'

Hence, concordant marking increases the acceptance of the sentence considerably. In example (221) it cannot be ascertained whether the subject is repeated alongside the TMA marker or not since this was not tested individually. Nevertheless, it can be maintained that, regarding the Argument Introducing 'give' tested first, accepted as well as produced SVCs amount to 71.4% of the cases and, regarding the second sentence, this amounts to 68.6%. A participant also indicated *pran-donnen* as an alternative to *anmennen-donnen* after the interview.

Several sentences were included that tested the existence, status as well as structure of Argument Introducing 'say' serials. Some of them are given in (222-227). The word category and exact interlinear transcription of *poudir* will be discussed below based on the findings concerning the presented sentences. Hence, for the time being, it has been glossed with a question mark.

[5]One participant produced an SVC that was different from the others in that she changed *manman* to *mon*, 'I', and included a repeated subject but no repeated TMA marker before V_1.

(222) Zan ti dir ou poudir bis pou tarde
John TNS say PRN ? bus MOD late
'John told you that the bus will be late.'

(223) Zan ti dir ou ti poudir bis pou tarde
John TNS say PRN TNS ? bus MOD late
'John told you that the bus will be late.'

(224) Mon pou dir ou poudir i ti fer ronm
I MOD tell you ? PRN TNS make rum
'I will tell you that he made rum.'

(225) Mon konne poudir i ti fer ronm
PRN know ? PRN TNS make rum
'I know that he made rum.'

(226) Ou panse poudir i al lakaz
PRN think ? PRN go home
'You think he is going home.'

(227) I kriye poudir ou bezwen fer atansyon
PRN shout ? PRN need make attention
'He shouts that you have to pay attention.'

The sentences above served several purposes. First of all, it was tested whether sentences with *poudir* were accepted by all age groups. Second, the possible combinations of V_1+*poudir* were tested with examples (222), (225), (226) and (227), which contained *dir, konne, panse, kriye* and a following *poudir*. Third, the category of *poudir* was tested in example (223), as it was preceded by a TMA marker that can only appear before verbs. Finally, (224) was designed to check whether pou + V_1 in combination with *poudir* was accepted by the participants. As such, this was the only structure that was counted as an SVC in the analysis of the written data in chapter (7.).

The following picture emerges in the judgments of the participants: 26 out of 28 (92%) participants accepted the first sentence in the examples above as it was, 2 participants from age group 2 rejected the sentence and left out *poudir* in their correction. Likewise, the combination of *konne* and *poudir* was accepted by 26 out of 28 (92.9%) participants, the combination *panse-poudir* was judged as acceptable by 19 out of 22 (86%) participants and, finally, the combination *kriye-poudir* was accepted by 17 out of 21 (80%) participants. With reference to the latter, it should be noted that the sentence as it appears in the example above was accepted by 10 and rejected by 11 participants. However, 7 of these produced the following sequence with an additional object pronoun between the first verb and *poudir* as an alternative:

(228) I kriye ou poudir ou bezwen fer atansyon
PRN shout PRN ? PRN need make attention
'He shouts that you have to pay attention.'

Therefore, even though the exact sentence was not accepted by everyone, the combination *kriye-poudir* was accepted by 80% of the participants.

Theoretically, it may be possible that all the combinations mentioned in the preceding paragraph are examples of SVCs iff *poudir* is a lexicalized monomorphemic verb[6] and not, for instance, the complementizer *that* as in the English translation. As such, it was tested whether *poudir* can be preceded by a TMA marker in example (223). However, this is not possible as 12 out of the 12 participants who heard the sentence unequivocally rejected it. Thus, *poudir* cannot be classified as a verb in this sentence and consequently (222) cannot be classified as an SVC. This observation is also corroborated by the statement of one of the participants. Her interview partner initially rejected the sentence in (224) due to the repetitive phonemic sequence of *pou dir*. However, she then explained that *pou + dir* and *poudir* are different things and can occur together. Nevertheless, both agreed that the sentence is significantly better if *Mon pou dir ou i ti fer ronm* is used. In general, the judgments concerning this sentence were mixed. 4 out of 10 (40%) did not accept the sentence, 1 (10%) rated the sentence with a 4, and 5 participants assessed this sentence as 'perfect'/1 (50%). Furthermore, some participants also indicated that *poudir* should actually be written *pourdir*, thus evidencing a possible derivation from the preposition *pour* which was proposed, amongst others, by Kriegel (2004). If this is indeed the case, this structure never was nor is an example of an SVC in KS.

The results concerning Aspectuals SVCs can be summarized as following: two competing constructions were included in the judgment data to determine their status and structure. On the one hand, the structure *fini*+V and, on the other hand, V+*fini* was presented to the participants for assessment with the help of the sentences below:

(229) Zan in fini ekrir en let
John ASP finish write D letter
'John has finished writing a letter.'

(230) Zan in ekrir en let fini
John ASP write D letter finish
'John has finished writing a letter.'

(231) Astrid pa'n fini aprann Kreol Seselwa
Astrid NEG.ASP finish learn Kreol Seselwa
'Astrid has not finished learning Kreol Seselwa.'

(232) Astrid pa'n aprann Kreol Seselwa fini
Astrid NEG.ASP learn Kreol Seselwa finish
'Astrid has not finished learning Kreol Seselwa.'

The sentences in (229) and (231) differ strikingly from those in (230) and (232) in terms or their acceptability. Whereas the first two are accepted by all of the participants, the latter two are rejected in all instances. It has to be noted that the

[6]As suggested, for instance, by Bickerton (1989) for at least a certain time in KS.

combination *fini*+V was presented to the participants in a total of 40 cases, whereas the combination V+*fini* was only given for assessment 8 times. Nevertheless, since the judgment is either unanimously 'perfect' or 'not acceptable at all', it can be stated that no Aspectual SVCs can be found in the judgment data, assuming it is correct to treat *fini*+verb as a complement relationship rather than an SVC. Furthermore, the following sentence in (233), designed to check whether the negative marker *pa* can appear on V_2 instead of V_1, was assessed by a total of 19 participants. It was rejected by all of them and none suggested the sentence (232) as a correct alternative. Instead, they either named the sentence in (231) or included a subordinator such as *me*, 'but'.

(233) Astrid in aprann Kreol Seselwa pa fini
Astrid ASP learn Kreol Seselwa NEG finish
'Astrid has not finished learning Kreol Seselwa.'

Finally, three sentences were included in the judgment task to test for the last subtype of Type 1 SVCs. So far, no Degree SVCs have been attested in KS in the literature. The following three sentences were used in this study:

(234) Zan ti taye depas Mari
John TNS run surpass Mari
'John ran faster than Mari.'

(235) Zan grandi depas Mari
John grow surpass Mari
'John is bigger than Mari.'

(236) I pa kapab get bout depas son nennen
PRN NEG can look tip surpass PRN nose
'He can't see past the end of this nose.'

The first sentence was accepted as it was in 9 out of 26 cases (34.6%). In the rest of the judgments, it was not accepted. However, in 9 cases an alternative SVC was produced in which either the TMA marker or the subject pronoun plus the TMA marker was repeated on *depas*. Hence, this SVC was accepted or produced in 69.2% of the time. This is in contrast to example (235). This sentence was rejected in 25 out of 27 cases and only in 4 cases was an additional SVC produced. Hence, 85.2% of the participants judged this sentence as unacceptable in contrast to only 14.8% of the participants who accepted or produced this structure. Mostly, this sentence was improved with the help of an adjectival comparison as is evident in the example below:

(237) Zan i pli gran ki Mari
John PM more big REL Mari
'John is bigger than Mari.'

The last sentence of this condition displayed in (236) was overheard over the phone (Adone, p.c.) and hence, included in the judgment data. Even though this

sentence stems from spontaneous data, it was rejected by all 9 participants in the judgment task who encountered this sentence. However, the meaning was understood and the saying was improved to the following sentence:

(238) I pa kapab get pli lwen son nennen
PRN NEG can view more far PRN nose
'He can't see past the end of this nose.'

The different assessments of acceptability between example (234) and the other two in (235) and (236) can be explained because the former is in fact not an instance of a Degree SVC, whereas the others, if they were possible in KS, would be examples of Degree SVCs. This will be discussed in the respective subsection in (11.2).

As an intermediate summary, it can be stated that, whereas neither Argument Introducing 'say', nor Aspectuals nor Degree SVCs are present in this data type, the judgment task confirms the existence of Directional as well as Argument Introducing 'give' SVCs. This is a significant finding since the existence of Give SVCs in particular in KS has been disputed by some (for instance, Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b)). However, the exact structure of Directionals as well as Give serials is subject to variation. It seems as if in Directionals as well as in Give serials it is not clear whether the subject has to be repeated or not, i.e. whether subject concordant marking is necessary or illicit. Pending a detailed analysis of the structural tests, the judgment results from these Directionals and Give serials given above are not conclusive concerning concordant marking.

10.2 Type 2 SVCs in the Judgment Data

The first subtype of Type 2 serials, Causative SVCs, were presented to the participants with the help of the following 2 sentences:

(239) Lalkol i fer msye bat son fanm
Alcohol PM make man beat PRN woman
'The alcohol makes the husband beat his wife.'

(240) Msye ti fer son fanm sourir
Man TNS make PRN woman laugh
'The husband made his wife laugh/smile.'

Both sentences were devised in analogy to Adone (2012: 58), who gives a similar sentence, *Son destin in fer li vin violent*, 'His destiny has turned him into a violent person', as an example of Causative SVCs in KS. The sentence in (239) was accepted by all 24 participants[7]. Likewise, the structure in (240) was accepted by all 22 participants. As already indicated in chapter (9.), the question remains as to whether these are in

[7]One participant indicated that he would not accept the sentence but would instead use *in* instead of *i*. Since this improvement does not affect the possibility of verb combinations, he has been counted within the group who accepted this sentence.

fact instances of Causative SVCs. In the definition proposed by Veenstra and Muysken (ms), *fer* should be the second verb in an SVC with 3 verbs and, as such, it appears between two verbs. In all of the sentences above, only two verbs appear.

Since the status of these structures containing *fer* as an SVC was not evident from the first batch of interviews, a further sentence was added for the second field-trip to test for a complement or serial relationship. The sentence that was used can be seen in the following:

(241) Lalkol ti fer msye ti bat son fanm
Alcohol TNS make man TNS beat PRN woman
'The alcohol made the husband beat his wife.'

Since it was already apparent from the first recordings in 2014 that KS allows concordant TMA marking on V_2 in all types, a repeated tense marker *ti* was added before *bat*, 'beat', to test whether the two verbs had the same TMA value. All of the 8 participants that were presented with the sentence in (241) rejected the sentence and corrected it to the version given above. Hence, it is likely that *bat* is a bare infinitival complement of *fer*, akin to the structure that can be found in English. This is the reason why the judgments of the first two potential Causative serials were coded as 'unclear' in the spreadsheet used for the analysis as well as indicated as such in table (10.1).

The second subtype, Argument Introducing 'take', was already fairly well represented as a target structure in the elicitation data and, hence, the decision was made to include only 2 sentences that tested this condition. The sentences chosen for this test, one introducing an argument with an INSTRUMENTAL, the other introducing an argument with a THEME θ-role, are listed in the following examples:

(242) I ti pran kouto koup dipen
PRN TNS take knife cut bread
'He took the knife and cut the bread.' INSTRUMENTAL

(243) I ti pran semiz montre mwan
PRN TNA take shirt show PRN
'He took the shirt and showed it to me.' THEME

The responses to the first sentence are diverse. 11 out of 35 participants (31.4%) accepted the sentence as it is shown above, though one of them only rated the sentence with a 4 on the scale. In contrast, 24 (68.6%) assessed the sentence as unacceptable. However, of these, 5 added the TNS or the TNS and the subject PRN to the second verb and, hence, produced an SVC as an acceptable alternative. Therefore a total of 45.7% of the participants who assessed this sentence accepted or produced a Take SVC. 18 participants preferred the alternative construction with the overt subordinator *pour koup dipen*. Regarding this SVC, an interesting picture concerning age distribution emerges. This is displayed in the following table, in which accepted as well as produced SVCs are aggregated in one column, termed 'accepted'

Table 10.6: *Pran-Koupe* Judgment across Age Groups

Age Group	No. Participants	Total Accepted	% Accepted
2	11	2	18.2
3	10	4	40
4	6	4	66.7
5	3	1	33.3
6	7	5	71.4

In contrast to other judgment data a difference can be observed when the age groups are considered. Age groups 6 and 4 assess this SVC considerably better than age group 2. Age groups 5 and 3 also do not accept it as often as the others. A similar picture is also evident in the assessment of the second *pran* sentence given in (243). In total 2 out of 28 (7.1%) accepted the sentence and, hence, 26 (82.9%) rejected it as it was presented. However, 15 (53.6%) offered a concordantly marked SVC as an alternative. Hence, in sum, 17 out of 28 (60.7%) accepted or produced the structure. The distribution across the age groups can be seen in table (10.7):

Table 10.7: *Pran-montre* Judgment across Age Groups

Age Group	No. Participants	Total Accepted	% Accepted
2	10	2	20
3	8	7	87.5
4	5	4	80
5	2	1	50
6	3	3	100

Similar to *pran-koupe*, age group 2 neither accepts nor produces this structure as often as the other age groups. Both SVCs will once again be mentioned further below since they give interesting insights into the distribution as well as structure of SVCs in the judgment data. Finally, one participant once again suggested other SVCs of the Take Type after the interview was finished and explained. She mentioned the verb combinations *pran-mete*, 'take-put' and *pran-manze*, 'take-eat', which were also present in the elicitation data. However, she did not complete the elicitation task and, thus, could not have been primed on these.

10.3 Type 3 SVCs in the Judgment Data

The only SVC classified as Type 3, Resultative serials, was also presented to the participants during the judgment task. Apart from the question as to whether these SVCs

exist, a special focus was put on the constraints that may apply to the transitivity setting or in any other way to the verbs in these serials in KS. The latter is discussed in section (10.5), even though some aspects are already indicated here. Some sentences used to check for the existence of Resultative SVCS are exemplified and analyzed in the following paragraphs:

(244) I'n bat lisyen touye
PRN.ASP beat dog kill
'He beats the dog dead.'

This tested SVC exhibits argument sharing in that subject and object are shared by both verbs, both of which are transitive. Furthermore, the second verb describes an action that is a result of the first verb. The sentence as it is given in example (244) was accepted by only 1 participant out of 31 (3.2%). However, once again, this is due to the lack of concordant marking on V_2. An additional 24 participants, which amounts to 77.4%, accepted this verb combination after either the TMA marker or subject pronoun plus TMA marker (*I'n bat lisyen i(')n touye*) had been added. One participant from age group 2 remarked that the sentence without concordant marking sounds as if it were uttered "either by children or old people". However, no such age distribution concerning older people can be observed since all participants from age group 5 and 6 also included the grammatical markers in order to render the sentence acceptable. The 7 participants who neither accepted the sentence nor produced an SVC as an alternative are from age group 2 (5 participants) and age group 6 (2 participants). However, what can be observed is that only 44.4% from age group 2 produced an alternative SVC in contrast to all other groups, in which either 100% (as is the case in age groups 3-5) or 71.4% (age group 6) produced a Resultative SVC.

A different picture emerges when the following sentence is considered:

(245) Zan in zet tas ater in kase
John ASP throw cup ground ASP break
'John has thrown a cup to the ground and broke it/and it broke.'

This sentence also contains a Resultative serial in which the second verb describes a result of the first action. This sentence is in fact ambiguous in terms of its structure. As has been described above for the elicitation data, *kase* in KS can be transitive as well as intransitive. Hence, the translation is indicated for both structures as it can either mean *he broke the cup* or *the cup broke*. In contrast to example (244), the repeated TMA marker was already present in the original sentence. Hence, this sentence was instantly accepted by 22 out of 27 participants (81.5%). Furthermore, the sentence was accepted by 75% of the participants in age group 2, which is considerably higher than the percentage of acceptance in the first example presented above.

Whereas in the example in (245) it is unclear whether the structure transitive + intransitive verb and, hence, a switch subject SVC in which the object of V_1 is the subject of V_2 can be observed, the following example used in the judgment data is less

ambiguous. *Tonbe* can only be an intransitive verb. Theoretically, a subject switch as well as a non-subject switch reading could be possible in that either it is *Zak* who falls to the ground, or *the friend* falls himself after pushing *Zak*. However, in fact, the subject switch reading is more likely since it was preferred by the participants and was the one that was also clearly present in the elicitation data. Hence, this reading is also given for the translation.

(246) En zanmi pous Zak tonbe
D friend push Jack fall
'A friend pushed Jack to the ground.'

Even though all 10 participants rejected the sentence as it was, the Serial nevertheless was produced including the aspect marker *in* before V_1 and V_2 9 times (90%), independent of age group. The remaining participant offered the following sentence as an alternative:

(247) En zanmi pous Zak fer li tonbe
D friend push Jack make him fall
'A friend pushed Jack and made him fall.'

As was already discussed in the preceding section, the status of *fer* as either a verb in an SVC or as a verb followed by an infinitival complement is not clear and can also not be decided on the basis of this example. Hence, this is one of the cases that was marked as 'unclear' in the analysis.

Finally, the last example mentioned here was included in the judgment task after one of the participants offered it after one of the interviews in 2014.

(248) I sape tonbe mor
PRN slip fall die
'He slips and falls to his death.'

This example consists of three intransitive verbs and no TMA marker was indicated in the original sentence. It was accepted 3 out of 18 (16.7%) times but was accepted or produced by all of the 18 who were presented this sentence if the TMA marker *in* was added.

In summary, it can be stated that Resultative SVCs do exist in KS based on the assessment of the sentences presented above. Concordant marking is preferred in Resultatives as well and, thus far, there does not seem to be a constraint in KS governing the transitivity setting in Resultatives, a point which will be revisited in chapter (11.4). Finally, subject switch serials seem to exist as confirmed by the judgments concerning (246).

10.4 Type 4 SVCs in the Judgment Data

The final semantic type of SVCs consists of Open-Ended serials, which were tested using different sentences in the judgment task. Some of these will be mentioned below

since they also were used to test specific syntactic aspects of KS serials. Most of the sentences of this type consisted of SVCs with 3 or more verbs in the judgment data as it was assumed beforehand that these are not produced as often as 2-verb SVCs in other types of data. Hence, the following sentences were constructed and presented to the participants:

(249) I pran laliny met dan delo tire
PRN take fishing rod put in water pull out
'He takes the fishing rod, puts it in the water and pulls it out.'

(250) Myse ti pran bannann ti plise ti manze
Man TNS take banana TNS peel TNS eat
'The man took the banana, peeled it and ate it.'

(251) I rase manyok griye donn nou pour nou manze
PRN grasp manyok grill give PRN for PRN eat
'He took the manyok, grilled it and gave it for us to eat'

(252) I ti ouver pwason ti netwaye ti met lo dife
PRN TNS open fish TNS gut TNS put on fire
'He opened the fish, gutted it and put it on the fire.'

(253) Manman ti aste diri ti anmennen lakour ti kwi
Mother TNS buy rice TNS bring home TNS cook
'The mother bought the rice, brought it home and cooked it.'

Even though the SVCs in (249-251) could potentially also be classified as Argument Introducing ('take' in the first two, 'give' in the third example), they are taken here as Open SVCs based on the description of an event consisting of several sub-events. Even though *pran* and *donnen* were chosen, other combinations would also have been possible to describe an event (such as *met-tire-remet*). As such, the choice of verbs is not constrained and, thus, they are taken to be examples of Open serials.

The first sentence was only accepted by 2 out of 24 participants (8.3%), one of whom also only rated the sentence with a 3 ('acceptable but a bit strange') on the scale. 2 participants who initially rejected the sentence produced a 3-verb SVC as an alternative in this context with repeated concordant marking. 9 participants (37.5%) also produced an alternative SVC, however, in these sentences the serial only consisted of two verbs *pran-met*, whereas the third verb, *tire*, was connected with either an overt subordinator or coordinator to the structure. Hence, the resulting SVC has to be classified as Argument Introducing 'take' rather than an Open SVC. Only one participant produced the alternative 2-verb SVC with open concordant TMA or subject marking. All of the others produced it as in the following:

(254) I pran laliny met dan delo e tire
PRN take fishing rod put in water and pull out
'He takes the fishing rod, puts it in the water and pulls it out.'

This structure is nevertheless classified as a concordantly-marked SVC in this thesis, since present tense is not overtly indicated in KS and, thus, both verbs are covertly marked for tense.

A similar action described by the sentence in (250) was also shown in one of the elicitation videos. This sentence was included in the judgment data after the first research trip to enrich the findings, as only two participants had produced this SVC during the elicitation task, and to check whether a 3-verb SVC is also possible in this case.

3 out of 7 (42.9%) accepted the SVC as it was, while the rest produced an alternative SVC when asked how the sentence could be improved. Of these 4, one produced an SVC with only 2 verbs (*pran-plise*), which again has to be classified as a Take Serial. Another 2 repeated the subject pronoun *i* before each verb and one indicated that this structure is only possible if an imperative is assumed, along the lines of 'Take the banana, peel it and eat it'. This participant argued that, otherwise, this is a coordinated structure and should be written with commas and pronounced with the according intonation contour. Therefore, if everything is taken together, 85% of the participants accepted or produced a 3-verb SVC, though the exact structure is subject to variation.

A different picture emerges when sentence (251) is considered. Only one participant out of 7 accepted it, and only one alternative SVC was produced (14.3% respectively). All others named either a subordinate clause introduced by an overt subordinator or an asyndetic coordination with a covert coordinator as an alternative to improve the sentence. The participant who suggested the asyndetic coordination gave the explanation that these verbs express different actions and hence have to be written with a comma. This may also be the reason why example (249) was assessed as unacceptable and, if an SVC was produced, it consisted of only two verbs. The first two actions are more closely related than the action of putting the line of the rod into the water and retracting it again due the time lag that may exist (for instance, since the person is waiting for a fish to bite). This lag does not become apparent in (250) since the act of eating directly follows the act of peeling a banana, and hence this structure is more likely to be accepted as an SVC.

The sentence in (252), *I ti ouver pwason ti netwaye ti met lo dife*, was reformulated slightly for the second batch of recordings in 2015 since the original sentence *I ti ouver pwason ti pran son trip ti met lo dife* 'He opened the fish, took the innards and met it/them on the fire' included the ambiguity that either the fish or the innards could be put on the fire. This is one instance in which a subject switch occurred in an SVC that was not a Resultative. However, since the focus in this particular case was on the question as to whether multiple verb structures are found in KS, the sequence *ti pran trip* was replaced by *ti netwaye* 'gutted' in order to remove the ambiguity.

If both slightly different versions are taken together, they were accepted in 4 out of 23 cases (17.4%). Additionally, an alternative Serial was given as an improvement

in 12 cases (52.2%). However, not all of these were SVCs with 3 verbs. 5 out of the 12 participants who produced an SVC as an alternative only included 2 verbs in the structure, either the combination *tir trip-met*, 'pull innards-put', with a deletion of the first part of the sentence, or the combination *ouver-pran*, 'open-take', with a following overt coordinator *e*, 'and'. Both versions may be due to the ambiguity of the sentence. Other improvement strategies included once again concordant subject marking on all verbs in the structure.

The last sentence that was used to check for multiple Open SVCs, *Manman ti aste diri ti anmennen lakour ti kwi*, was rated as acceptable by 8 out of 22 participants (36.4%). One further participant produced the serial with 3 verbs with a subject pronoun on V_2 and V_3. Hence, the serial with 3 verbs was accepted or produced by 40.9% of the participants. 9 other participants (40.9%) produced a 2-verb SVC as an improvement, 7 of them chose *aste-anmennen* as the verbs contained in the serial and added the subordinate clause *pour kwi*, 'for cooking', while 2 chose the combination *aste-kwi* without including another verb in the sentence. Both 2-verb alternatives in this as well as in the case of (252) can be classified as Open SVCs.

Finally, to conclude this section, other Open-Ended 2-verb SVCs were also mentioned as being acceptable in KS by three participants. Once again, these were added after the aim of this study was revealed. The following combinations were named by two participants who were interviewed together: *bwar-manze*, 'drink-eat', which was also present in the written as well as elicitation data. Furthermore, *sante danse*, 'sing-dance' was named, which is from a similar semantic field to *bwar-manze* since both stem from the field of amusement and entertainment. Additionally, a third participant suggested *ale-dormi*, 'go-sleep', *kriye-pile* 'shout-beat', *sote-pile*, 'jump-trample' and *leve-sanze*, 'rise-change'. The first of these is interesting since it resembles the ubiquitous structure *al-X*. However, here *ale* appears in its long form and, as such, does not license a verbal complement. Whether or not this can be classified as an SVC will be discussed in chapter (11.1).

Concluding this section, it is evident that Open-Ended SVCs are accepted as well as produced by the participants even though it seems that a slight preference for 2-verb SVCs in contrast to 3-verb serials within the Open-Ended Type can be observed. However, this may be due to the verbs or the actions used in the data which may be not as closely connected to each other as in other cases and, hence, an SVC is not used to describe the event. It is for this reason that no definite statement concerning the preference of 2 over 3-verb SVCs can be made.

10.5 Structure of SVCs in the Judgment Data

In addition to the tests concerning the existence and functional classification of SVCs, formal aspects of KS serials were also presented to the participants for assessment during the judgment task. In terms of Aikhenvald's (2006) four parameters, the following

picture emerges from the judgment data: all accepted SVCs were multi-word SVCs and no single-word SVCs or root serializations were present. Furthermore, even though not all subtypes were accepted by the participants, exponents of all major Types 1-4 were judged to be acceptable. Hence, symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs can be confirmed for KS based on the judgment data.

In addition, contiguous as well as non-contiguous sentences were tested in the judgment data and accepted by the participants. This can be exemplified by the following two sentences, each of which were accepted or similarly produced by 100% and 90% of the participants respectively[8]:

(255) I'n taye i(')n ale
PRN.ASP run (PRN.)ASP go
'He has run away.'

(256) En zanmi in pous Zak in tonbe
D friend ASP push Jack ASP fall
'A friend pushes Jack to the ground.'

Finally, TMA as well as subject marking played a major role in the acceptance or rejection of SVCs in the judgment data. Two trends can be observed based on the results. First, SVCs were most likely to be rejected if no TMA marker was present on either verb. Second, concordant marking was also preferred in contrast to single marking on V_1. The first observation can be exemplified with the help of the third sentence from the list in (A4), also given below:

(257) I taye ale
PRN run go
'He runs away.'

This Directional SVC was only accepted in 4 out of 17 cases (23.5%), and, in turn, two of these only assessed the sentence with a 3 on the scale. This is in contrast to the sentence above in (255), which 100% of the participants accepted either with a repeated subject pronoun or without. In addition, when asked for an improvement, 10 out of 17 in total (58.8%) and out of 13 who rejected the sentence (76.9%) chose to include an aspect marker (either *in* or *pe*). Two further participants did not add a TMA marker but included a repetition of the pronoun *i* before V_2.

Two further Directionals that were designed to test for TMA marking in KS serials can be seen in the following examples:

(258) Msye monte desann
Man ascend descend
'A man goes up and down/back and forth.'

[8]In the first example, the combination of *taye* and *ale* was accepted by all of the participants, though differences exist concerning the question as to whether it is single concordant TMA marking or double concordant marking of both the subject pronoun and the TMA marker. However, since this does not affect contiguity, this example can nevertheless be taken to illustrate this point.

(259) Msye ti monte desann
Man TNS ascend descend
'A man went up and down/back and forth.'

The first example was only accepted twice, which amounts to 15.4% of the 13 participants who judged the sentence. All 11 remaining participants either indicated *Msye pe monte desann* or *Msye in monte desann* as an alternative. Hence, all 13 participants accepted or produced an SVC, though the acceptability is distinctly improved if a TMA marker precedes V_1. This is also evident if this is compared to the ratings of the second example in (259). This was accepted by 100% of the participants (15 in total)[9]. A further example that is a case in point for a preference of repeated overt TMA marking is the following Resultative SVC:

(260) Zan zet tas ater kase
John throw cup ground break
'John throws a cup to the ground and breaks it/ and it breaks.'

This example was only accepted by 1 of 9 participants (11.1%) and only with the provision that this is an imperative sentence along the lines of: 'John, throw the cup on the ground and break it!'. However, the remainder of the participants produced the alternative SVC:

(261) Zan in zet tas ater in kase.
John ASP throw cup ground ASP break
'John has thrown the cup to the ground and has broken it/ and it broke.'

Hence, the additional TMA marker before V_1 renders the previously unacceptable sentence into a perfectly acceptable sentence. From this example it also becomes obvious that concordant marking is preferred to single marking. This can be further exemplified with the following sentences:

(262) I ti pran (i ti) kouto koup dipen.
PRN TNS take knife (TNS) cut bread
'He took the knife and cut the bread.'

(263) I'n anmenn liv donn nou
PRN.ASP bring book PRN.ASP us
'He has brought the book and given it to us/ He has brought the book for us.'

As has already been described above in section (10.2), the first sentence was rejected in 68.6% of the cases if there was neither a repeated TMA nor a repeated pronoun before V_2. In contrast, it was accepted by 78.4% of the participants if the second verb was concordantly marked for both grammatical categories. Accordingly, sentence

[9]Two participants rejected the sentence as such and included an *i* before the TMA marker, which in this case has to be analyzed as a (reprise) pronouns after a focused DP based on intonation contour of the repeated utterances by the participants. However, the combination *ti* + *monte-desann* was accepted as it was and, hence, their judgment for this example has been counted amongst those who accepted the sentence.

(263) was rejected in 91.4% of the cases without repeated TMA and subject marking. Yet, in total, it was accepted by 60% of the participants when it was concordantly marked.

Since in example (263) as well as in numerous other examples already presented above, it is difficult to ascertain whether the second verb exhibits aspect marking only (*in*) or a contracted form of the 3rd person *i* plus the aspect marker *in* (*i'n*), other sentences were also included in the judgment data. After it was established from the results of the first field trip that the sentence *I'n taye i(')n ale* is acceptable in KS and it can be assumed that this is an SVC, the following sentences were constructed to test for double or single concordant marking:

(264) Mon'n taye in ale
PRN.ASP run ASP go
'I have run away.'

(265) Mon'n taye mon'n ale
PRN.ASP run PRN.ASP go
'I have run away.'

(266) Astrid pe taye pe ale
Astrid ASP run ASP go
'Astrid is running away.'

(267) Astrid pe taye i pe ale
Astrid ASP run PRN.ASP go
'Astrid is running away.'

As can be seen from the interlinear transcription, the first of each pair of sentences does not exhibit a repeated pronoun, whereas the second features a repeated pronoun before V_2. In the first two examples (264-265), the subject before V_1 is the 1st person pronoun. The aspect marker also cliticizes to *mon*, but in this case, this can be distinguished based on the phonetic form since *mon* ends in a nasalized vowel in contrast to *mon'n* which ends in the alveolar nasal consonant. In the second two examples (266-267), the subject in first position is an R-expression.

Example (264) was rejected in 100% of the cases. One person did in fact accepted the sentence, but specified that two people were moving, i.e. it was I who was running and a different person, he/she, who was going. Since this was not the targeted meaning, the sentence was counted as unacceptable. In contrast, 88% of the participants accepted sentence (265), in which the subject pronoun was repeated. Only two participants who were interviewed together rejected the sentence and corrected it to *I'n ale tayan* 'He has gone away while/by running'. However, it is questionable whether this can be taken into account since in the indicated alternative a change from *mon* to *i*, i.e. a change from 1st to 3rd person, occurs. Hence, it has a different meaning and the participants may not have understood the sentence as pronounced by the interviewer. In any case,

it is evident that the sentence is not acceptable at all when the subject pronoun is missing in contrast to a high percentage (88% or possibly higher) of accepted cases when the subject pronoun is repeated on V_2.

Finally, based on the ratings of the sentences in (266) and (267) the following statement can be made concerning pronoun repetition after an R-expression: the first sentence, which does not exhibit pronoun repetition, was accepted in 93.8% of the cases. Only two participants of 15 (13,3%) indicated that they would repeat the pronoun *i*. In addition, the second sentence with pronoun repetition after an R-expression was only accepted by 26.7% of the 15 participants who judged both sentences. 6 (40%) indicated that they would not repeat the pronoun, whereas 5 (33.3%) produced an asyndetic coordination structure or a subordination as an alternative to the sentence. A similar percentage can be observed in the responses to the following sentence, which has already described above in (10.1) but is repeated here for convenience.

(268) Manman ti aste koko donn zanfan
Mother TNS buy coconut give children
'The mother bought the coconut and gave it to the children/ The mother bought the coconut for the children.'

The amount of people who accepted this SVC plus those who produced an alternative SVC with concordant marking amounts to 25 participants. Of those 25 participants, 9, i.e. 36%, repeated the pronoun after the R-expression, while 64% did not.

The results concerning the judgments of these sentences hint at two preliminary conclusions. First, pronouns on V_1 are very likely repeated on V_2 in KS serials. Second, after R-expressions pronouns are to a high degree not repeated on V_2, especially if data from the other tasks are also taken into consideration as will be shown in (11.2). Hence, based on the judgment data, concordant marking seems to be the preferred option in KS and, within concordant marking, a tendency can be observed to repeat subject and TMA marking V_2 after a pronoun subject and TMA marking only after an R-expression.

An interesting observation emerged from one of the sentences with repeated TMA marking on V_2. The sentence given to the participants was the following:

(269) Msye ti monte ti desann.
Man TNS ascend TNS descend
'A man went up and down.'

Very similar sentences, *Msye monte desann* and *Msye ti monte desann*, were also shown to participants and have been discussed above concerning their acceptability. With the help of these examples, it has been shown that serials with TMA marking on V_1 are preferred. The sentence in (269) not only exhibits tense marking on V_1 but

also on V_2. It was accepted in this form by 71.4% of the participants[10]. As the two sentences, one with TMA marking on the first verb and one with TMA marking on both verbs, were presented to the participants after each other, 9 out of 14 (64.3%) also commented that there is a meaning difference between these two sentences. Whereas the sequence *ti monte desann* describes a repetitive and slightly frantic action in the sense of 'he went back and forth, back and forth', the second sentence describes a slow and singular action along the lines of 'he went up and back down once'. Since concordant marking in general seems to be possible in KS serials, this distinction in meaning may hint at a lexicalization process of *monte-desann*, which will be elaborated on and discussed in section (11.2).

In addition to these parameters proposed by Aikhenvald (2006), other tests were also conducted during the judgment task concerning the structural makeup of KS serials. One of them was the question concerning transitivity setting and subject switch serials, which has already been hinted at in section (10.3). The first pairs of words that were tested with the help of the following sentences were, on the one hand, *bate-touye*, 'beat-kill' and, on the other hand, *bat-mor*, 'beat-die'.

(270) I'n bat lisyen i'n touye
PRN.ASP beat dog PRN.ASP kill
'He beats the dog and kills the dog.'

(271) I'n bat lisyen i(')n mor
PRN.ASP beat dog ASP die
'He beats the dog and the dog dies.'

The first combination consists of two transitive verbs and was accepted by 80.6% of the participants, whereas the second combination consists of a transitive and an intransitive verb and was only accepted by 57.1%. However, some of the participants who accepted the latter SVC specified that the meaning is that the same person dies who hits the dog (for instance because the dog bit back) and it is not the dog that dies. Hence, even though the transitivity setting is the same for both meanings, nevertheless, the structure is different due to argument sharing. When the meaning is 'X hits Y, Y dies' a subject switch between V_1 and V_2 can be observed. If the meaning is 'X hits Y, X dies', the same subject is semantically shared by both verbs. Based only on this sentence, it could be argued that subject switch serials do not exist in KS. This picture is further corroborated by the following two sentences, which were also presented during the judgment task:

(272) I kriy son misye touye en bib
PRN call PRN man kill D spider
'She calls the man and the man kills a spider.'

[10]Two participants corrected the sentence to *Msye ti monte desann*, while two improved the sentence by including a subject pronoun, *Msye ti monte i ti desann*.

(273) I ti telefonn dokter ti vini
PRN TNS call doctor TNS come
'He called the doctor and the doctor came.'

The first of these two sentences was not accepted at all by any of the 16 people who judged it. In all cases the sentence was improved with the help of the subordinator *pour* 'for, in order to'. Likewise, the addition of repeated TNS marker *I ti kriye... ti touye...* did not improve the acceptability and 100% of the participants still rejected it.

The second sentence was only accepted by 25% of the participants, and one of them only assessed it with a 4 on the scale. 50% produced an alternative construction with either an overt or a covert coordinator and comma intonation. However, a further 4 out of 16 (25%) also accepted the sentence with a repeated pronoun subject before V_2, which seems to be a licit possibility in KS SVCs. Hence, the total percentage of participants who accepted or produced this sentence was 50%. However, one participant remarked that this sentence is ambiguous, i.e. either the doctor comes or the person calling the doctor comes running. Therefore, it cannot be stated for certain whether subject switch serials exist with the help of this example as those who accepted or produced the structure might have had the second meaning in mind when rating the sentence. An interesting observation follows from a different remark by another participant, who argued that this structure is not acceptable based on semantic and pragmatic grounds. According to her, doctors do not visit you at home in the Seychelles, and instead you have to go to the doctor. Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018) argue that this can be captured by an ethnosyntactic approach to the structure and meaning of SVCs. Furthermore, this may be one of the reasons why the SVC is rejected by half of the participants and may hint at a more likely reading of, 'he_{i} called the doctor_{j}, and $\text{he}_{\text{i/*j}}$ came'.

However, despite these two counterexamples, a sentence is also present in the data that exhibits a subject switch. It has already been presented with the help of example (246), but is repeated again for convenience:

(274) En zanmi pous Zak tonbe
D friend push Jack fall
'A friend pushed Jack to the ground.'

As has already been indicated, the sentence was accepted by 90% of the participants after the aspect marker *in* was added to V_1 and V_2. In reference to this sentence, most participants were asked who they believe is the one falling. All of the participants indicated that it is *Zak* who falls. This is also confirmed by the elicitation data[11].

Furthermore, the verbal combination of transitive + transitive and transitive + intransitive is possible in KS. In section (10.3) it was shown that a combination of two (or more) intransitive verbs is also possible. In order to check whether the combination

[11] An extensive comparison will be made in the respective discussion chapter (11.2).

intransitive + transitive is licit in KS, the sentence in (275) was designed, once again, in contrast to sentence (276), which exhibits two intransitive verbs.

(275) I tonbe i touye
PRN fall PRN kill
'He falls and kills.'

(276) I tonbe i mor
PRN fall PRN die
'He falls and dies.'

The latter of these either was accepted or an alternative construction with overt concordant marking was produced by a total of 83.3% of the participants. The remainder (4 participants) chose an overt coordination as an alternative. This is in contrast to (275), which was neither accepted nor improved with repeated TMA marking by any of the participants (24 in total). The alternative indicated by most of them (54.2%) was the sentence given in (276). Other alternatives involved a coordination structure, a rephrasing of the second verb with a passive *ganny touye*, 'get killed', or the participants did not indicate an alternative. Hence, within the judgment data, the only combination that was excluded is the combination of an intransitive followed by a transitive verb.

Another question that was addressed within the judgment task was the question as to whether extraction, i.e. movement, out of an SVC is possible. For this, several sentences were constructed that dealt with relative clauses (277-279), argument extraction (281-285) and adjunct extraction (288-290). Each of these will be given and described in turn in the following paragraphs. Their meaning and significance for the structure of KS SVCs will be discussed below in (11.4).

The SVC chosen for the relativization tests was one of the Directional SVCs that was accepted by all participants. The following three sentences are all cleft sentences that include a wh-relative pronoun *ki*. The question is whether the second subject pronoun on V_2 is repeated and whether it appears in 1st or 3rd person.

(277) Mwan, ki'n taye i'n ale
PRN REL.ASP run PRN.ASP run
'It is me, who has run away'

(278) Mwan, ki mon'n taye mon'n ale
PRN REL PRN.ASP run PRN.ASP run
'It is me, who has run away'

(279) Mwan, ki'n taye mon'n ale
PRN REL.ASP run PRN.ASP run
'It is me, who has run away'

As is evident from the examples, different possibilities were presented to the participants. The first possibility is given in (277), in which the relative pronoun is

followed by an aspect marker and the second verb contains the 3rd person pronoun plus an aspect marker. In the second example (278), the relative pronoun is followed by the 1st person pronoun overtly repeated on both verbs and, finally, in (279) the 1st person pronoun is only repeated on V_2.

The first sentence was accepted by 3 out of 17 (17.6%) participants, though 1 rated it with a 2 on the scale and indicated (279) as an improvement and 1 rated the sentence with a 4 without giving an improvement. 2 participants indicated that it is acceptable if the second pronoun is missing, hence, if only the aspect marker appears on V_2. 8 participants gave the following sentence as an alternative:

(280) Mwan, ki'n taye ki'n ale
PRN, REl.ASP run REl.ASP go
'It is me who has run away.'

In this structure, the relative pronoun is repeated on V_2. 4 others (plus the 1 person who rated the original sentence with 2) chose (279) as the correct alternative. Based on these judgments, the structure in (277) does not seem to be possible in KS.

Likewise, the sentence in (278) was rejected by 81.8% of the participants. Once again, either the alternative in (279) or in (280) was given as an improvement. This is in contrast to sentence (279), which was accepted as it was in 83.3% of the cases. The remaining 2 participants either gave (280) or (278) as the correct structure. In conclusion, it can be said that the structure for this SVC in cleft sentences seems to be either (279) or (280), in which the 1st person pronoun or the relative pronoun is repeated before V_2.

Concerning argument extraction, a variety of possibilities were also tested. First, Wh-object extraction out of VP_1 and out of VP_2 was tested. For this, the SVC *I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen*, which has already been established as a licit SVC in KS, was chosen. The first sentence presented in (281) exhibits argument extraction out of VP_1, i.e. *kouto*, 'knife', is the targeted answer to the question:

(281) Ki i ti pran ~~ki~~ ti koup dipen
WH PRN TNS take ~~WH~~ TNS cut bread
'What did he take to cut the bread?'

Only one participant accepted this sentence and one further participant produced an SVC that exhibited subject concordant marking on V_2 as an improvement to this sentence. However, of the rest of the 23 participants, 91.3% rejected the sentence and produced the following sentence containing an overt subordinator: *Ki i ti pran pour koup dipen (avek).*

A similar picture emerges when the following sentence, which features object extraction out of VP_2, is considered:

(282) Ki i ti pran kouto ti koupe ~~ki~~
WH PRN TNS take knife TNS cut ~~WH~~
'What did he cut with the knife he took?'

Once again, only 1 participant accepted the sentence (the same one who accepted sentence (281). None of the others (95.6%) accepted or produced an alternative SVC. The alternatives given in this case vary. Either a subordinator was included, such as *Ki i ti pran kouto pour koupe?*, or a question containing only one verb was produced: *Ki i ti koupe?*. Interestingly, the following structure, which exhibits preposition stranding, patterns differently:

(283) I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen avek ~~kouto~~
PRN TNS take knife PRN TNS cut bread with ~~knife~~
'He took the knife and cut the bread with it.'

This sentence was accepted by 14 out of 17 participants (82.4%). 1 participant who rejected the sentence produced an asyndetic coordination with comma intonation, the other 2 who rejected it included an overt object after *avek*, i.e. *I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen avek kouto*. Hence, it seems that preposition stranding in KS serials is possible, in this example at least. 1 participant also specifically indicated that this sentence should not be written with a comma and should be spoken without a break.

The second test concerning argument extraction considered *poudir* sentences. It was tested in order to see whether they pattern similarly to SVCs in the hope that this may shed light on their classification in today's KS. The following 2 sentences were constructed:

(284) Lekel mon konne poudir ~~lekel~~ ti fer ronm yer
WH PRN know that ~~WH~~ TNS make rum yesterday
'Who do I know made rum yesterday?'

(285) Ki mon konne poudir i ti fer ~~ki~~ yer
WH PRN know that PRN TNS make ~~WH~~ yesterday
'What do I know he made yesterday?'

Both sentences were rejected by all 12 participants and, when an alternative was indicated, the structure contained only 1 verb and no *poudir*. Two of the respective alternatives can be seen below:

(286) Lekel mon konne ki ti fer ronm yer
WH PRN know WH TNS make rum yesterday
'Who do I know made rum yesterday?'

(287) Ki (mon konne) i ti fer yer
WH (PRN know) PRN TNS make yesterday
'What (do I know) did he make yesterday?'

Since both Wh-questions above in (281) and (282) were rejected by most participants, it seems as if *poudir* sentences also pattern similarly to SVCs. However, this may be

due to other factors, such as the so-called that-trace effect in (284)[12]. If *poudir* is indeed a complementizer, this may be also applicable for KS. However, sentence (285) was similarly rejected even though the that-trace effect does not apply in this case.

Finally, adjunct extraction was tested, once again for the INSTRUMENTAL Take SVC (288) as well as for a *poudir* sentence (290). A further sentence (289) was also included following Veenstra (1996a: 288) as it may exhibit a complementation structure between the 2 verbs and, as such, has to be discussed.

(288) Ki mannyer i ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen
WH manner PRN TNS take knife PRN TNS cut bread
'How does he take the knife and cut the bread?'

(289) Ki mannyer i ti war sa zonm taye
WH manner PRN TNS see D man run
'How does he see the man running?'

(290) Kan mon konne poudir i ti fer ronm
WH PRN know ? PRN TNS make rum
'When do I know that he made rum?'

All of these sentences exhibit adjunct extraction, in the first two sentences referring to the manner of an action, and in the last one to the time of the action. The first sentence was accepted by 14 out of 23 participants (60%) and was accepted by one further participant (total of 65.2%) if the second verb did not exhibit concordant marking. When asked which action the 'how' refers to, 7 maintained that it can only refer to the way he takes the knife and not to the way he cuts the bread. 1 participant indicated that it can refer to both. Other participants were either not asked or did not answer the question.

The second sentence was accepted by all of the 21 participants. If asked to what the *ki mannyer*, 'how', refers, most participants answered that it can either describe the seeing (for instance, his vision was blurred because he had no glasses on) or it can describe the running (for instance, that the man was running slowly or particularly fast). Therefore, adjunct extraction seems to be possible for both VPs. Interestingly, 5 participants accepted the sentence as it was but repeated it again with an additional tense marker before *taye*. However, the produced sentence did not exhibit concordant TMA marking since the markers were different (*Ki mannyer i* ***ti*** *war sa zonm* ***pe*** *taye*). Hence, this sentence cannot be classified as an SVC since in serials, as per definition, both verbs have to have the same TMA value.

Finally, the last sentence was only accepted by 4 out of 10 (40%) of the participants. 3 of these indicated that *kan*, 'when', refers to the making of rum and not the

[12]The that-trace effect, first observed by Perlmutter (1971: 99), describes the phenomenon that, in some languages such as English, no trace (or a deleted copy of a moved element in nowadays terminology) can be present after *that*. Hence, the difference in grammaticality between the two following English sentences can be explained: *What do I know that he made? *Who do I know that _ made rum?*

knowing, and 1 of these indicated the opposite. All of the others produced a structure in which *poudir* was not present. Hence, based on the judgment data, extraction seems to be difficult in cases such as those mentioned above. Preposition stranding in SVCs seems to be licit and Wh-extraction is generally not accepted, whereas adjunct extraction at least out of VP_1 seems to fare better in acceptability. These findings will be discussed in reference to the findings from other languages further below in chapter (11.4).

In addition, a test concerning the occurrence of parasitic gaps in SVCs in KS was conducted. Parasitic gaps are termed as such since they are gaps which depend on the presence of another gap, for instance, in the English sentence *Which book did you file* e_i *without reading* e_i, taken from Chomsky (1986: 111). The following sentence was constructed to see whether these are possible in KS SVCs:

(291) Zot in bat li touye e_i san donn e_i kou-d-pye
PRN ASP beat PRN kill e_i without give e_i kicks
'They beat him and killed him without kicking him.'

In total, 58% accepted or produced an SVC within the context of this presented sentence. However, 3 participants, which amounts to 15.8%, only accepted the sentence without the adjunct *san donn kou-d-pye* and hence, can be excluded for the analysis of parasitic gap structures in KS SVCs. If only those are counted, who accepted an SVC with the adjunct present in the sentence, the following distribution emerges: 62.5% preferred an overt resumptive pronoun in all VPs, i.e. *Zot in bat* ***li*** *touy* ***li*** *san donn* ***li*** *kou-d-pye premye.* 12.5% produced the sentence with the first two pronouns, but not the last one as indicated in the following sentence: *Zot in bat* ***li*** *touy* ***li*** *san donn* $\boldsymbol{e_i}$ *kou-d-pye.* Finally, 25% accepted the sentence as given above in (291). Hence, it seems that object pronoun repetition is preferred in parasitic gap constructions in SVCs, though they are not necessarily repeated, as can be shown with the sentences exhibiting a missing object pronoun in the 3rd or in the 2nd and 3rd position.

The last syntactic test incorporated in the judgment data referred to the phenomenon of binding. In KS, reflexives can be expressed either with a distinct reflexive pronoun composed of the personal pronoun plus *menm*, 'self', or with the personal pronoun only[13] (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013b). The first 3 sentence pairs used to test for binding are shown in the following:

(292) Mon pran kouto koup mwan
PRN take knife cut PRN
'I take the knife and cut me.'

(293) I pran kouto koup li menm
PRN take knife cut PRN self
'He takes the knife and cuts himself.'

[13] A third possibility is also available in which a possessive pronoun is used plus *lekor* 'body'. However, this was not used in the data and is therefore not elaborated on.

(294) I pran kouto koup li
PRN take knife cut PRN
'He takes the knife and cuts him.'

The first sentence was either accepted by all of the participants in its original form or was accepted if a TMA marker was included before V_1 and V_2. The produced alternatives differed from each other as either only the aspect marker *in* was added before V_2 or a subject pronoun plus the aspect marker *mon'n* was inserted. Thus, the antecedent for *mwan* is either the subject pronoun before V_1 in the former or before V_2 in the latter. Since personal pronouns can also be used as anaphors in KS, sentence (293) was included in the judgments. A similar picture to the first sentence emerges as this sentence was also accepted by all of the participants after TMA marking was added. Here, it can be seen that an anaphora *li menm*, 'himself', is used in reference to the person taking the knife. Hence, it may be concluded that the subject before V_1 and the anaphora are within one binding domain and *li memn* can take *i* as its antecedent. However, the possibility of including an anaphor in VP_2 may also be due to the occurrence of an overt subject pronoun before V_2. 66.7% inserted *in* into the sentence to improve it. Since *in* can either be the aspect marker or a contracted form of the 3rd person pronoun plus the aspect marker, it may very well be that the possible antecedent for *li menm* is contained within the same VP and not before V_1. Finally, the third sentence was accepted by 66.7%. When asked after the person who is being cut in example (294), the majority of the participants stated that it was not the same person who is doing the cutting, whereas 1 indicated that it is ambiguous. 2 further sentences that were used to check for binding in SVCs are the following:

(295) Manman donn zanfan savonet benny li menm
Mother gives child soap wash PRN self
'The mother gives the soap to her child to wash him/herself.'

(296) Manman donn zanfan savonet benny li
Mother gives child soap was PRN
'The mother gives the soap to the child to wash her.'

It has to be noted that the status of this potential SVC with the verbal combination *donnen-benny* was not tested independently of this condition and, hence, it cannot be stated for certain whether this is an SVC. If this combination is licit in KS, this SVC has to be classified as an Open SVC. The first sentence was rejected by 88.2% of the participants who all included *pour*, 'in order to', to improve the structure. This may be due to the initial sentence which did not feature any TMA markers. Hence, the sentence in the present tense may have triggered the *pour* reading, which may have been prevented if the aspect marker *in*, which indicates completed aspect had been included in the original sentence. Likewise, the sentence in (296) was also rejected by 100% of the participants and the improved sentences mostly included *pour* as a subordinator before the second verb. Since these findings may be due to either the non-existence

of this particular verbal combination in an SVC or to the originally presented sentence without TMA marking, it cannot be taken into account when analyzing binding phenomena in KS.

Finally, within the area of binding, 2 further sentences were given to the participants:

(297) Mon pran Mari montre li menm dan mirwar
PRN take Mary show PRN self in Mirror
'I take Mary and show her to herself in the mirror.'

(298) Mon pran li menm montre Mari dan mirwar
PRN take PRN self show Mary in Mirror
'I take Mary and show her to herself in the mirror.'

It has to be noted that these sentences were only given to 3 participants. However, all 3 rejected the sentence in (298), whereas 2 accepted (297). Hence, it seems that the first of these sentences fares better in the judgments than the second one. This test was important in order to determine whether SVCs are hierarchically structured as will be suggested in (11.4).

10.6 Summary

In conclusion, 37 participants took part in the judgment task and were presented with 91 sentences. In total, 1630 judgments were given, of which 776 can be classified as SVCs. The age distribution of these accepted or produced SVCs shows that age group 2 accepts and produces the least SVCs in comparison to the other age groups. In 527 cases the proposed SVCs were neither accepted nor were alternative serials produced. 2 tested structures were marked as unclear concerning their status as SVCs. First, the sentences containing *poudir*, which have been proposed as exponents of Argument Introducing 'say'. However, the structural tests in the judgment data show that they should not be classified as SVCs in modern KS. Second, the sentences that were designed to test for the existence of Causative SVCs, on the one hand, indicate that a complement relationship between *fer*, 'make', and the following verb exists and, on the other hand, did not include *fer* in the 2nd of 3 positions. Hence, it is difficult to assess their status based on the sentences available. In addition to these 2 types of SVCs, Degree serials can also not be confirmed based on the judgment data. However, all other types were confirmed which shows that symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs are present.

Regarding the structure of SVCs it was evidenced that KS serials in the judgment data are contiguous as well as non-contiguous and are always multi-word SVCs. Furthermore, based on selected sentences, it was argued that serials that contain a TMA marker on V_1 are preferred and that concordant marking is also preferred to non-concordant marking. In the case of one Directional serial (*monte-desann*) it was

shown that concordant marking on V_2 affects the meaning of the serial, which is an interesting observation that will be discussed in the next chapter. Finally, if a subject pronoun appears before V_1, it is highly likely that the second verb in the structure will exhibit double concordant marking for TMA as well as subject. If the first verb is preceded by an R-expression, TMA marking only and no repeated subject pronoun on V_2 is preferred.

Finally, several other structural tests were included. The first dealt with the transitivity setting in KS serials. Based on the judgment data it is possible to claim that the combination of intransitive + transitive verbs is the only setting which is not possible in KS serials. Furthermore, switch subject SVCs can also be confirmed based on the judgment data. A second group of sentences focused on extraction patterns. In the presented cleft sentences containing a relative pronoun, a repeated Wh-relative or a personal pronoun referring to the subject was present before V_2. Wh-Argument extraction was not accepted in most cases, though Argument extraction was accepted by the participants which can be seen based on preposition stranding. In contrast to Wh-extraction, adjunct extraction out of the first VP of an SVC was more readily accepted by the participants. Finally, the sentences that were used to test for binding phenomena show that an anaphora can be present in SVCs. However, since concordant subject marking on V_2 is possible, the antecedent can either be in VP_2 or in VP_1 if no subject pronoun is repeated.

Part III

Discussion and Conclusion

11. Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa

One of the research questions that this study investigates is the question as to whether SVCs exist in KS, which has been discussed in a lively debate in the literature of the 1980s and 1990s. With reference to SVCs in KS, Bickerton (1990: 302) argued that "[i]f it walks like a duck, and swims like a duck, and quacks like a duck, and lays eggs like a duck ... it's a duck". Hence, if certain structures in KS seem to be SVCs, adhere to the defining properties and behave similarly to SVCs in other languages, they have to be classified as such. Based on the definition and generalizations of SVCs proposed in section (3.4), the first section of this chapter (11.1) examines and discusses the data from the written as well as spoken corpus in order to show that SVCs or 'quacking ducks' do indeed exist in KS. In addition, this section will have a look at the formal properties of SVCs found in KS from a typological perspective based on Aikhenvald (2006).

Another main focus of this thesis consists of the investigation of which types that have been proposed in the literature can be found in KS. This will be discussed in section (11.2), in which it will be shown that not all types exist and that some types also have other functions than prototypically suggested. Further, the third and fourth research questions deal with the question of the way in which SVCs in KS are distributed across the different data types and whether variation concerning age, education and origin exists. This is presented in section (11.3). Finally, the last key research question concerns the structure of SVCs in KS. This will be considered in chapter (11.4) from a generative perspective.

11.1 The 'Quacking Duck', revisited

In chapter (3.) SVCs were defined as structures that contain multiple independent verbs that appear in a single clause without a complement relationship and linking elements. From this definition, several interrelated generalizations follow: SVCs have the same configuration for TMA and negation, may share arguments, are conceptualized as one event and exhibit neither a pause nor a rise or fall in intonation contour. Depending on certain structural as well as semantic features, SVCs can be classified according to prototypes and located on a continuum. This definition as well as the ensuing properties are based on Haspelmath (2016) as well as Aikhenvald (2006). In the following, the definition and the generalization of SVCs will be exemplified and discussed in turn with the help of some of the sentences found across all data types within this study.

First, the focus will turn to the general definition given above. All of the structures presented and analyzed within the data chapter contained at least 2 independent verbs[1] without a complement relationship and linking elements. In total, 1069 struc-

[1]Of course, numerous additional structures with two or more verbs were present in the corpus. However, these were not analyzed in the data chapter since these did not conform to the definition of SVCs for one or multiple reasons. Hence, they are not counted here and only mentioned in

tures were produced or accepted that featured multiple independent verbs[2], and, of those, 1006 (94.1%) exhibited 2 and only 63 (5.9%) exhibited 3 verbs. On the one hand, this can be traced back to the methods chosen for this study. For instance, the elicitation videos often displayed actions consisting of only two sub-events. Hence, they were more likely to be described with only 2 verbs. Furthermore, as has been mentioned in section (10.4), sentences presented during the acceptability judgment task that consisted of 3 verbs sometimes also described a series of events that were not conceptualized as one overall event. However, despite these methodological considerations, it can be maintained, on the other hand, that 2 verb SVCs are clearly preferred over 3 or more verb structures in KS.

Three strategies in KS can be observed that border on SVCs. The first of these is overt coordination or subordination, second, covert coordination, also called asyndetic coordination and the third refers to verb complementation. The differentiation between the first of these and SVCs is in fact straightforward, as overt linking elements are present and, hence, these can be classified immediately as coordination structures. However, the second and third neighboring phenomena are not as readily identified based on the lexical items present in the sentence.

Since no overt coordinator is present in asyndetic coordinations, other identificational criteria have to be chosen in order to delimit these structures from SVCs. These are evidenced in some of the generalizations that follow from the definition of SVCs above. First and foremost, SVCs necessarily have the same TMA and NEG configuration on all verbs since they are contained within the same clause and describe one event. As Bickerton (1996) has shown, this is not necessarily the case for asyndetic coordinations (for instance in *He arrived, is looking around, and will have dinner*, own example). In KS, the constraint that in SVCs the same TMA configuration has to be present on both verbs is easily discernible since TMA markers are usually overtly repeated on V_2, i.e. they are concordantly marked[3]. Furthermore, during the judgment task of this study, sentences were included that exhibited different TMA settings. Some of the participants explicitly stated that the marker has to be the same ("You cannot mix *in* and *ti*"). Some accepted the different TMA setting, however, and in these cases they repeated the sentence with a comma intonation. Hence, a covert coordination was uttered instead of an SVC. In the sentences produced during the other tasks, only structures with the same TMA value surfaced that also fulfill all of the other criteria of SVCs. Hence, the same-TMA constraints for SVCs in KS can be confirmed.

Negation values were also tested during the judgment task since they were not present in the semi-spontaneous or in the elicitation data, as was expected. The second

delimitation to SVCs.

[2]An exception to this are structures containing *poudir* since this lexeme seems more likely to be a complementizer based on the results of the analysis, and, hence, they have been excluded from the list.

[3]Concordant marking will be discussed in detail in a subsequent paragraph of this chapter and, hence, it will not be elaborated on here.

VP was followed by a negative phrase *but s/he didn't do it* in order to test whether this part can be negated. However, since the participants mostly favored an overt TMA marker on V_2, the negation often followed either a past tense marker *ti* or the completed aspect marker *in*. Hence, the action was already in the past and completed, making a negation nonsensical. Therefore, for the present corpus, only those structures were considered SVCs that exhibited the same TMA as well as negation value on both or on all of the verbs.

A second distinguishing criterion between SVCs and coordinate constructions that follows from the definition of SVCs is the assumption that the actions represented by the two or more verbs in an SVC constitute one event. As Givón (1991a) has shown, the idea and reality of what constitutes a single event is problematic. However, two observations surfaced during the judgment as well as elicitation data within this study. First, one participant remarked during the judgment task that a certain sentence (number 67 in (A4)) has to be written with commas since it contains different actions rather than one event. The same can be stated based on the results of sentence 63 (*I pran laliny met dan delo tire*), also presented in chapter (10.4), in which the first and second verb *pran* and *met* were uttered without an overt coordinator or a comma intonation, whereas the third verb, *tire*, was explicitly coordinated, either by an overt coordinator or a clear intonation break. This can be explained due to the nature of the action and based on the fact that these three verbs do not constitute three closely connected actions of one overall event.

The second observation concerning the generalization that SVCs are thought of as one event stems from the elicitation data. Without any instigation on part of the interviewer, a participant produced the following utterance, given in full in the following excerpt from the transcript with the intonation contour below:

(299) Eh. Trwa keksoz. I'n pran baton, i'n zwe tanbour, apre i'n
Eh. Three things. PRN.ASP take stick, PRN.ASP play drums, after PRN.ASP
pran lanmen **met** lo tanbour pour son arete
take hand put on drum for sound stop

'Eh, there are three things. He has taken the drumstick, he has played the drums, he has taken the hand and put it on the drum for the sound to stop.'

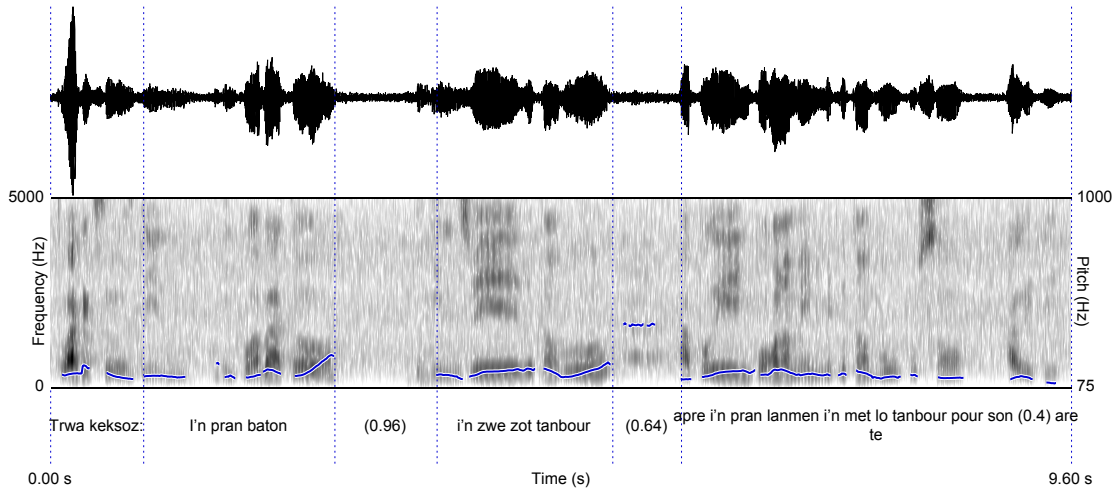


Figure 11.1: Intonation contour of (299)

As can be seen from the example, the person announces three observations and he coordinates three clauses, the last of which includes two verbs which constitute an Argument Introducing 'take' SVC. The verbs in question are printed in bold above. Since two verbs are combined together and taken together make up the 'third thing', it can be assumed that they are conceptualized as one event. Furthermore, it is evident that a pause in intonation contour of 0.96 and 0.64 seconds respectively occurs between the three clauses. Within the last clause, two verbs are present, both of which are uttered with a single intonation contour without a pause. Hence, it is evident that the third clause is monoclausal but contains 2 verbs, therefore constituting an SVC.

This ties in with the last distinction between covert coordination and SVCs mentioned in this section[4]. Generally, it is assumed that covert coordinations exhibit a slight pause and/or a comma intonation between the two or more clauses that are coordinated (as mentioned, for instance, by Baker (1989: 547) and Bickerton (1996: 158)) in contrast to SVCs which are uttered with one intonation contour. This is a generalization following from the definition that SVCs are monoclausal and, because of this, do not exhibit a pause. Due to this distinction, the multiple verb structures found in the written corpus were only included here if they were not orthographically represented with a comma. In addition, the participants were asked during the judgment task whether they would write the structure with a comma or without. If they answered this question positively, the sentences were counted as examples of asyndetic coordination. Finally, the semi-spontaneous as well as the elicitation data in this study were analyzed with the help of Praat in order to verify their status as either an SVC or a covert coordination. Relevant examples have been presented in the respective sections of part (II) and all Praat pictures can be found in the appendix (A6) and (A7). Some are repeated below for convenience and to provide a comparison between SVCs and coordinate structures.

[4]More will be discussed in section (11.4) below.

In the next figures, two SVCs with different semantic and syntactic features are presented, neither of which exhibits a pause or a rise or fall in intonation contour.

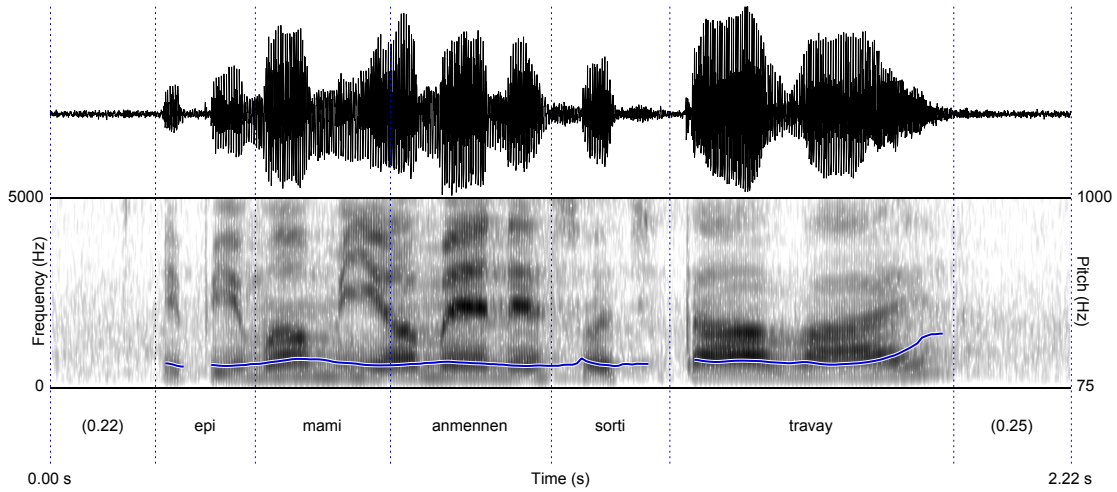


Figure 11.2: Intonation contour of SVCs in KS, 1

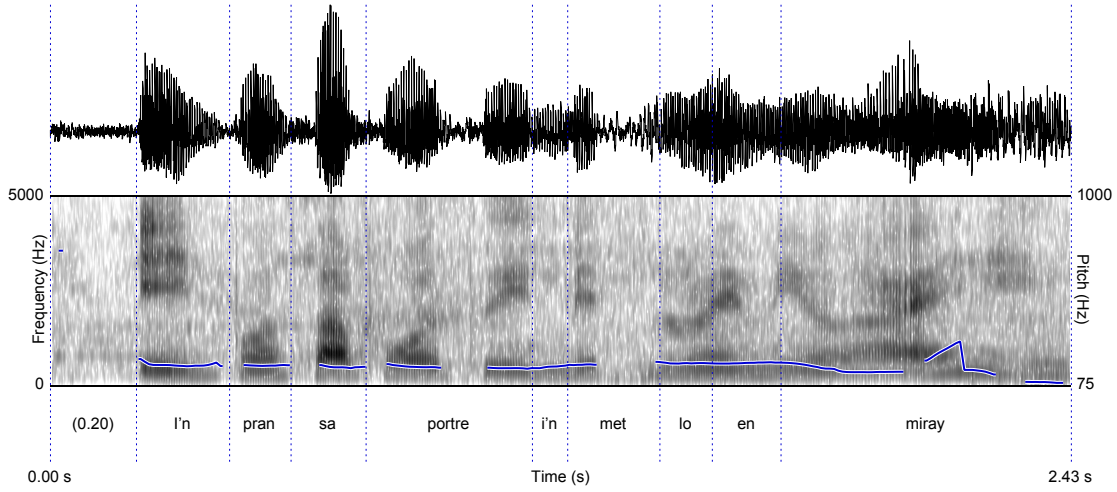


Figure 11.3: Intonation contour of SVCs in KS, 2

Both of these, the latter example in particular, can be contrasted with clear cases of asyndetic coordinations, such as in the following. This example contains the same verbs used as in the preceding one, i.e. *pran* and *met*. However, a rise in intonation contour after the first VP can be observed in addition to a pause of 0.29 seconds. Hence, this cannot be classified as an SVC. This example shows that two strategies are available for the same semantic content as well as for the same verbs in question: covert coordination on the one hand and SVCs that do not contain overt co- or subordinators on the other:

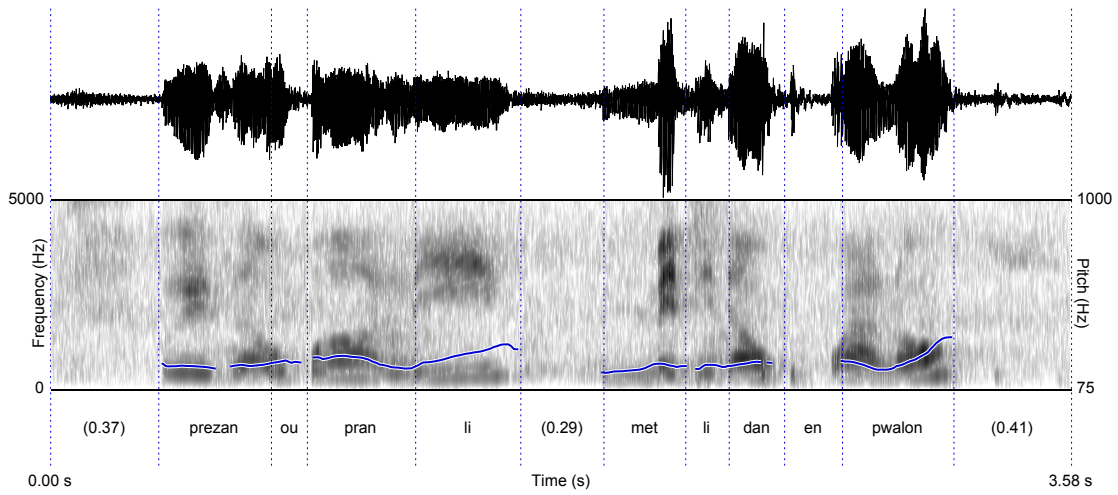


Figure 11.4: Intonation contour of asyndetic coordination in KS, 1

Finally, the last two pictures in (11.5) and (11.6) show that coordinate constructions as well as SVCs can appear together and, with the help of these two examples, the distinctions become considerably clearer as they are positioned directly next to each other.

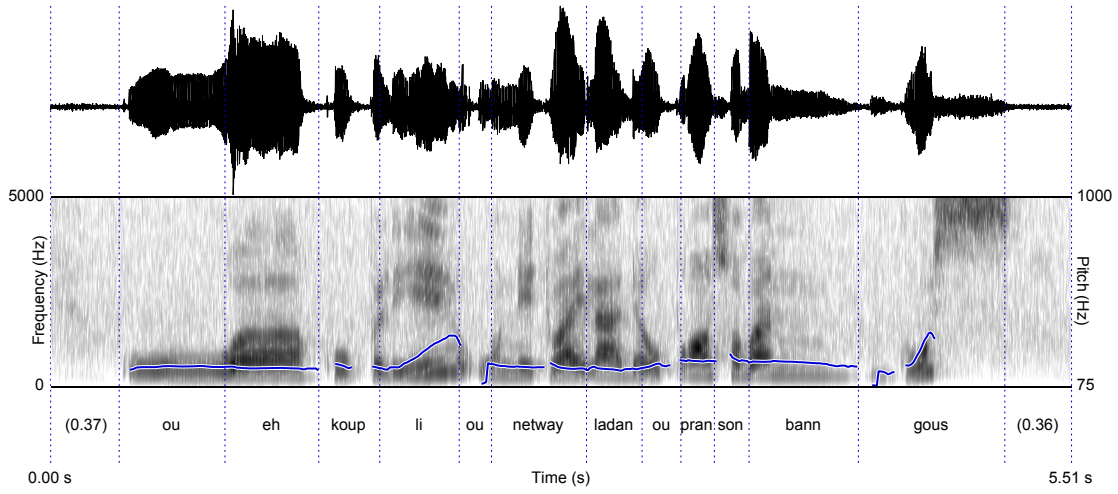


Figure 11.5: Comparison of Intonation Contour of SVCs and AC in KS, 1

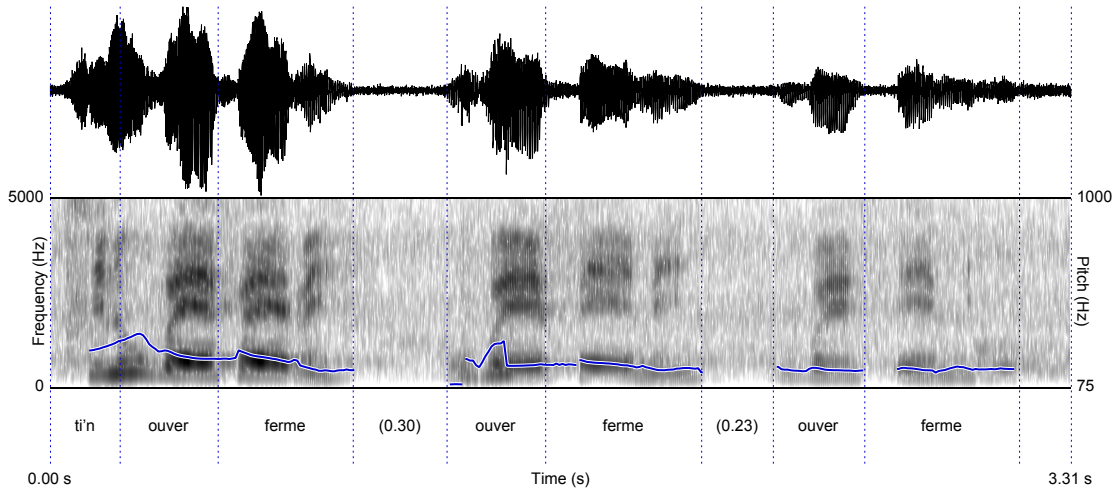


Figure 11.6: Comparison of Intonation Contour of SVCs and AC in KS, 2

The first of these contains two clauses, one being *ou eh koup li*, 'you cut it', the second being *ou* ***netway*** *ladan ou* ***pran*** *son bann gous*, 'you clean the inside and you take its husk'. The clause boundary between these is marked by a considerable rise in intonation contour, as can be seen from the line drawn by Praat. The same rise appears at the end of the second clause in *gous*. However, no such rise can be observed between the two verbs in question, marked in bold above. The second of these examples contains three clauses, all containing the two verbs *ouver-ferme*, 'open-close'. They are coordinated with each other and a pause can be observed between each clause but not between the respective verbs.

Hence, it can be stated that a distinction can be observed in KS between clear cases of asyndetic covert coordinations and clear cases of SVCs. Within this study, structures were also analyzed that were not as distinct and straightforward as the examples given above. The following two figures (one from semi-spontaneous data, one from elicitation data) can be adduced to exemplify this:

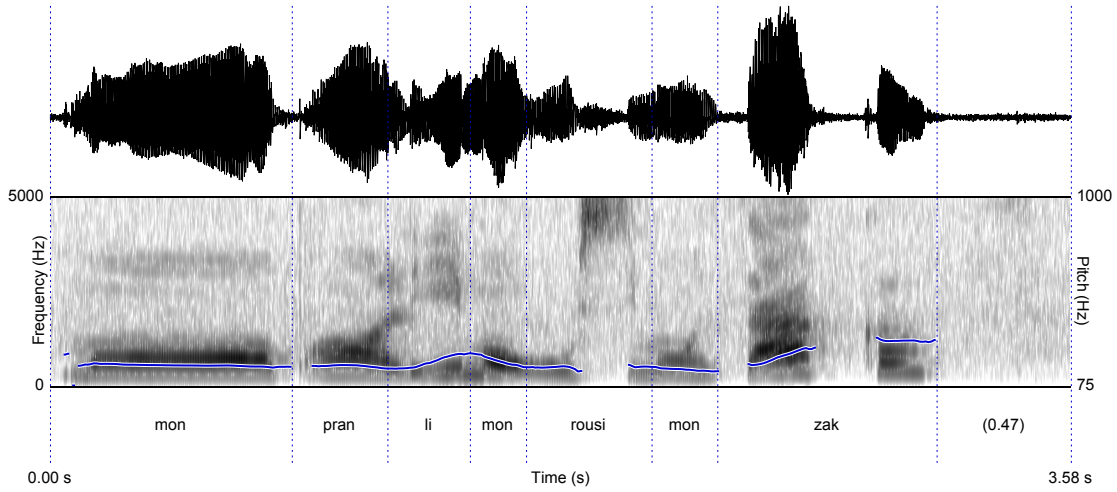


Figure 11.7: Ambiguous Cases of Intonation Contour in KS, 1

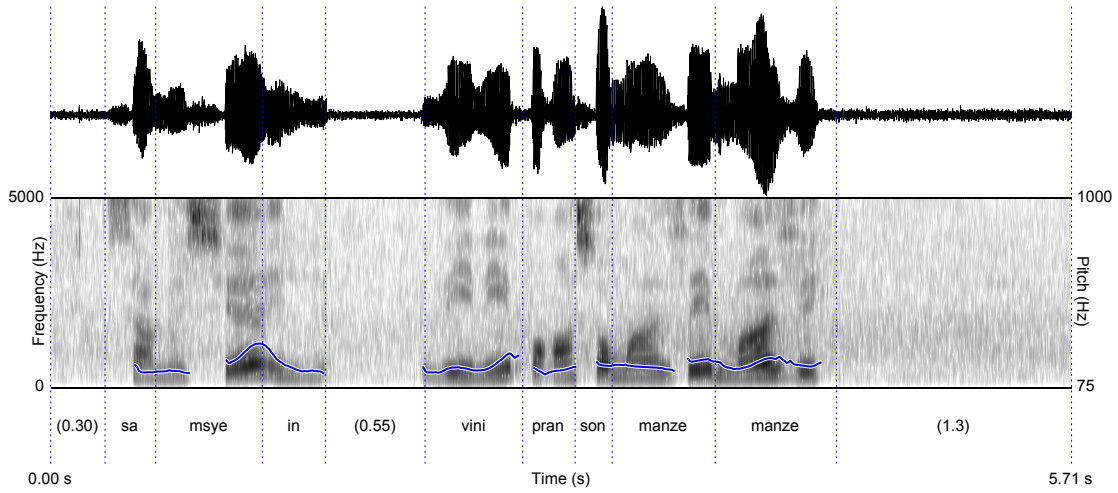


Figure 11.8: Ambiguous Cases of Intonation Contour in KS, 2

In the first figure, a slight rise in intonation contour is evident between VP_1 and VP_2, at the boundary between the object *li* of V_1 and the repeated subject pronoun *mon* before V_2. This example has been included here since it was uttered by the same person as in (11.4) above. If these two figures are compared, it becomes clear that the rise in intonation contour in the latter is not as prominent as in the former. Likewise, in the second figure a slight rise of intonation contour in this utterance produced by a different participant can be observed[5]. However, once again, this rise is not as prominent as in the other cases presented above.

In total, 34 utterances were marked as ambiguous cases in the elicitation and semi-spontaneous data taken together based on the pitch lines drawn by Praat. Some of these may be traced back to recording quality as well as background noises, as has already been mentioned in the respective cases in the data section, whereas others may be explained by the property settings and the automated drawing of the pitch line by Praat. However, some examples given above, such as the two in (11.7) and (11.8), remain unclear cases that can either be analyzed as SVCs or asyndetic coordinations depending on the strictness of definition. So far, no studies have been carried out on how high or low a rise or fall has to be for it to be a coordination structure in contrast to an SVC. Studies such as Givón (1991b,a) have been conducted that investigate pause probability after verbs in coordinate versus serial constructions. However, comma intonation and a rise or fall of contour has not received wide attention this far. If no rise or fall is allowed to be present at all, then some of the structures exhibited should be attributed to the phenomenon of covert coordination, which would result in a lower overall number of assumed SVCs in this study.

An alternative suggestion could be to treat SVCs and coordinate constructions as two neighboring phenomena that can be connected by a continuum. Whereas on

[5]The pause between the TMA marker and V_1 is not considered here since this it does not appear between a clause boundary and, hence, is not indicative of a coordination but rather has to be seen as a pause to search for words.

the two ends of this continuum clear and distinct cases of coordinations and serials can be found, the area between them can be defined as an intersection in which ambiguous cases can be placed. This idea is represented in the following figure:

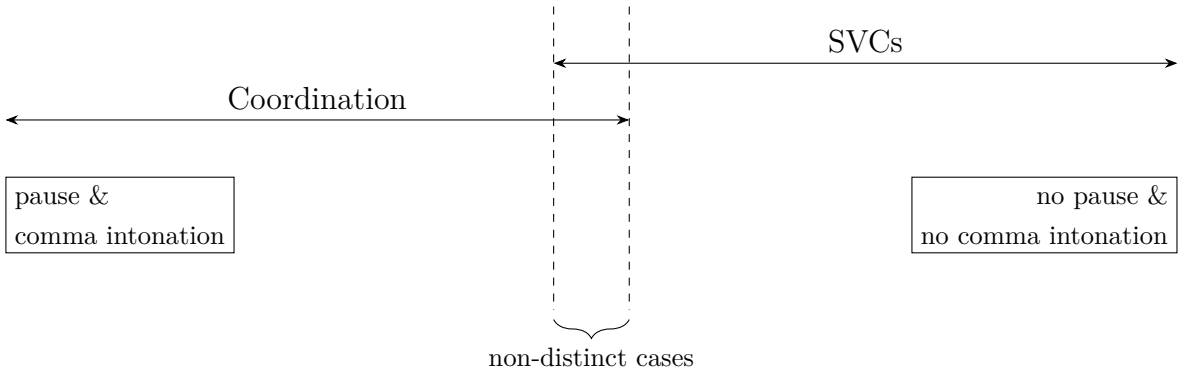


Figure 11.9: Continua of Coordination and SVCs

Apart from overt and covert coordinations, a third phenomenon in KS can be observed that borders on SVCs but has to be seen as distinct from them. Based on the definition of SVCs given above, it becomes clear that no complement relationship should exist between V_1 and V_2 in the sense that the first verb licenses the second. Hence, the TMA configuration has to be the same and within an SVC no finite + non-finite verb combination can appear. This is the reason why cases such as *fini* + verb have been excluded from the phenomenon of SVCs in the present study, a decision that will be discussed in the section on Aspectual SVCs below in (11.2).

Given that the verb is subject to such an alternation, complementation can be easily discerned in KS based on the long and short form alternation of the verb. While long forms are preferred in adjunction, it can be maintained, as presented in section (2.3.3), that only the short form is used before complements such as objects[6]. In SVCs the long form of the verb appears, as has been shown by the examples presented in the data section, unless, of course, the verbs are followed by an object. However, in that case the DP complement is the one rendering the verb short rather than the second verb or verb phrase.

Despite this clear distinguishing criterion, two structures have to be discussed concerning their analysis. On the one hand, this involves structures like *al* + V, such as *al aste*, 'go buy', or *al pran*, 'go take', and, on the other hand, structures like *vini* + V, such as *vini pran*, 'come take', or *vini donnen*, 'come give'. The first structure with *al* is very common in KS according to M.T. Choppy (p.c.) and numerous examples of this can also be found in the present corpus. As can be seen, the short form of the verb is used and, thus, a complement relationship is assumed. Therefore, they were

[6]With the exception of stress, which allows the long form to appear before a complement.

not considered to be SVCs in the present study. However, in the combination *vini* + verb, the long form is used. This combination appeared 16 times in the elicitation data, which amounts to 12.8% of all of the identified serials in the elicitation corpus.

These structures resemble the English construction *go get* or *come get*. It has been discussed whether these can also be analyzed as instances of SVCs, for instance by Pullum (1990). In contrast to many SVCs, especially in KS, either or both verbs in the English construction cannot be finite and inflected for tense and agreement. Hence, sentences such as **he went got the book*, **he comes gets the book* and **he went get the book* or **he comes get the book* are ungrammatical in English. Pullum (1990: 219) terms this the "inflection condition". As can be seen from the following bold printed aspect markers in the example (300) below, this is indeed possible in KS structures with *vini*:

(300) en dimoun **in** vini **in** pran sa bwat zalimet ...
D man ASP come ASP take D box match...
'A man has come and has taken the box of matches ...'

As mentioned, the combination *vini* + V appeared 16 times in the elicitation corpus. Only in 3 of these was the TMA marker not repeated on the second verb. Hence, the second verb was inflected for tense, mood or aspect in 81.3% of the occurrences. Finally, 75% of the cases exhibited neither a pause, nor a rise or fall in contour, while the remaining 25% exhibited no pause but a slight rise or fall and are amongst the ambiguous cases mentioned above. However, what can be maintained is that *vini* + V does indeed match the definition of SVCs mentioned above in KS and, hence, has to be classified as such. A similar structure can also be found in Bollée and (eds.) (1994: 219), also cited in Michaelis and Rosalie (2013b).

(301) Ler lapli i tonbe i vini i met tol lo la
Time rain PM fall PRN come PRN put metal plates on it
'When it rained, he came and put a metal plate on it'

In contrast to the *vini* examples, *al* usually appears in its short form and no example of a tensed verb immediately after *al* is present in the corpus. However, the following sentences were uttered by three different participants during the elicitation task:

(302) Sa msye in al kot en magazen fler in aste fler
D man ASP go into D shop flower ASP buy flower
'That man has gone into a flower shop and has bought flowers.'

(303) ...i fini tire i pran sa larzan i ale i donn en madanm
...PRN finish pull PRN take D money PRN go PRN give D woman
'..., he finishes pulling the money [from the ATM], takes it, goes and gives it to a woman.'

(304) i'n pran papye, i'n ale i'n al donn en fyi
PRN.ASP take paper, PRN.ASP go PRN.ASP go give D girl
'He has taken the paper, gone and has given it to the girl'

As can be seen, the verb after *ale* is inflected for tense (in the first and last example) and is preceded by a subject pronoun in nominative case (second and last example). Hence, the second verb has to be finite. Furthermore, in examples (303) and (304), the long form of the verb is used and therefore cannot be followed by a verbal complement. In example (302), the short form is used, however, this is most likely due to the subsequent prepositional phrase, which functions as a locative complement. Finally, the last example is interesting since *ale* appears twice, once in its long form and once in its short form which resembles the English *go get* construction. When these constructions containing *ale* in its long form are compared to the definition and generalizations of SVCs given above, they adhere to the defining criteria and, hence, should be classified as SVCs in contrast to the *al* + verb combination[7].

Based on the distribution of *vini* + verb and the examples of *ale* + verb, the question arises as to whether the prominent *al* + verb construction may have developed from an original SVC and, as such, may constitute an example of internal language change or external change due to the influence of the English structures. However, if this were the case, the number of the occurrences of *ale* + V in older written texts or written representations of speech should be higher than today and higher than the instances of *al* + verb contained within the same text. In all the texts examined within the course of this study, this could not be evidenced. Hence, it seems more likely that the two constructions *al* + verb and *ale* + verb should be treated as distinct from one another. The former is a similar structure to English such as *go get* in the imperative or *went V+ing* in an infinitival complement construction, while the latter is an SVC as in examples (302-303) above.

However, it becomes clear from the discussion above that SVCs and complementation are neighboring phenomena which may also be located on the continuum proposed above for coordinations and SVCs. This can also be shown with reference to other constructions such as *fer*, 'make', which will be discussed further below. As coordination and complementation may be seen as opposing phenomena, since in the former the elements mostly appear in two clauses whereas in the latter the elements are converged closer to each other, SVCs seem to occupy a position in the middle between those phenomena, as suggested with the following figure (11.10)[8].

[7]Though it has to be noted that Haspelmath (2016: 298, footnote) also attributes the status of an SVC to the *go get* constructions found in English.

[8]A similar approach from coordination to complementation is taken by Taylor (2000: 430f.), though this does not incorporate SVCs. Likewise, for SVCs, a similar scale has been proposed presented in Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 241) for their semantic readings from the "enumeration of two distinct events" to "one event, and the second on the occasion of the first one".

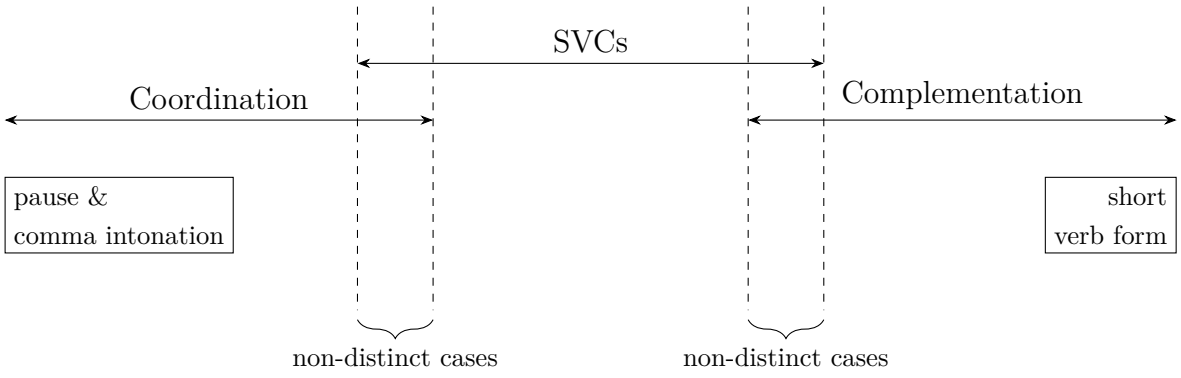


Figure 11.10: Continua of Coordination, SVCs and Complementation

So far it has been shown that the structures produced and accepted by the participants of this study as well as the structures written in the examined texts adhere to the defining properties of SVCs. This can, as a preliminary conclusion, once again be shown exemplarily by the following four sentences, one of each data type:

(305) ... mon ti war latet papa pe monte desann
... I TNS see head papa ASP ascend descend
'I could see my Dad's head going up and down.' (Choppy 2012: 40) (written)

(306) Ou pran bilenbi ou rape
PRN take Bilenbi PRN grind
'You take the bilenbi [sour fruit] and grind it.' (semi-spontaneous)

(307) Son tas i tonbe kraze
PRN cup PM fall break
'His cup fell and broke.' (elicitation)

(308) I'n anmenn liv i'n donn nou
PRN.ASP bring book PRN.ASP give us
'He has brought the book and given it to us/for us.' (judgment)

All of these examples contain multiple independent verbs which also appear on their own in other contexts. They are contained within one clause which can be determined since no overt subordinators or coordinators are present. In addition, they exhibit the same TMA as well as NEG setting and do not exhibit a pause or a rise or fall in intonation contour and, hence, are also not covert coordinations. This is verified by the Praat pictures for the semi-spontaneous as well as the elicitation data, their orthography without a comma for the written data and the comment by one participant that this SVC should be written without a comma and is understood as one event for the judgment data. The verbs in these examples appear in their long form[9] and, thus,

[9]With the exception of the last example, in which the short form appears due to the direct object complement *liv*, 'book.'

they are not in a complement relationship. Finally, they all share arguments, either the subject, or the object or both. However, argument sharing is not obligatory in KS as will be shown below. Nonetheless, it can be maintained that structures without argument sharing that exist in KS are SVCs since argument sharing is a prototypical though not necessary feature of SVCs according to, for instance, Aikhenvald (2006) and Veenstra (1996b).

Having determined that SVCs exist in KS, the following paragraphs will now describe the general formal aspects of SVCs in KS from a typological point of view, as proposed by Aikhenvald (2006). The structural analysis of these from a generative perspective will follow below. According to Aikhenvald (2006), four parameters can be seen in the typology of serials: symmetric vs. asymmetric, single-word vs. multi-word, contiguous vs non-contiguous and concordant vs. non-concordant SVCs. Symmetric as well as asymmetric can either be prototypical or non-prototypical depending on the verbs used in the respective type. Furthermore, cross-linguistically speaking, multi-word SVCs, contiguous SVCs, in which arguments are shared, and non-concordant SVCs make up the class of rather prototypical serials, whereas single-word SVCs, non-contiguous SVCs and concordant SVCs are examples of non-prototypical serials.

The wordhood of the components is dependent on the typological classification of KS. Only multi-word SVCs are present, since KS is not classified as a synthetic or polysynthetic language, but is to a significant extent an isolating or analytic language. Hence, regarding this parameter, KS only exhibits prototypical SVCs in comparison to other languages. The symmetry of SVCs depends on the question of whether verbs (either V_1 or V_{2+n}) are restricted to a certain semantic class. In KS we find symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs, for instance, Open SVCs (symmetric) as well as Argument Introducing SVCs (asymmetric) are present. As will be discussed below in the respective paragraphs of section (11.2), prototypical as well as non-prototypical symmetric and asymmetric SVCs can be found, which is a further characteristic presented by Aikhenvald (2006). In addition, her observation that asymmetric SVCs have a tendency to become lexicalized whereas symmetric SVCs become grammaticalized will also be discussed below.

Regarding contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs, it is evident from all of the data sources that, in general, both types are found in KS. For instance, the first sentence (309), taken from the written data, is an example of a contiguous SVC and the second sentence (310), taken from the elicitation data, is an example of a non-contiguous SVC.

(309) i vwar en bann dimoun pe manze bwar dan lotel ...
PRN see D PL person ASP eat drink in hotel ...
'He sees some people eating and drinking in a hotel ...' (Accouche 1976: 15)

(310) I'n aste en fler i'n donn ou
PRN.ASP buy D flower PRN.ASP give PRN
'He has bought a flower and has given it to you'

The two verbs that constitute the serial in (309) appear directly after each other in the surface structure and no element intervenes between them. However, in (310), a direct object *en fler*, 'a flower', follows V_1 and precedes V_2. Hence, it has to be classified as a non-contiguous SVC.

Often, the type of SVCs influences its contiguity. For instance, Argument Introducing SVCs can usually be classified as non-contiguous since - as the name suggests - they insert arguments into the serial and these often appear between the two verbs. In contrast, Directionals are oftentimes contiguous since they are generally made up of two intransitive or unaccusative verbs. The example in (309) shows a contiguous Open SVC. However, as has been shown in the data chapters, Open SVCs are often non-contiguous in KS.

The distribution of contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs in this study across the written, semi-spontaneous and elicitation corpus can be seen in the following table (11.1)[10].

Table 11.1: Contiguity of SVCs in KS

	Contiguous	Non-Contiguous	Total
Written	75 (65.8%)	39 (34.2%)	114
Semi-Spont.	15 (34.1%)	29 (65.9%)	44
Elicitation	47 (34.8%)	88 (65.2%)	135
Total	137 (46.8%)	156 (53.2%)	293

Overall, the percentage of contiguous as well as non-contiguous SVCs in the complete corpus of written or orally-produced SVCs is more or less equal. Furthermore, as is apparent from the percentages relative to the total number of SVCs in each data type, the contiguity setting in the semi-spontaneous as well as the elicitation data is almost the same. In both data sources non-contiguous SVCs appear in 65% of the cases. This is in contrast to the SVCs found in the written corpus, in which it is contiguous SVCs that appear in 65% of the total number of written SVCs. This can be traced back to the distribution of types found in the respective corpora. In the written sources Directional SVCs are the most prominent type, in contrast to the oral corpus, consisting of semi-spontaneous and elicitation data, in which Open SVCs were predominantly produced. Though it has been shown in the data chapters that not all of the Directionals in KS are necessarily contiguous and not all of the Open SVCs are non-contiguous, they undeniably have a tendency concerning their form. The semantic influence on the structure of SVCs concerning contiguity has

[10]Not every individual token in the judgment data was coded for Aikhenvald's (2006) parameters due to the multitude of items and answers as well as the design of the presented sentences, which at times purposely omitted concordant marking or (non-)contiguity. However, general findings for the parameters will be included in the following paragraphs.

also been noted by Aikhenvald (2006: 37). Finally, if the wordhood and contiguity parameter are combined, four options are possible, two of which are present in KS: non-contiguous + multi-word (classified as option 1 in Aikhenvald (2006: 39)) and contiguous + multi-word (option 2). In conclusion, KS serials may be prototypical as well as non-prototypical cross-linguistically speaking with reference to contiguity.

Concerning the last parameter proposed by Aikhenvald (2006), i.e. concordant marking, the following picture emerges in the corpus of the present study:

Table 11.2: (Non-)Concordant Marking of SVCs in KS

	Concordant	Non-Concordant	Total
Written	79 (69.3%)	35 (30.7%)	114
Semi-Spont.	42 (95.5%)	2 (4.5%)	44
Elicitation	115 (85.2%)	20 (14.8%)	135
Total	236 (80.5%)	57 (19.5%)	293

As is evident from the table, concordant marking is the clearly preferred option for SVCs in KS, since 80.5% of the found SVCs in these three data types are concordantly marked, whereas only 19.5% exhibit single marking on V_1. Furthermore, even though slight differences in the percentages of concordant marking can be observed in the respective data type, concordant marking is nonetheless the most dominant option in each of the corpora. This observation is further supported by the findings from the judgment task. As was presented above in (10.5), concordant marking played a major role in the acceptability of SVCs in KS. Often, the presented sentences were rated with a 7 on the scale if they did not contain at least a TMA marker before V_1 and V_2. However, the participants usually either judged the same sentence with marking on both verbs as 'perfect' or produced such a structure as an alternative themselves. Nonetheless, even though concordantly marked SVCs are preferred, single marking is possible. Hence, KS exhibits optional concordant marking with a preference for a repeated marker on all verbs.

Aikhenvald (2006: 44) presents some conjectures on grammatical marking of the verbs in SVCs. She claims that, "if a language with SVCs has concordant marking for at least one of tense, aspect, mood, or modality, it must also have concordant subject person marking" (Aikhenvald 2006: 44). This assertion is also true for SVCs in KS. In each of the respective chapters it was argued that concordant marking in KS can take different forms. Either all of the verbs in an SVC are marked for TMA as well as a repeated subject (double concordant marking), or only one of these categories is present (single concordant marking). Furthermore, since the present tense is not overtly marked and subjects can be empty in KS, concordant marking for both or for only one category can be overt or covert.

The findings concerning overt and covert concordant marking of TMA and subjects are summarized in the following tables. The first of these presents all instances in which both categories are marked on V_1 and V_2, while the second one displays single concordant marking of either TMA or subject on both verbs.

Table 11.3: Double Concordant TMA and Subject Marking of SVCs in KS

	TMAo/SUBo	TMAo/SUBc	TMAc/SUBo	TMAc/SUBc	Total
Written	12 (26.7%)	1 (2.2%)	30 (66.7%)	2 (4.4%)	45
Semi-Spont.	3 (11.1%)	–	14 (51.9%)	10 (37.0%)	27
Elicitation	57 (69.5%)	2 (2.4%)	7 (8.5%)	16 (19.5%)	82
Total	72 (17.5%)	3 (1.9%)	51 (33.1%)	28 (18.1%)	154

Table 11.4: Single Concordant TMA or Subject Marking of SVCs in KS

	TMA only		SUB only		Total
	overt	covert	overt	covert	
Written	29 (85.2%)	4 (11.8%)	1 (3.0%)	–	34
Semi-Spont.	2 (13.3%)	12 (80%)	1 (6.7%)	–	15
Elicitation	24 (72.7%)	2 (6.0%)	–	7 (21.2%)	33
Total	55 (67.1%)	18 (22.0%)	2 (2.4%)	7 (8.5%)	82

In total, 154 SVCs are present in the corpus, in which verbs appear that are marked for both TMA as well as subjects. This amounts to 65.3% of all concordantly marked SVCs and 64.4% of all SVCs in this corpus. In contrast, only 82 SVCs (34.7% relative to the total of concordantly-marked SVCs and 34.3% relative to all SVCs) are only either marked for TMA or for subject on both verbs. As is evident from the second table above, if only one of the grammatical categories is marked, it is a covert or an overt TMA marker in 89.1% of the cases. Hence, subject only marking is not the preferred option for single concordant marking in SVCs. However, if double concordant marking is present, as displayed in table (11.3), subjects are very likely to be overtly repeated on V_2.

Furthermore, if the percentages of double concordant marking are considered across types, a difference can be observed between the written and semi-spontaneous data in contrast to the elicitation data. Whereas in the former two SVCs are predominantly concordantly-marked with a covert TMA marker and an overt repetition of the subject before V_2 (in 66.7% and 51.9% of the cases), in the elicitation data the combination of two overt markers before both verbs is preferred (69.5%).

It could be argued that this is due to the methodological procedure and decision to code all instances of the utterance /ɪn/ as the combination of the subject pronoun *i* plus the aspectual marker *in*, i.e. *i'n*. However, the high number of overt subjects before V_2 in the written as well as semi-spontaneous data either with or without an overt TMA marker taken together (the first and third column in table (11.3) above) justifies the decision to include the subject pronoun in the analysis of the elicitation data before V_2. This is also corroborated by the findings of the judgment task, in which it was determined that overt subject repetition[11] is favored in SVCs.

Therefore, the difference between the written and semi-spontaneous in contrast to the elicitation data concerning the first and third column in (11.3) boils down to the presence of an overt TMA marker which can be explained by the temporal setting of the tasks. In the elicitation data the participants first watched a video and afterwards described a finished action that they had seen. Hence, the completive aspect marker *in* or the past tense marker *ti* was often used in these sentences. In contrast, in the semi-spontaneous task the participants were asked to talk about general aspects that describe regular events (such as Christmas or cooking) or that are set in the present. At times, this also applies to the written corpus, though, as can be seen from table (11.4) above, overt TMA markers do appear relatively often in the written corpus before both verbs, though in these cases this is not accompanied by a repetition of the subject on V_2. Hence, the difference in the distribution of TMA overt/subject overt and TMA covert/subject overt concordant marking is based on the nature of the task rather than the methodological decision and procedure to include overt subject pronouns before V_2 in the analysis.

Finally, this is also confirmed by the results of the analysis regarding the distribution of overt pronouns on V_2 across the data types, which are listed below in tables (11.5) and (11.6). For this comparison, the following two steps in the analysis were undertaken: first, all of the concordantly-marked sentences in the written and semi-spontaneous data were selected and 10 instances of covert subject concordant marking (e.g. because the SVC appeared in imperative or infinitival form) as well as 1 instance of a repeated R-expression before V_2 were excluded. Second, two selected sentences from the judgment data were included that specifically aimed at the phenomenon in question[12]. In total, 133 SVCs that contained an R-expression or a pronoun before V_1 were identified. Of course, the number of sentences without a subject repetition on V_2 is higher in the total corpus when non-concordant SVCs are also considered. However, since the aim is to see whether it is justified to assume a repeated subject pronoun before V_2 that also exhibits TMA marking in the elicitation data, only concordantly marked sentences are considered. This is also the reason why elicitation data are not

[11] This claim refers to SVCs that feature a subject pronoun before V_1. Those that have an R-expression are exempt from this assumption, as will be shown below.

[12] These were already presented in chapter (10.5). The first one chosen for this overview is *Mon'n taye mon'n ale*, while the second one is *Astrid pe taye i pe ale*.

taken into consideration here.

Table 11.5: Subject Pronoun Marking on V_2 after Pronouns

	PRN repeated	PRN not repeated	Total
Written	38 (71.7%)	15 (28.3%)	53
Semi-Spont.	19 (67.9%)	9 (32.1%)	28
Judgment	15 (100%)	–	15
Total	72 (75.0%)	24 (25.0%)	96

Table 11.6: Subject Pronoun Marking on V_2 after R-expressions

	PRN repeated	PRN not repeated	Total
Written	1 (4.0%)	24 (96%)	25
Semi-Spont.	–	4 (100%)	4
Judgment	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10
Total	5 (12.8%)	34 (87.2%)	39

As is evident, the second verb of an SVC is very likely to be preceded by a repeated subject pronoun if V_1 also is preceded by one. Nonetheless, since in 25.0% the pronoun was not repeated, it cannot be claimed that pronoun repetition is obligatory, as was suggested for MC by Veenstra and Muysken (ms). In contrast, subject pronouns are usually not repeated after R-Expressions before V_1. The higher number of accepted repetitions in the judgment data may be explained with the help of a remark made by one of the participants. She indicated that the sentence *Astrid pe taye i pe ale* is acceptable if Astrid is running and a different person is going. In that case, it is debatable whether this is an instance of a switch subject SVC or an asyndetic coordination. This can also be corroborated that 33.3% proposed an asyndetic construction as an alternative to the sentence. Hence, the actual percentage of repeated PRNs after R-expressions may be even lower than 12.8% and this potentially hints at the requirement that pronoun cannot be repeated after R-expressions. Furthermore, in only one instance, an element other than a pronoun was repeated before V_2. In this sentence from the written corpus, the word *bokou*, 'much' was present before both verbs. As such, it is questionable whether *bokou* has to be taken as an R-expression. Hence, it can be stated that R-expressions are not repeated before V_2. Hence, in general, the data concerning SVCs in KS confirm Seuren's (1994) Tacit Subject Condition which states that either empty subjects or pronominal copies of the main subject are permitted but, apart from this, V_2 does not have a subject NP on its own.

Since SVCs in KS are predominantly concordant, they are non-prototypical compared to SVCs in other languages with respect to this parameter. This may be one of

the reasons, as already indicated in Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018), why it has been assumed that KS does not exhibit SVCs (for instance by Seuren (1990) and Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996)). A second reason is based on the choice of the definition of SVCs. If a very narrow definition is chosen, which does not allow any material to intervene between V_1 and V_2, such as subject pronouns, the number of SVCs in KS is considerably lower than assumed in this study. This is due to the fact that SVCs in KS are not only concordantly-marked but may be doubly concordantly-marked for TMA as well as subject pronouns.

Hence, if the continua of Aikhenvald (2006) that were presented in figure (3.1) are applied to serials in KS, the following picture emerges:

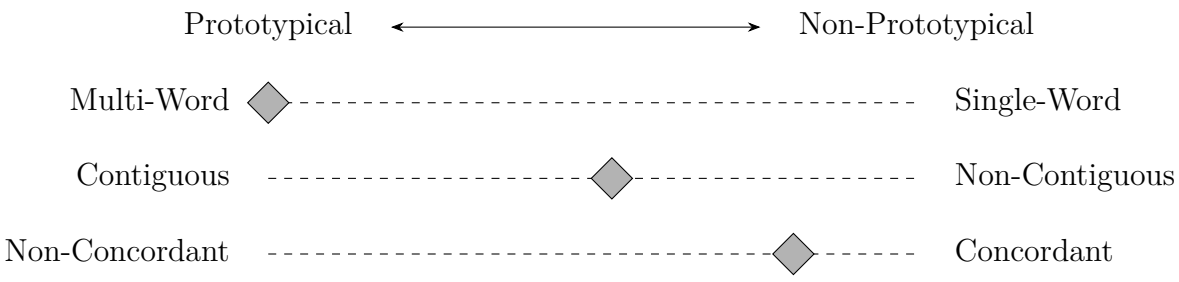


Figure 11.11: Formal Features of Symmetric and Asymmetric SVCs in KS

As stated above, all KS serials are multi-word and, as such, are prototypical SVCs, as indicated by the first continuum. Regarding the second continuum, contiguity, approximately half of the SVCs in this corpus are contiguous, while the other half is not. Hence, KS serials can be located in the middle of this figure. Finally, with reference to the last continuum, KS SVCs have to be classified as predominantly non-prototypical, as 80.5% of the SVCs produced in the written, semi-spontaneous and elicitation corpus are concordantly marked. This finding is confirmed by the judgment data which fared considerably better in acceptability if at least the TMA marker, or a subject pronoun plus a TMA marker, was repeated before V_2.

As an intermediate summary to the first research question, it can be concluded that SVCs, a.k.a. Bickerton's (1990) 'Quacking Duck', do exist in KS based on the definition that was given in this study (following Haspelmath (2016) and Aikhenvald (2006)). It has been shown that the structures that were identified as SVCs are distinct from coordinations (both overt and covert) based on their intonation, as well as complementation phenomena based on the long/short verb form alternation in KS. Nevertheless, it has also been shown that these phenomena border on SVCs and that a continuum approach to these syntactic structures , for instance proposed by Aikhenvald (2006), can capture their nature and borderline cases best.

Furthermore, regarding Aikhenvald's (2006) structural parameters, the results

show that SVCs in KS are multi-word and can be asymmetric or symmetric. In addition, contiguous as well as non-contiguous SVCs are present, and contiguity mostly depends on the semantic types of SVCs. Finally, optional concordant marking can be assumed for KS, with a preference for concordantly-marked SVCs. The second verb in KS can be preceded not only by a repeated TMA marker but also by a repeated subject pronoun. However, this is mostly dependent on the nature of the subject before V_1, i.e. if an R-expression is present, the pronoun will not be repeated on V_2 (potentially, this is obligatory), though if a pronoun is present, it is very likely that the pronoun will be repeated, though this is not obligatory.

Despite the finding of this study that SVCs are existent in KS, it has to be noted that many of the SVCs present in the data in KS are not prototypical from a cross-linguistic point of view, as has been shown above. This may be one of the reasons for their negation for KS in earlier publications such as in Seuren (1990) and Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996). Furthermore, SVCs in KS are restricted to certain types, discussed in section (11.2), and certain distributions (11.3).

11.2 Types of SVCs in KS

The second main aim of this in-depth study of KS serials was to determine which of the suggested semantic types (for instance in Muysken and Veenstra (2006)) can be found. As was shown above in chapter (3.2), 4 main types of SVCs can be discerned, which can further be distinguished into 9 subtypes (Veenstra and Muysken ms) as listed in the following:

1. Type (asymmetric)
    a) Directional
    b) Argument Introducing 'give'
    c) Argument Introducing 'say'
    d) Aspectual
    e) Degree
2. Type (asymmetric)
    a) Causative
    b) Argument Introducing 'take'
3. Type (symmetric)
    a) Resultatives
4. Type (symmetric)
    a) Open-Ended

For KS and other IOCs, different suggestions have been made concerning the semantic typology of SVCs, for instance by Bickerton (1989, 1990), Adone (2012), Syea (2013a) and Michaelis and Rosalie (2013a). All of these agree that Degree serials do not exist in KS, whereas Directionals and Argument Introducing 'take' are assumed

to be present. However, concerning the existence of the other subtypes mentioned above, a consensus does not exist.

Based on the written or orally-produced SVCs, the following types and tokens of SVCs were found in this study:

Table 11.7: Types and Tokens of SVCs in Produced Speech

	Dir.	Give	Say	Asp.	Caus.	Take	Res.	Open	Total
Written	52	1	27	1	1	2	7	23	114
Semi-Spont.	4	–	–	2	–	6	3	29	44
Elicitation	20	16	–	–	1	36	12	50	135
Total	76	17	27	3	2	44	22	102	293

If percentages are calculated relative to each total, the following picture emerges:

Table 11.8: Types and Tokens of SVCs in Produced Speech, in percentages

	Dir.	Give	Say	Asp.	Caus.	Take	Res.	Open
Written	45.6	0.9	23.7	0.9	0.9	1.8	6.1	20.2
Semi-Spont.	9.0	–	–	4.5	–	13.6	6.8	65.9
Elicitation	14.8	11.9	–	–	0.7	26.7	9.0	37.0
Total	26.0	5.8	9.2	1.0	0.7	15.0	7.5	34.8

As is evident, Open as well as Directional SVCs are the most common types. Hence, Type 1 and Type 4 SVCs are present in KS, which also means that KS exhibits symmetric as well as asymmetric SVCs. Furthermore, Take SVCs are very prominent, especially so in the elicitation data. This is due to the fact that many videos were shown in which somebody takes something and does something with that object, even if Argument Introducing 'take' was not the targeted type of SVC in the video. The sentences provided during the judgment task corroborate the picture presented in the other types of data. Degree serials were not accepted by most participants[13], whereas Directional, Give, Take and Resultative Serials were mostly accepted. Open SVCs in the judgment task were used to test for multiple verb SVCs which seems to be restricted in KS to some extent. Nevertheless, Open SVCs were also accepted and produced during this task. Borderline cases of classification in all of the data sources are Say Serials, Aspectuals and Causatives, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

[13]However, there are some notable exceptions, which will be discussed and explained below in the respective section.

From the table above it becomes apparent that, with the exception of Open SVCs, the occurrence of certain types is dependent on the method as well as the specific formulation of the task. For instance, less Directionals appear in semi-spontaneous data. This may be traced back to the topics suggested to the participants since, for instance, cooking does not usually include a significant degree of motion such as running away or going up and down the stairs. Instead, Take or Open serials are more likely to be produced, such as *pran dizef met*, 'take eggs put' or *manze-bwar*, 'eat and drink'. In addition, it is evident that some types, such as Give SVCs, require certain elicitation techniques to be expressed, such as with the help of the videos. As will be discussed in further detail below, far more SVCs shown to the participants were judged to be correct than were produced spontaneously, thereby showing that it is not a productive phenomenon. Hence, it is clear that some types are less productive than others in KS and that, in comparison to judgment data, SVCs in general, independent of type, are less likely to be produced actively.

At times, the typological classification chosen for some SVCs in this study is somewhat debatable as several possibilities are available. For instance, the following two SVCs have been classified in this study as Open and Directional SVCs respectively.

(311) XY ekrir mwan lalmagne dir mwan si mon kapa (.) eh anvoy reset
XY write me Germany say me if I can (.) eh send recipe
'XY wrote to me from Germany asking me whether I can send her the recipe.'

(312) Nou sorti dan zot lakaz nou ale
PRN exit from PRN house PRN go
'We exit their house and go.' (Abel 1982: 12)

In (311), two verbs of speaking and writing are contained within the same clause, which could potentially also be classified as an Argument Introducing 'say' serial. However, it has been classified as an Open SVC since this structure seems to behave differently to other Say Serials found in the study, potentially due to the subsequent conditional clause. Nonetheless, it could also be classified as a non-prototypical asymmetric Say Serial rather than a symmetric Open serial. Example (312) features two verbs indicating movement and, as such, it has been classified as a Directional. However, this structure could potentially also be analyzed as an Open SVC, since it describes two events, the exiting and the going, rather than describing the movement away (i.e. the meaning is 'exit-go' rather than 'exit-away'). This can be contrasted with *I'n taye i'n ale*, in which the focus is on the direction of the movement and not on the movement itself ('He ran away'). Once again, it can either be classified as a non-prototypical asymmetric Directional or a symmetric Open serial. In addition, there are SVCs present in KS that may take on some of the functions of other SVCs. For instance, Directionals may have aspectual nature in that they describe the duration of an event (Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018), cf. also next paragraphs). Hence, the prototypicality approach taken by Aikhenvald (2006) is able to capture these cases in

KS, which would otherwise be difficult to classify.

Directional SVCs, the first subtype of Type 1 serials, are classified as asymmetric SVCs that contain two verbs of motion and in which the last verb describes the direction of the movement of the first verb. This type of SVCs can be ascertained as existing in KS, as is evident from the following three examples:

(313) Letan retournen sorti dan lanmes, nou get televizyon
When return exit from mass, ..., PRN watch TV
'When we come back from Christmas Mass, we watch TV.'

(314) Astrid in taye in vini
Astrid ASP run ASP come
'Astrid has run here/has come here fast.'

(315) i kouri i ale
PRN run PRN go
'He runs away.' (Abel 1982: 62)

The first example stems from the semi-spontaneous data and it was uttered with one intonation contour and contains the long form of the verbs. Hence, it is neither a coordination structure nor a verbal complementation. The second example was a tested sentence in the judgment data which was translated by the participants as 'She ran here' or 'She came here fast'. Those who did not accept the sentence corrected it to a 1-verb structure containing a gerund: *Astrid in vin an tayan*, 'Astrid came here by running'. Finally, the last example is taken from the written corpus and was written without commas, indicating that it is a monoclausal structure.

Apart from these prototypical cases of Directionals, two other readings of structures that contain two verbs of movement are also available in KS. On the one hand, figurative readings are possible. For instance, the following sentence is present in the written corpus:

(316) Alor Manmzel Serpantine in arive vin Madanm Serpanten
So Miss Serpantine ASP arrive come Mrs Serpanten
'So Miss Serpantine became Mrs Serpanten.' (Accouche 1976: 97)

As is evident from the translation provided by Bollée in Accouche (1976), the sentence expresses that an unmarried woman got married. A literal translation of the same sentence could be 'arrived at'. This figurative expression still retains aspects similar to the prototypical content of Directionals since the description is of an (albeit figurative) motion towards something i.e. the new surname. Hence, the original meaning is extended to other domains aside from locations. This can also be argued for the next Directional SVC in (317), which also exhibits a figurative meaning.

(317) Msye ti monte desann
Man TNS ascend descend
'The man went back and forth.'

In this example, the Directional that describes movement up and down also receives an aspectual reading since it describes a repetitive action with a frantic notion, expressed in the English translation of 'back and forth'. Likewise, the following SVC was present in the written corpus:

(318) Semenn i ale vini
Week PM go come
'The week passed by quickly.'

Here, it is not a repetitive action that is described but rather the brevity of the duration of a week. Nevertheless, once again, the duration, i.e. the aspect of an action is emphasized. This is slightly different to the final reading of Directionals which can be contrasted in particluar to sentence (317), since similar lexical items are present:

(319) Msye ti monte ti desann
Man ASP ascend in descend
'The man went up and down.'

As has been described in section (10.5), all of the participants who were asked concerning a difference in meaning between (317) and (319) indicated that a repetitive action is described in the former, while in the latter and a punctual action that happens once and that consists of two sub-events describing two motions is expressed[14]. Furthermore, this SVC also appeared in the elicitation data with an object *peron*, 'stairs', in the latter reading. Two alternative reasons can be given for this. On the one hand, it may be assumed that concordant marking as well as contiguity influence the meaning of SVCs in KS. On the other hand, it may also be argued that *ti monte ti desann* is not an instance of a Directional SVC in contrast to *ti monte desann* but instead should be classified as an Open SVCs since it does not focus on the direction of the movement but the action of movement as such. A similar line of argumentation has been presented above for *sorti-ale* in (312).

This difference in meaning between (317) and (319) may also signify that a lexicalization or grammaticalization process is taking place, or has already taken place, for *monte desann* in KS. This can also be shown with the help of the following sentence taken from National Assembly (2017: 62), which indicates that *monte-desann* has a slightly different status to the other verbs in the sentence:

(320) ... in ale in retournen in monte desann in fini pas kekfwa 3
... ASP go ASP return ASP ascend descend ASP finish pass sometimes 3
mwan oubyen 6 mwan ...
month or 6 month ...
'...s/he has walked, returned back and forth, has waited sometimes 3 or 6

[14]Syea (2013a: 28) also describes a difference in meaning among Directionals in MC. However, he argues that only one of these is an SVC and the other one has to be considered as a coordination structure. That is, if a sequence of events is described, a coordination is present since two intonation contours can be observed. However, this cannot be ascertained for the examples above since no break in intonation contour was present between *Msye ti monte to desann.* Nonetheless, a difference in meaning to *Msye ti monte desann* can be observed.

months . . . ’

This example, which has been classified as a Directional SVC due to the occurrence of many verbs of motion[15], is concordantly marked for aspect on all of the verbs except for *desann*[16]. Hence, it is evident that *monte* and *desann* are considered to be one unit which is marked only once. Finally, two instances were present in the present corpus, in which the sequence *monte desann* was nominalized as a unit, one in the sentence *Dan tou sa monte desann, . . .*, ‘With all this back and forth, . . . ’ (Melanie 2012: 20) and one in *Sa msye pe fer son legsersiz an montan desann dan peron*, ‘That man is doing his exercise by going up and down the stairs’. These aspects all hint at a developmental process which is taking place in reference to *monte-desann*.

Aikhenvald (2006: 31) argues that asymmetric SVCs are often grammaticalized whereas symmetric SVCs are lexicalized. Directionals are asymmetric and, thus, *monte-desann* may be subject to a grammaticalization process. It is evident, that *monte-desann* may be translated with the prepositions ‘back-forth’, hence confirming the statement that “motion verbs within SVCs may develop into directional adpositions” (Aikhenvald 2006: 32). However, the case of *monte-desann* is not as straightforward. First, it is questionable whether a major and minor verb can be identified in this construction and, according to Aikhenvald (2006: 22), the minor verb undergoes grammaticalization, as for instance has been shown for Say serials by Lord (1993). However, in this SVC in KS, both verbs seem to undergo a change in meaning. Hence, a lexicalization process may be assumed, for instance a development into a compound. This can be explained if the underlying SVC for the compound *monte-desann* is not classified as a Directional but instead as an Open SVC, which has been mentioned above. If *monte-desann* is an Open SVC, it follows the cross-linguistic trend shown in Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) that symmetric SVCs may lexicalize over time.

To conclude the discussion concerning Directional SVCs in KS, it is apparent that, on the one hand, prototypical Directionals are found that indicate a motion towards or from a location. However, on the other hand, also non-prototypical SVCs exist due to the figurative interpretation of some SVCs. Furthermore, directional SVCs in KS can also be used to stress aspectual meaning in that they describe either a repetitive action with a frantic notion or the speed of an event. Finally, the case of *monte-desann* is particularly interesting since a distinction of meaning can be observed depending on the syntactic structure and since it exhibits properties of grammaticalization as well as lexicalization.

It has been argued that the second subtype of Type 1 SVCs, asymmetric Argument Introducing ‘give’, is non-existent in KS, for instance by Michaelis and Rosalie

[15] However, this may have also been classified as an Open or Aspectual SVC either based on the fact that a series of sub events are recounted or based on the last finite verb in the structure which is *fini*, ‘finish’.

[16] *Pas* likewise is not marked but this is due to its status as a non-finite verbal complement of the verb *fini*.

(2013a). Indeed, this construction does not appear in the semi-spontaneous data of this study and appeared only once in the written corpus. However, when the elicitation data are taken into consideration, structures with 'give' as the second or last verb are produced. As has been shown above in (9.1), these structures adhere to the defining criteria assumed for SVCs in this study and the PRAAT pictures show that no break in intonation contour can be observed. Furthermore, the judgment task showed that indeed these structures are accepted once concordant marking has been applied to V_2. In addition, some participants were asked during the judgment task whether they would include a comma in writing, which would indicate that this is a coordinate structure. Those who accepted the sentence as it was and uttered it in one intonation contour, also added that these sentences should not be written with a comma.

In the elicitation videos only Give serials with a RECIPIENT or GOAL θ-role could be displayed and, as such, no BENEFICIARY θ-role was tested. However, in the written corpus as well as in the judgment corpus, two sentences are present that may be analyzed as containing arguments with BENEFICIARY θ-roles:

(321) Manman ti aste koko ti donn zanfan
Mother PST buy coconut PST give child
'The mother bought the coconut for her child.'

(322) ... par egzanp bann manze vitman ki nou kwi nou donn nou zanfan ...
... for example PL food fast that PRN cook PRN give PRN children ...
'... for example, fast food that we cook for our children ...' (National Assembly 2017: 45)

According to one of the participants, a figurative/BENEFICIARY reading is also possible in the sentence *I'n anmennen liv in donn nou*, 'He brought the book to us/He brought the book for us', which was produced during the elicitation task. Hence, based on the data of the present study, it can be maintained that Argument Introducing 'give' SVCs do exist in KS, an observation confirmed by Franchette (p.c.) who is both a linguist and a native speaker of KS. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that is does not seem to be a very productive SVC in KS since it is, with one exception (example (322) above), only present in the elicitation as well as the judgment data.

Similarly, the occurrence of Argument Introducing 'say' SVCs in KS was a matter of debate between Bickerton (1989), who claimed that structures containing *poudir* have evolved out of a Say serial, and Gilman (1993) as well as Kriegel (2004), who claim that these structures did not evolve out of an SVCs but rather out of a combination of an overt complementizer plus a subsequent verb.

As can be seen from table (11.7), only structures that were found in the written corpus adhere to the definition of SVCs presented in this study. Almost all of these were contained within the same source, namely Accouche (1976). In the following example, only two of these are mentioned but they are exemplary for all of the sentences:

(323) Soungoula i mazinen i dir: “...”
Soungoula PM think PM say: “...”
‘Soungoula thinks and says OR Soungoula thinks that: "...".’ (Accouche 1976: 25)

(324) Kameleon i reponn li i dir: “...”
Chameleon PM reply PRN PM say: “...”
‘The chameleon replies to him and says: "...".’ (Accouche 1976: 51)

In these sentences, two verbs appear that are connected neither by a coordinator nor a subordinator. The sentences are not written with a comma, which can be contrasted to the very similar sentence *i reponn li, i dir avek li* (Accouche 1976: 67). Hence, no covert coordination is present. Furthermore, in (323) the first verb appears in its long form, as is usual for SVCs in KS, and thus no complement relationship exists. The second verb, *dir* in both cases, introduces the content of what is being said or thought as direct speech, which is possible for Say serials. Finally, in both cases, the subject argument is shared, and both verbs exhibit the same configuration for TMA and NEG. Hence, these structures can be classified as Say serials.

However, no such structures with *dir* or any other verb of saying in V_2 position were uttered in the recordings from 2014 and 2015. During the judgment task, the *poudir* sentences which were tested were usually accepted. However, no other TMA marker was permitted to appear before poudir, hinting at the fact that *poudir* can not be classified as a verb. Furthermore, the combination of *pou dir*, ‘will say’, as the first verb followed by *poudir* as the second element, which should be a licit structure in KS serials, was not accepted by many participants and evoked confusion amongst some of the participants. For instance, one participant initially rejected one sentence due to the repetitive phonemic sequence of *pou dir*. However, her interview partner then explained that *pou* + *dir* and *poudir* are to be understood differently and can occur together. Nevertheless, both agreed that the sentence is significantly better if *Mon pou dir ou i ti fer ronm* instead of *Mon pou dir ou poudir i ti fer ronm* is used. Therefore, it seems that *poudir* is no longer classified as a verb but rather as a complementizer ‘that’ and, as such, is not an instance of an SVC.

Whether or not *poudir* has evolved out of an SVC cannot be determined based on the data of this study, though some observations and conjectures can be made. The unclear etymology of *poudir* can also be seen in modern KS. For example, in Melanie (2012), the complementizer is sometimes orthographically represented as *pou**r**dir* and sometimes as *poudir*. The participants in this study also gave three possibilities concerning the orthographic representation. Some indicated that it should be written *poudir*, some preferred *pourdir* and 10 participants corrected the written sentences in the judgment task to *pou dir*, including a space, which may be reason to suspect that the word originally derived from an SVC that contained a repeated mood marker *pou* on the second verb of saying.

In addition, the occurrence of Say serials in Accouche (1976) may hint at a diachronic development similar to what Lord (1973, 1993) has suggested for Kwa languages. Of course, this may also be an idiosyncratic structure used by this author. A further interesting observation from the recent data emerges that may hint at a former status of these constructions as SVCs: *poudir* only occurs after verbs and cannot be preceded by, for example, an adjective (M.T. Choppy, p.c.). Hence, a sentence such as the following is ungrammatical in KS:

(325) * I enportan poudir...
PM important that...
'It is important that...'

This type of selectional restriction is not usual for complementizers, as, for instance, 'I enportan ki ...' is a licit structure in KS. Hence, this restriction for *poudir* may be remnants of its origin as an SVC.

A different possibility may also be that the SVCs found in former written data are not diachronically related to *poudir* today which may indeed have evolved out of of complementizer. If this is the case, the following scenario could be convceivable: both structures were present in KS at one point and, due to the influence of English and French, which do not exhibit SVCs, the *poudir* structure was preferred and the SVC, the function of which was to introduce the content of what had been said, thought or known, was abandoned. However, this scenario is highly speculative in nature and cannot be determined based on these data.

The next subtype of Type 1 serials, Aspectual SVCs, are likewise very sparsely represented in the current corpus. Only 3 instances in which the second verb was *fini* were present, one in the written data, and 2 in the semi-spontaneous data. Furthermore, structures with V_1+*fini* were rejected by all of the participants during the acceptability judgments. Hence, it it is apparent that the presence of prototypical Aspectuals is marginal in KS. Those that were present, however, can be shown to follow the definition of SVCs proposed here. In addition, it can be shown that both verbs are finite since an overt TMA marker precedes both verbs in 2 of the 3 instances. The low productivity of this type of SVC may be due to the competing structures with *fini* which were not identified as SVCs in this study, since they are most likely instances of verbal complementation, which has been excluded for SVCs.

Nevertheless, some SVCs that express aspectual notions do exist in KS and, as such, could potentially be classified as extremely non-prototypical Aspectuals. For example, some Directionals express a repetitive or a fleeting aspect. Furthermore, as has been argued in Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018), Open SVCs with a posture verb in V_1 position also express aspectual concepts, as for instance in the following example found in the elicitation corpus:

(326) I'n i'n asize pran son tas dite e bwar son dite
PRN.ASP PRN.ASP sit take PRN cup tea and drink PRN tea
'While sitting, he has taken his cup of tea and he is drinking it.'

Finally, the last subtype of Type 1 SVCs, Degree Serials, were not present in the corpus of written, semi-spontaneous or elicited speech. Hence, the present study confirms the previous findings concerning KS serials that no such SVCs exist in KS. However, two observations have to be made concerning two sentences used in the judgment data to check for this condition. One of these, *Zan ti taye (ti) depas Mari* was included to check whether the comparative 'faster' can be expressed with the help of an SVC. Surprisingly, this sentence was accepted by approximately 70% of the participants. However, this may be explained based on the semantic field of the two verbs. Since they are both verbs of motion, this can potentially also be classified as either a non-prototypical Directional or as an Open SVC describing two sub-events, along the lines of 'John ran and overtook Mari'. A similar analysis for these structures has been proposed by Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 247).

Furthermore, the sentence *Zan grandi depas Mari*, which was used to test for the comparative 'bigger/taller', was rejected in the majority of cases (85.2%). Those who accepted the sentence remarked that they understood the sentence as 'John outraced Mari in growing', which also exhibits a slight semantic connotation of a verb of motion. Hence, for some of the speakers this may also be a very marginally accepted Directional or Open SVC. Nonetheless, it can be ascertained that Degree serials are missing from KS grammar.

Type 2 serials consist of Causative as well as Argument Introducing 'take' SVCs. Whereas the existence of the former is debatable in KS grammar, the latter is well attested in this study. In terms of Causatives, a total of only 2 sentences were found in the corpus of produced speech that featured the word *fer*, 'make', one in the written data and one in the elicitation data. Even though these sentences were included in the statistics as an SVC in the respective data chapters, their status as such is questionable. This is due to the fact that Causatives, as defined by Veenstra and Muysken (ms), include *make* as one of the verbs present that connect two other actions. Hence, it should be the second verb in a 3 (or more) verb SVC.

A sentence is present in the written data in which 3 verbs were used, the middle of which is *fer*. However, a potential subordinator with *sak fwa*, 'every time', is present before the first verb and may subordinate the first verb to the following two. Thus, this verb cannot be assumed to be part of the multi-verb structure even though the sentence is written without a comma. In the sentence that appears in the elicitation data, *fer* is the first of three verbs. Hence, both sentences do not fulfill the definition as proposed by Veenstra and Muysken (ms). It has to be noted that others, such as Durie (1997: 333f.), allow a causative SVC with 2 verbs, the first of which is *make*. However, in these cases the status of the following verb as a finite verb is crucial in order to exclude a complement relationship between V_1 and V_2, akin to English sentences, *He*

made her go, as the definition requires.

Therefore, sentences with *fer* were also included in the judgment task in which the second verb was marked for TMA. As has been shown above, serials in KS allow concordant marking on V_2. However, in the tested sentences it became apparent that the second verb after *fer* cannot be marked for tense, mood or aspect. Hence, the sentence **Lalkol ti fer msye ti bat son fanm* is ungrammatical in KS. Therefore, it seems as if *fer* requires a non-finite verbal complement in these contexts[17] in KS, which disqualifies this structure from SVCs based on the definition employed in this study.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the unclear status as well as the sparse distribution of Causatives may be due to the methodology employed within this study. For instance, Muysken and Veenstra (2006) also name a second Causative construction with the verb *give* instead of *make*. In this construction, "the action of the first verb creates a situation in which the action of the verb following dá [give] can occur" (Muysken and Veenstra 2006: 249). This construction was not elicited or tested within this study. Furthermore, Adone (2012: 160) has shown using child data that *fer* can appear in second position and can exhibit a TMA marker before *fer*[18]. Hence, based on this study and the present data corpus, it cannot be ascertained for certain whether these structures are present or missing from KS grammar. In any case, these structures can be seen as borderline cases between SVCs and complementation (cf. figure (11.10) above).

In contrast to Causative SVCs, the presence of Argument Introducing 'take' has been confirmed without doubt in KS based on the results of this study which herewith substantiates the results in other publications, such as Bickerton (1989), Adone (2012) and Michaelis and Rosalie (2013a). In total, 44 Take SVCs were present in the corpus of produced speech (i.e. in written, semi-spontaneus and elicitation data), though it has to be noted that 81% of these were uttered during the elicitation task as a result of the nature of the task (cf. above). In the semi-spontaneous task, only THEME Take serials were present, in contrast to INSTRUMENTAL Take SVCs, which did not feature at all. However, in the elicitation data, both appear. This is also corroborated by the judgment data in which an INSTRUMENTAL Take SVC was presented for assessment.

In addition to structures that featured the verb *pran*, 'take', other structures with different verbs were also found that were classified as Argument Introducing since they originate from a highly similar semantic class and behave in the same way syntactically. These were the following: *atrape*, 'grasp, seize', *anmase*, 'gather, pick up', and *tir*, 'pull, drag'. They may be described as less prototypical instances of Argument Introducing 'take'. Below, it will be argued that further types of Argument Introducing SVCs exist in KS that may even be further away from the prototype defined in the literature and

[17] In other contexts, *fer* can also license a DP complement, for instance in *fer romn*, 'make rum'.

[18] This is apparent in a sentence produced by a child (age: 4;2): *Marmai pe travay pe fer lakaz prop.*, 'The children are cleaning the house' (Adone 2012: 160).

present in other languages.

Type 3 and Type 4 serials each consist of only one subtype, Resultative and Open-Ended SVCs respectively. Both are classified as symmetric by Aikhenvald (2006), even though slight syntactic restrictions may be present. Nonetheless, no semantic restrictions are placed on the verbs and , as such, these can be described as two major verbs in Aikhenvald's (2006) terminology. In Resultatives, the verb(s) describing the result of the action is found in second or final position whereas the order of the verbs in Open-Ended SVCs is usually determined by the iconic sequence, i.e. it reflects the temporal ordering of the actions (Aikhenvald 2006: 35).

Resultative SVCs appeared 22 times in the written, semi-spontaneous and elicitation data in the present study. The verbs denoting the result usually appeared in V_2 position and were taken from different semantic fields. The verbs that appeared in the second position were the following: *tonbe*, 'fall', *kase/kraze*, 'break', *zet*, 'throw', *asize*, 'sit' and *mor*, 'die'. The last of these can also potentially be classified as an adjective in KS, however, within the written data it was used in a Resultative SVC with a preceding TMA marker. Hence, it can be classified as a verb in these structures. This is corroborated by the judgment data in which *mor* also appears with a TMA marker as the second element and, thus, can be classified as a verb.

In two instances in the written corpus it was in fact the first verb that described the result of the action, as for example in the following sentence:

(327) I ti mor riye
PRN TNS die laugh
'He died of laughter/laughing.'

It seems that, at least in these instances, an ordering of effect-cause is possible rather than a cause-effect as in all of the other examples, which is unusual. This may be explained if *riye* is not a finite verb but an infinitival complement of V_1, as in the English sentence *he died laughing*. Once again, a structure surfaces here that is at the boundary of SVCs and complementation and ambiguous concerning its classification.

Within this type of serial, switch subject SVCs can also be observed in KS, though they are rare in the present corpus. This is exemplified by the following sentence, taken from the semi-spontaneous data:

(328) Bato i tap li tonbe
Boat PM hit him fall
'The boat knocked him over.'

In this sentence, the boat hits him and he is the one falling, not the boat. Hence, a switch in subject between the first and the second verb can be observed. Furthermore, a transitive verb, *tape*, is combined with an intransitive verb, *tonbe*, in this sentence. Similar sentences were elicited with the videos shown to participants. Bickerton (1989: 166) claims that tensing in switch subject SVCs is not possible in KS. However, in the

present study, there are instances in which both verbs are marked for aspect, as shown in the example below:

(329) I'n pous li i(')n tonbe ater
PRN.ASP push him PRN(.ASP) fall ground
'He pushed him to the ground.'

The question that surfaces in these kinds of examples is once again whether an overt subject pronoun is present, as indicated by the brackets around the apostrophe. However, it can be ascertained that a TMA marker appears on V_2, thus contradicting Bickerton's (1989) claim. As is evident, a transitive verb can be followed by an intransitive verb in KS serials including a subject switch. This is an interesting observation in light of the discussion concerning Resultatives brought forward by, amongst others, Durie (1997) and Veenstra (2004), as it is assumed that the argument structure of V_1 and V_2 in Resultatives has to be the same, i.e. transitive + transitive or intransitive + intransitive is licit while transitive + intransitive, for example, is not. In KS this option indeed seems to be available. For other languages, a similar setting in transitivity has also been demonstrated by, for example, Campbell (1996) and Déchaine (1993).

Apart from the examples in which a switch in subjects occurred and transitive verbs are combined with intransitive verbs, the combination of transitive plus intransitive without a switch subject can also be observed. For instance, the following sentence exhibits ambiguity as indicated by some participants during the judgment task:

(330) I'n bat lisyen i'n mor
PRN.ASP beat dog PRN.ASP die
'He beat the dog dead OR He beat the dog and died.'

However, it has to be noted that the first reading was the preferred option by most participants. The second reading was explained for instance as: 'The man beats the dog, the dog bites back and, therefore, the man dies'.

Furthermore, the combination of transitive verbs and of intransitive verbs can be observed. For instance, in the elicitation corpus, the sentences *I'n pous li i'n zet li ater*, 'He pushes him and throws him to the ground' (trans. + trans.) and *Son tas i tonbe kraze*, 'His cup falls and breaks.' (intrans. + intrans.) were found. However, the transitivity setting for some sentences, produced during the elicitation task in some instances, cannot be clearly determined since the verb used, for instance *kase, kraze*, 'break', can be transitive as well as intransitive. The judgment data confirm the results of the other data types concerning the transitivity setting in KS, which can be summarized as in the following list.

(331) Transitivity Settings in SVCs in KS

a. transitive transitive

b. transitive intransitive

c. intransitive intransitive

d. * intransitive transitive

The only illicit structure seems to be the one concerning the combination of intransitive as V_1 and transitive as V_2. The last combination was tested with the help of the following sentence in the acceptability judgment task:

(332) I'n tonbe i'n touye
PRN.ASP fell PRN.ASP kill
'He fell and killed [himself].'

This structure was rejected by all of the 24 participants and corrected to *I'n tonbe i'n mor*, 'He fell and died', in which 2 intransitive verbs appear. However, this may be due to the missing object/anaphoric pronoun of V_2, which is not present in the structure and was therefore rejected.

Finally, the last type, Open-Ended SVCs, are confirmed in KS and they come in various guises and configurations, as was expected since no selectional restrictions are posed on verbs in Open SVCs. Hence, the verbs that appear in this type are of diverse semantic fields. For instance, as discussed above, *vini*, 'come', plus another verb has been classified as an Open SVC since it displays two sub-events. Other combinations that have been found are, for instance, *bwar-manze* or *manze-bwar*, 'drink-eat/eat-drink' and *pase-anvoy*, 'pass-throw'. All of these verbs are ordered according to the temporal order of events or in the case of *manze* and *bwar* according to the focus and emphasis that is put on the action, as argued in Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018).

A further Open-Ended SVC that was relatively prominent in the elicitation data was the combination of *ouver-ferme*, 'open-close'. This structure was uttered in response to a man opening and closing a door. Similar to *monte desann*, 'ascend-descend/back and forth', this SVC also contains aspectual notions since it expresses the fact that something is repetitive in nature and stresses the duration of an event. Other Open SVCs that contain an aspectual notion are posture verbs in the first position, such as *asize*, 'sit', as has been argued in Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018) and above. Hence, these also may also be classified as highly non-prototypical Aspectual SVCs instead of Open-Ended SVCs.

In the elicitation as well as in the semi-spontaneous data, some SVCs have been classified as Open-Ended though they could potentially have also been included in the category of Argument Introducing SVCs, albeit in this case they would be extremely non-prototypical instances. Likewise, in the written corpus one instance surfaced to which the same applies. In these sentences, verbs appeared that are usually not assumed to appear in Argument Introducing SVCs. Nonetheless, based on their syntactic structure, they introduce a direct object into the SVC. Some examples are: *met, plis, kas, bat, redi, fri*, 'put, peel, break, beat, retract, fry' which are all followed by a direct object and a second verb, for instance in the following:

(333) I pe kas dizef met dan bol
PRN ASP break$_{V1}$ egg$_{Od}$ put$_{V2}$ in bowl
'He is cracking the egg into a bowl.'

Finally, even though no selectional restrictions are posed on the verbs that appear in an Open-Ended SVC, in theory, it can be shown with the help of the judgment data that the actions that the verbs describe have to be conceptualized as one event, as they would otherwise be coordinated either overtly or covertly. This, as has been argued in (10.4), is the main reason why the proposed sentences containing 3 verb SVCs were generally deemed to be unacceptable. Criticism has been brought forward to include the criterion of conceptualization in a definition of SVCs since it is difficult to capture, define and prove (Haspelmath 2016: 306). This study shows that, despite this criticism, it is a necessary precondition for verbs to be able to appear in an SVC. Nonetheless, the circularity of the definition, criticized by Givón (1991b: 86), has to be acknowledged here, since verbs that are conceptualized as one event appear in an SVC and, because they appear in an SVC, they are conceptualized as one event. However, this also highlights the interrelation of the definition and the generalizations that can be deduced from this definition.

To summarize this section in reference to the second research question, it is clear that Directional, Give, Take, Resultative and Open SVCs are attested in KS grammar. Aspectual SVCs are marginally present and some of the other types of SVCs also contain aspectual notions. Say serials are attested for in one written source. Furthermore, sentences containing *poudir* cannot (or can no longer) be analyzed as Say SVCs. Hence, it seems that this type is not or is no longer present in today's KS grammar. The occurrence of Causative SVCs can neither be proven nor disproven based on the data of this study, though it seems likely that they do not feature in KS. Finally, no Degree SVCs are present in KS.

It has been proposed by Aikhenvald (2006: 48) that a hierarchy within asymmetric SVCs (i.e. Type 1 and 2 SVCs) exists that captures which SVCs are most likely to appear in one language. This hierarchy, presented in chapter (3.2), is repeated here for convenience:

(334) Directional –> Aspectual –> Argument Introducing and Causative –> Degree

Based on this study, the hierarchy of asymmetric SVCs in KS seems to be the following:

(335) Directional –> Argument Introducing –> Aspectual –> ?Causative –> ~~Degree~~

Hence, Aikhenvald's (2006) scale can only partially be confirmed. Directionals are present and are - within asymmetric SVCs - the most prominent type, followed by Argument Introducing SVCs (in KS only 'take' and 'give' can be ascertained). Aspectuals in their prototypical form are very rarely realized and hence do not come second in the hierarchy. Causatives cannot be confirmed for KS based on the data of this

study. It may be that they are present in KS but all those investigated or produced within this study should most likely be analyzed as verbs licensing a non-finite verbal complement. Finally, Degree SVCs are unequivocally excluded in KS grammar and, as such, have been displayed with crossed out. Since they are found at the righthand side of the hierarchy in Aikhenvald (2006), the tendency that they are unlikely to appear in languages can be confirmed for KS.

The continuum approach to SVCs, suggested inter alia by Aikhenvald (2006), seems to be highly promising for KS serials since they sometimes appear to escape a clear categorization. On the one hand, prototypical SVCs are present that can also be confirmed for other languages. On the other hand, non-prototypical SVCs that take over functions of other types have also been attested for and hence can be classified as either[19]. In analogy to the conclusion drawn in the previous chapter (11.1), it can be conjectured that the non-prototypicality of certain types of SVCs in KS may have resulted in the assumption that no such structures exist in KS, for instance in Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996).

In addition from a suggested continuum for SVCs, it has been shown that a continuum between SVCs and neighboring phenomena can also capture different types of SVCs presented in this section. A similar observation has been made by (Diller 2006: 175) for Thai SVCs since he identifies "several 'grey' transition areas between verb serialization as defined here and other multiverb phenomena". Based on the discussion concerning the lexicalization and/or grammaticalization of *monte-desann*, the figure in (11.10), which illustrates these transition areas has to be recast as the following:

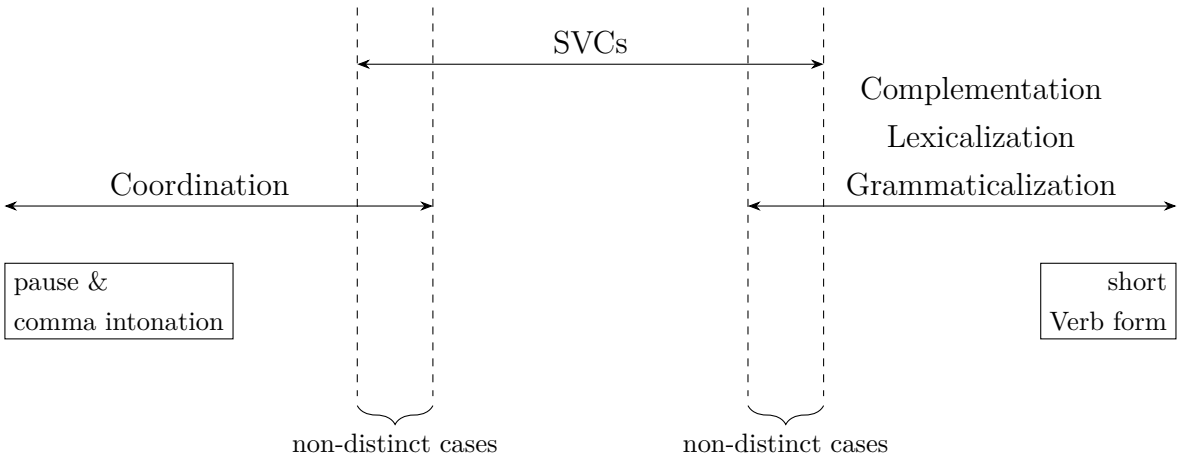


Figure 11.12: Continua of Coordination, SVCs, Complementation and Lexicalization/Grammaticalization

[19]For an ethnosyntactic approach to these non-prototypical SVCs and an explanation thereof, cf. Adone, Brück, and Gabel (2018).

11.3 The Distribution and Variation of SVCs in KS

The third and fourth questions posed by this study concern research into the distribution and variation of SVCs in KS. On the one hand, the distribution of SVCs across the different data types chosen for this investigation was examined and on the other hand, it was analyzed whether there is variation concerning social classifications such as age, education or origin.

First, the focus will turn to the distribution of SVCs. A discussion of the distribution of the various types across the data sources has already been undertaken in (11.2) and, hence, will not be iterated here. If all of the SVCs are considered across the different data sources independent of type, the following picture emerges:

Table 11.9: All SVCs across Data

	2 Verbs	3 or more Verbs	Total
Written Data	109 (95.6%)	5 (4.4%)	114
Semi-Spontaneous Data	42 (95.5%)	2 (4.5%)	44
Elicitation Data	118 (87.4%)	17 (12.6%)	135
Judgment Data	737 (95.0%)	39 (5.0%)	776
Total	1006 (94.1%)	63 (5.9%)	1069

As is evident, a total of 1069 structures were defined and analyzed as SVCs in the present study. Included in this number are also the 2 instances of Causatives in the written and semi-spontaneous data, the status of which still is undetermined as discussed above. However, since this amounts only to 2 instances, they were included in the table as their omission would not change the overall numbers by much. Furthermore, the table shows that most SVCs (94.1%) of this study contained 2 verbs, in contrast to those with 3 or more verbs (5.9%). On the one hand, this can be explained due to methodological considerations since the presented 3 verb serials in the acceptability judgment task were often not conceptualized as one event. Nonetheless, it can be maintained that 2 verb SVCs are clearly preferred, as indicated by the low percentages of 3 verb SVCs in the other types of data.

A second observation based on the occurrence of SVCs is a contrast between the three data types: written, semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation data are all instances of produced speech, whereas judgment data may, for instance, be classified as perceived speech. Even though the participants produced many SVCs during the judgment task, the setting differed to all of the other tasks since they were confronted with a specific sentence to which they had to react. If the first three data types are taken together, only 293 instances of SVCs were produced. This amounts to 27.4% of all the SVCs present in the study. In contrast to this, 776 instances (72.6%) of SVCs emerged in the judgment data, which is a considerable difference. Hence, it can be claimed that, even

though SVCs are part of KS adult grammar, they are not a particularly productive phenomenon in speech. A similar observation has been made by Adone (2012) who has shown that children use SVCs productively, thereby going beyond the input that they receive. However, when adults were confronted with the SVCs produced by children, these were accepted. This can be corroborated by the findings of this study since the production and acceptance of SVCs diverge in the different tasks.

In addition, if the two types of recorded speech, semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation data, from the two research trips in 2014 and 2015 are compared, the picture concerning productivity becomes even more pronounced. In the semi-spontaneous data, 44 instances (4.1% relative to the total number) of SVCs were produced in contrast to the elicitation data in which 135 (12.5%) SVCs were present. If the mean SVCs per person who participated in each task is compared, an even more substantial difference can be observed. In the semi-spontaneous data, 1.3 SVCs were uttered per person, in the elicitation data 5.2 in the mean. Hence, in almost natural speech SVCs are produced considerably less in comparison to in elicited contexts.

A clear picture concerning the distribution also emerges within the written data, displayed in the table (7.1) in chapter (7.). Most SVCs found in the written data are present in the two publications from the 1970s and 1980s. Interestingly, no SVCs are found in the oldest source used in this study, the letters sent to Schuchardt (Stein 2007). However, this may be due to a non-KS speaker whose mother tongue, English, does not exhibit SVCs, noting down the instances of oral language. In all other more recent publications, SVCs are used only sparsely. Only Directional SVCs appear in all publications, though in varying frequency. As was shown above, apart from Open SVCs, Directionals in general seem to be used relatively often and seem to be more productive than other SVCs. This can also be corroborated by the author's personal observation of natural speech during the two research trips to the Seychelles[20].

One further exception to the different distribution in older versus more recent texts can be observed. In the most recent written text, a verbatim transcription of a national assembly meeting from 2017, more SVCs can be seen than in other recent written texts. This can be explained based on the nature of the text. As this is a written recording of spoken data, it differs from the other texts. Since only the written form was present for this study and no intonation contour analysis could be undertaken, it was classified as a written source. However, the comparison to other recent texts suggests that it should have been classified as an oral data source. Hence, it seems that in earlier written texts, SVCs were more pronounced than in recent texts. Furthermore, written representations of conceptually oral narratives also contain more SVCs than conceptually written texts (to use the terminology proposed by Michaelis (1994)).

These results highlight the necessity to choose various types of methods and confirm the importance of a triangulation. For instance, if the phenomenon of SVCs

[20] *Monte-desann* was the first SVC encountered by the author in natural speech, hence, the title of this thesis.

had only been investigated based on semi-spontaneous data, a very different picture would have emerged that would have resulted in the conjecture that serials are a very marginal phenomenon in produced speech as well as in the grammar. However, since also elicitation methods such as the video task and the judgment task were included, it can be shown that, even though they are not productive, serials are indeed a grammatical phenomenon in KS. Furthermore, based on only one type of data, a clear picture concerning the structure of KS SVCs could not have been presented.

The other research question discussed in this chapter dealt with the question of variation. Different categories, such as age, gender, education and geographical variation can be examined concerning the use of SVCs. For this discussion, the written data are excluded since no information or not all the information regarding these categories about the respective authors were present in all cases. As has been mentioned above, the categories of age and education seem to be connected, since, generally speaking, it can be stated that the younger the participants in the study, the better their education. Hence, these categories seem to be correlated and cannot be discussed individually. Nonetheless, some general consequences of language and education policy will be discussed below.

Concerning age, the following picture emerges in the semi-spontaneous as well as the elicitation data:

Table 11.10: Mean use of SVCs in Recorded Speech

Age Group	Semi-Spontaneous: mean SVC per person	Elicitation: mean SVC per person
2	0.6	1.9
3	1.7	5.9
4	1.8	6.25
5	2	11
6	1.4	6.5

Once again, the difference in the mean of SVCs used between the two data sources within one age group becomes apparent, as discussed above. However, the focus here is on the difference in the mean use of SVCs between the age groups. In both tasks age group 2, i.e. participants between the age of 20-29, uses considerably fewer SVCs in contrast to the other groups. The highest number of SVCs is uttered by age group 5 in both tasks, followed by group 4 and 3. Age group 6 exhibits differences depending on the task. In the semi-spontaneous task, they exhibit fewer SVCs than groups 4 and 3, whereas in the elicitation task they exhibit more SVCs than groups 4 and 3. An explanation to this may be that the interviewer was introduced to 4 out of 7 participants who took part in the semi-spontaneous task but not in the elicitation task as a student who would like to learn KS. This may have influenced the speech of these

participants due to their conception of which lect or version of KS should be taught and displayed. Hence, they may have potentially used structures which are closer to English or French rather than KS during the interview and, therefore, the speech may have been influenced most by observer effects[21] . This conjecture is supported by the interview with one person who used French for the most part of the semi-spontaneous data. However, once the first task was completed and the participant became accustomed to the interview situation as well as the presence of an interviewer, a switch to Kreol could be observed and, subsequently, SVCs were also produced during the elicitation task.

Despite the results concerning age group 6, it can be observed that the use of SVCs decreases from age group 5 to age group 1 in both tasks. This finding is mirrored in the exemplary analysis of some sentences from the judgment task concerning the distribution of age. As has been shown in the tables (10.6) and (10.7) in chapter (10.), the combinations of *pran-koupe* and *pran-montre*, 'take-cut' and 'take-show', are only accepted by approximately 20% of the participants in age group 2. In contrast, for instance, 70% and 100% of age group 6 accepted the respective sentences. Interestingly, with respect to these sentences in the judgment task, age group 5 does not exhibit the highest percentage of acceptance, in contrast to the mean numbers of produced SVCs above.

Nonetheless, this kind of clear distribution between the age groups 2 and the others cannot be ascertained for all structures and types of SVCs. For instance, one sentence in the judgment data checked for variation after a participant from age group 2 remarked that only old people or children would use the structure without overt TMA markers. This remark referred to the resultative serial *I'n bat lisyen touye*, 'He beat the dog dead'. Even though no such variation with respect to this particular sentence can be found, the remark nevertheless provides insights into the perceived variation of SVCs in KS. On the one hand, it has been shown by Adone (2012) that children make use of SVCs more productively than adults. Furthermore, the results of this study also hint at the fact that older people produce SVCs more often than younger people. During the judgment data, 5 such comments from participants from age group 2 were made regarding the presented sentences. Hence, the findings of this study are supported by native speakers' observations concerning the variation in age in produced SVCs.

This age distribution may be traced back to several reasons that become evident when the findings concerning SVCs are connected to the sociolinguistic data gathered during this study as presented in (6.). As the younger age groups received schooling in KS (as a subject as well as a medium of instruction), they were potentially exposed to more written, formal as well as standardized forms of KS. As has been argued above, SVCs are not well represented in recent written texts and, hence, are less likely

[21] Schilling (2013: 112) argues that observer effects can never be eliminated but that they should be identified and analyzed.

to be taught in school. Furthermore, during one of the research trips, one textbook for primary school education was also examined and it was found not to contain any SVCs. Finally, since neither English nor French exhibit SVCs and these are both highly prestigious languages in the Seychelles, language teaching may be influenced by them.

However, this explanation does not capture the explicit distinction between age group 2 and the other age groups in the use of SVCs as group 3 and partly group 4 also received formal schooling in KS. But it becomes obvious from the sociolinguistics data that the use of English in age group 2 is higher in most formal as well as informal situations than in other groups. Even though English (or French) is often also named as a language they speak in a particular circumstance instead or in addition to KS in age group 3, it has to be noted that 4 of the 10 participants of this age group were 30 and 32, hence, rather in their early thirties. It seems that these 4 participants pattern with age group 2 in their sociolinguistic questionnaire. As such, an increased use of English can be observed in the younger groups, especially in the ages 20-29. This can also be shown by the fact that age group 2 made use of code-switching the most during the interviews, as can be seen, for instance, from the following excerpt from a transcript between two participants, both aged 23, who were talking about Christmas. In the following, all the English words are indicated in italics:

#007: Mon pa mazin mot Kreol pour *wait*.
#008: [Espere.
#007: Espere].
#007: ja, ahm. aem.
#007: na *actually*.
#008: Lanmes.
#007: l*exchange gifts* avek XY.
#007: Mon pa al lanmes, *no. Christmas mass, no.*
#008: Lanmes minwi.
#007: *No* minwi.
#008: *tradition*, ja.
#007: *But it's always raining.*
#008: Non.
#007: () (ditou) wi.

Hence, the decreased use of SVCs may also be due to the increased use of English, especially in the younger participants of age group 2 and partly of age group 3. No such strong English influence was found on either the older participants of group 3 or all the other groups. This may point to a potential incipient loss of this construction in KS. As such, KS is not an endangered language, nonetheless, it could be argued that SVCs are within KS an endangered structure that may be abandoned soon.

Despite the difference in the use of SVCs, one aspect has to be mentioned here that

pertained to all age groups included. During the judgment task, many participants were asked how certain sentences, individual words or word sequences should be written. In general, several participants either indicated that they did not know how to write the item asked for or their answers varied greatly. For instance, if asked how the phrase *Mon'n ale*, 'I have gone' would be written, the following variants were given: *Mon'n ale, monn ale, mon ale, mon nale*. This is interesting given that written KS was part of the curriculum for age groups 2, 3 and part of 4. Nonetheless, this ties in with the findings concerning written language production presented in table (6.3) in chapter (6.). All of the participants preferred English to KS and French in written language use, no matter whether in formal or in informal settings. Hence, orthography was not a reliable indicator concerning the structure of SVCs during the interview and has only been mentioned or considered in the study when pronunciation/intonation and orthography was congruent.

Finally, the two last categories of gender and geographical origin will only be mentioned here in passing due to the distribution of the participants. Only 3 out of 41 participants were male and only 2 participants did not grow up on Mahé, the main island of the Seychelles[22].

Concerning the distribution of SVCs across male and female speech, it can be seen that the same mean of utterances of SVCs is produced during the elicitation task (1.3 SVCs p.P.). In the elicitation data, a difference of 7.0 to 5.0 mean SVCs can be observed in male and female utterances respectively. However, it has to be noted that most SVCs were uttered by 1 male participant only during the elicitation task, while the other male participant in the elicitation task only uttered 1 SVC. Hence, this may be a individual phenomenon which cannot be generalized. Furthermore, the male participant who only uttered 1 SVC was also part of age group 2, which has been shown above to exhibit the least SVCs. Pending an in depth-study, it seems as if no difference concerning gender can be observed, though this conjecture is highly speculative based on these data.

Finally, concerning geographical variation it can be stated that no differences occurred concerning intra-island variation on Mahé. This is not surprising since Mahé is not a large island and is well connected by streets/public transport. However, some interesting observations surfaced concerning inter-island variation. The two participants from LaDigue uttered or accepted more SVCs than those from Mahé. For instance, participant #020, who was born and raised on LaDigue, was interviewed together with #021, who originates from Mahé. Both are in their 20s and, hence, were part of age group 2. During the elicitation data, participant #020 often uttered SVCs which were then echoed by her interview partner. However, if the interview partner was the first to comment on the video, no SVCs emerged. Furthermore, 9 out of 17 SVCs (52.9%)

[22]3 further participants indicated that they grew up partially on Mahé and on Silouette, Praslin and in Australia respectively. However, no difference in their speech could be observed. Hence, they will not be individually discussed.

produced during the elicitation task in age group 2 stem from participant #020, while the remaining 8 SVCs were uttered by a total of 4 participants (approximately 11.8% each). In addition, #041, who is also from LaDigue, accepted more non-concordantly marked SVCs during the judgment task than others. Hence, these two findings potentially hint at a present inter-island variation, though, once again, it has to be borne in mind that these results are not representative and require an in-depth study.

In summary, Directional as well as Open SVCs are the most prominent type across all data sources. Say serials that conform to the definition of SVCs can only be found in the written corpus, predominantly in Accouche (1976). Give, Take and Resultative SVCs are dependent on elicitation and do not appear as often in the other sources. Furthermore, SVCs in general appear primarily in older written data[23]. Nowadays, SVCs seem to be a primarily oral phenomenon. This observation is also supported by M.T. Choppy (p.c.) and she traces the reason for this to the tendency to follow the structure of the other languages (English and French) in writing since KS has been an oral language for the most time of its existence. Finally, serials seem not to be very productive in KS, also in oral contexts, as has been shown in the contrast between semi-spontaneous and elicitation data and in the contrast between produced versus perceived speech in the judgment task. Hence, serials are part of KS grammar but are not highly productive.

Regarding the variation in the production and acceptance of SVCs, it can be concluded that the participants in the youngest age group (20-29) in particular do not use as many SVCs as the other age groups. Most SVCs were uttered by age group 5. It has been argued above that the difference concerning age may potentially be traced back to two observations. First of all, the younger age groups received formal language education in KS in which the occurrence of SVCs is less likely. However, this cannot be cited as the only reason for the decreasing use of SVCs in age group 2 since age groups 3 as well as some participants of age group 4 also received formal schooling in KS. Hence, it was argued that an increasing influence of English that was most prominent in age group 2 could also contribute to the difference in use of SVCs across age. No reliable difference between male and female participants could be observed, though this may be due to the low number of men (only 3) who took part in the respective tasks. Finally, the two participants who were born and raised on LaDigue exhibit differences in their use or acceptance of SVCs. One of them produced considerably more SVCs than her peers in age group 2, while the other one (from age group 4) accepted more non-concordantly marked SVCs than others. This may be a hint at inter-island variation. However, once again, this cannot be ascertained for certain due to the low number of participants. With regard to the last aspect in particular, a follow up study would be necessary and may provide interesting insights into the phenomenon and distribution of SVCs in KS.

[23]With the exception of the oldest data source used in this study.

11.4 The Structure of SVCs in KS from a Generative Perspective

The last research question of this study dealt with the topic of the structure of KS SVCs. Here, a predominantly generative approach to the structural analysis will be taken, though other approaches have also been taken into account in this thesis. A focus will be put on two aspects: on the one hand, the relationship between V_1 and V_2 and how these two are connected or concatenated in SVCs in KS will be investigated. On the other hand, argument sharing of external as well as internal arguments will be analyzed and discussed in KS serials. A focus will be placed on external arguments as they have a prominent role in KS SVCs. However, some remarks concerning internal arguments will also be made.

In general, the two VPs in SVCs in KS have a hierarchical ordering, though, as will be shown below, they do not have a complementation or licensing relationship. On the one hand, the hierarchy is evident in the temporal ordering. All SVCs in KS, be they symmetrical or asymmetrical, have an iconic order that represents the temporal succession of the events. One potential exception to this was presented with the Resultative SVC *mor-riye*, 'die-laugh', instead of 'laugh-die'. However, as has been argued above, this may also be a complementation relation akin to the English phrase *he died laughing*. Furthermore, binding phenomena indicate a hierarchical order. Whereas the order *pran Mari$_j$ montre li menm$_j$* was accepted by the participants, *pran li menm$_j$ montre Mari$_j$* was not accepted as shown above in section (10.5). Hence, the internal argument of V_1 asymmetrically c-commands the internal argument of V_2.

Also, the other tested sentences that included binding phenomena may hint at an asymmetrical structure. For instance, the sentence *I pran kouto koup li menm*, 'He takes the knife and cuts himself' was accepted by all participants during the judgment task. In this sentence, the anaphora *li menm*, is bound by the subject pronoun *i*. However, it has to be noted that most participants included an overt TMA marker which may also feature a subject (*i'n*) into the structure before V_2. In this case, the anaphor may be bound by the repeated subject instead of the subject before V_1. Only 33.3% accepted the sentence as such without an overt TMA and potentially subject pronoun in V_2. Nonetheless, since 33.3% did accept the sentence as it was, it seems that it is possible that the subject binds the anaphoric object pronoun in V_2.

Thus, a hierarchy can be observed, which can either be realized by subordination, adjunction or coordination, the three possibilities for concatenation presented in chapter (3.3). In subordination analyses of SVCs, V_2 is subordinated and, as such, a complement of V_1, whereas in coordination the two verbs project into independent phrases which are then merged under a coordinated label and finally, in adjunction, VP_2 is merged first and then adjoined to VP_1.

The first possibility can be excluded based on the data from KS. First, even though many of the SVCs are asymmetric in KS, hence, one verb is from a restricted

semantic class and is a minor verb whereas the other is from an unrestricted class and is a major verb (Aikhenvald 2006: 22), the respective verbs are able to appear without a verbal complement. This has been shown by, for instance, Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 256) for Saramaccan. This is also the case in KS. For example, during the judgment task participants indicated that the respective sentence can also be shortened so that it contains only one verb. Hence, a second VP is not necessary.

In addition, symmetric SVCs, such as Resultative or Open SVCs, are also found in KS. In these, even though the order of the verb is mostly iconic, no verb requires the other to be there as a complement nor licenses the other in a semantic or syntactic way. The second, and even more convincing argument against a subordination analysis in KS derives from the long/short verb form alternation. As has been presented above, long and short forms of the verb depend on the syntactic material that follows the verb. Whereas complements always cause the verb to appear in its short form, coordinations and clause final positions induce the long form. Furthermore, with adjuncts, the long form is usually preferred, though there seems to be some variation according to Corne (1977). Despite this, it can be ascertained without doubt that no complement relationship exists between the verbs in SVCs in KS since they appear in their long form and, as such, cannot be subordinated. This has also been shown by Veenstra and Muysken (ms) and Veenstra (2017) for MC. Nonetheless, as has been argued above, SVCs and verbal complements can be seen as neighboring phenomena.

Based on the finding that the long form appears in KS, it cannot, however, be determined for certain whether a coordination or an adjunction relationship holds between the verbs, since both structures (usually) appear with the long form. Three arguments for an adjunction analysis in KS can be adduced: First, the second verb phrase is optional, which is evident in the judgment data, in which a structure with the same V_1 as the only verb was often produced and, hence, the second VP behaves similarly to adjuncts with respect to optionality. Second, as is argued in Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 257) based on Larson (1991: 187), the second verb phrase often resembles an adverbial, for instance of time or place. This can also be seen in some SVCs in KS, for instance in *Astrid pe ale vini*, which was translated by some participants as 'Astrid came **here**'. Finally, the second verb phrase exhibits the same TMA configuration, which is expected in adjuncts since they are contained within the same clause as the verb to which they are adjoined. In KS the same TMA configuration is often confirmed by the overt marker on V_2. As will be seen below, the repeated subject pronoun can potentially also be captured within an adjunction approach to SVCs.

However, good reasons can also be found to argue for a coordination analysis. First, as has been shown by Muysken and Veenstra (2006: 257), asyndetic asymmetric coordinations also exhibit the same temporal ordering as has been suggested for SVCs. Similarly, this holds for KS, as argued in one of the first paragraphs of this chapter. Second, coordination structures also are not licensed and, hence, are optional elements similar to the second VP in KS serials. However, the fact that KS SVCs are very often

concordantly marked for TMA and, in line with the definition of SVCs, exhibit the same TMA configuration, speaks agains a coordination analysis. This is not necessarily the case in coordinations as argued, inter alia, by Bickerton (1989) and Syea (2013a). Furthermore, coordination structures are often bi-clausal structures which can, for instance, be seen based on their intonation contour. Semi-spontaneous as well as elicitation data show that no pause or rise/fall is present in prototypical SVCs in KS. Hence, a monoclausal analysis has to be assumed for SVCs in KS.

Finally, theoretical considerations also speak against a coordination analysis. If, on the one end of the continuum, coordination with bi-clausality and optionality can be found and, on the other end, subordination or complementation with mono-clausality and licensing are present, then adjunction is found in the middle with mono-clausality and optionality. As has been discussed above and illustrated in figure (11.10), SVCs in KS indeed seem to be located in between the two neighboring phenomena. Hence, they resemble adjuncts in that they are mono-clausal and optional.

During the judgment task, extraction patterns were also tested in order to determine the concatenation principle underlying KS serials. The following outcomes were hypothesized based on Huang (1982): if argument as well as adjunct extraction is possible, then no island effects are observable, similar to subordination structures; if argument but no adjunct extraction is possible, weak islands are present as might be the case in asymmetric coordination structures; finally, if neither argument nor adjunct extraction is possible, symmetric coordinations or adjunction structures may be assumed.

Concerning extraction of adjuncts, it has been shown that an adjunct can be extracted out of VP_1 in contrast to VP_2 in KS serials. Hence, in the sentence *Ki mannyer i ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen*, 'How did he take the knife to cut the bread', the manner of the action refers to *pran* and not *koup* as indicated by 87.5% of the participants. This is in line with the findings for Saramaccan as displayed in Veenstra (1993, 1996a). However, for MC, Syea (2013a: 27) has argued differently in that adjunct extraction seems possible out of VP_2. Finally, adjunct extraction in subordinate structures, which was tested with the sentence *Ki mannyer i ti war sa zonm taye*, 'How did he see the man running?', is possible since both readings are available: either the manner refers to the action of seeing or to the action of running. This further corroborates the analysis suggested above that KS SVCs are not subordinate structures as adjunct extraction out of VP_1 is licit but out of VP_2 is illicit.

Veenstra (1993: 161) traces the constraint on adjunct extraction to the appearance of an overt aspect marker on V_2. He argues that, if V_2 is inflected for aspect, extraction does not seem to be possible in contrast to other languages, such as Haitian, which does not exhibit marking on V_2 and allows for adjunct extraction. Hence, he concludes that "the functional projection AspP is responsible for the weak island effect" (Veenstra 1993: 161). In a similar vein, this could be argued for KS, since concordant marking in SVCs is the preferred option. Therefore, SVCs in KS seem to exhibit island

effects, though it is questionable as to whether they are weak or strong islands since it is not clear whether argument extraction out of VP $_2$ is possible.

On the one hand, A'-movement, i.e. Wh-movement of arguments, subjects as well as objects, were tested. Subject Wh-extraction was tested with the help of relative clauses. It seems that, only the first pronoun present in VP_1 can be moved to spec-CP position via Wh-extraction in relatives, since the sentence *Mwan, ki'n taye mon'n ale*, 'It is me, who ran away.', is preferred, in contrast to other configurations. With this example, it becomes evident that only the first VP contains a relative pronoun *ki*. Interestingly, *Mwan, ki'n taye ki'n ale* is also possible in KS. The repeated Wh-pronoun before V_2 as well as the fact that the aspect marker cliticizes to the relative pronoun in both cases may hint at the possibility that the relative pronoun appears in its base generated position in spec-TP[24] and, hence, no real extraction is present. In the semi-spontaneous data one sentence was also present that featured a relative pronoun within an SVC. This SVC was classified as an Aspectual SVC and is repeated below for convenience:

(336) Ou ganny sans reflesir lo bann keksoz ki'n passe in fini prezan.
PRN get chance reflect on PL things REL'ASP pass ASP finish now.
'It is possible to reflect on all of the things that have happened up until now.'

As can be seen from the interlinear transcription, *in* has been analyzed as the TMA marker only and no subject pronoun was assumed to be in VP_2 in section (8.1). However, this is one of the unclear cases since it could potentially also be the homophonous *i'n*, indicating that a subject pronoun is present. Given the observations from the judgment data, it may very well be present. If it is not present, this is an instance of Wh-movement from the lower vP into a CP position via vP_1. However, based on the judgment data as well as the fact that subject pronoun repetition is often present in KS, it is more likely that the relative pronoun is once again only present in the first phrase in contrast to the second.

Furthermore, the following picture emerges for object argument extraction via A'-movement out of VP_1 or VP_2, based on the data in this study: both extraction possibilities, either out of VP_1 (337) or out of VP_2 (338) were presented to the participants.

(337) Ki i ti pran ~~ki~~ i ti koup dipen
WH PRN TNS take ~~WH~~ PRN TNS cut bread
'What did he take to cut the bread?'

(338) Ki i ti pran kouto i ti koupe ~~ki~~
WH PRN TNS take knife PRN TNS cut ~~WH~~
'What did he cut with the knife he took?'

[24]Thanks go to K. Brandt (p.c.) for this idea.

As described in the data chapter, both sentences were rejected by the participants. This finding is interesting as it opposes Syea's (2013) observations for MC as well as Bickerton's (1990) for KS. In both sources it is indicated that the extraction of an argument into a Wh-position is possible[25]. The same has also been shown for Saramaccan by Veenstra and Muysken (ms) and Veenstra (1996a).

Thus, the question arises as to why extraction is not confirmed to be possible in KS in this study contrary to the findings in other studies. Over 90% of the participants in both cases rejected the sentences in (337) and (338). A total of 23 participants across all age groups and other social categories judged each sentences and the SVC used for this test was of the same type (i.e. Argument Introducing 'take') as in other publications. Hence, it cannot be assumed that this is an idiosyncrasy of a specific person, age group or of a specific type of SVC. Two explanations may be proposed for this, though neither seems to be convincing as will become evident in the following two paragraphs.

At first sight, this may be explained by the assumption that SVCs in KS are coordinated structures, and, as such, are subject to Ross's (1968) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), which indicates that extraction out of a coordinate is not possible (unless in ATB fashion). However, as has been argued by Muysken and Veenstra (2006) as well as Veenstra and Muysken (ms), the CSC apparently only holds for symmetric, not asymmetric coordinations. Since, as has been stated above, KS SVCs are asymmetric in their structure, extraction out of the first as well as the second VP should in fact be possible if coordination was the relevant concatenation principle contrary to the fact.

Second, they may be strong islands, as has been proposed for adjuncts, such as in Huang (1982). However, the following sentence was shown to be licit in KS with the help of the judgment data:

(339) I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen avek ~~kouto~~
PRN TNS take knife PRN TNS cut bread with ~~knife~~
'He took the knife and cut the bread with it.'

It has been reported in the literature that preposition stranding, in which a complement is moved elsewhere and the preposition is left 'stranded' (Radford 2004: 477), is not possible (Law and Veenstra 1992, Collins 1997) in other serializing languages. In KS, this seems to be a possible structure, in which the complement *kouto*, 'knife', is extracted after the preposition *avek*, 'with'. A similar sentence is also presented in Adone (2012: 104). Since this structure is analyzed as an adjunct, it seems that some adjuncts at least allow extraction in KS and may therefore be weak islands at the same time. However, since this claim is only based on preposition stranding in SVCs and cannot be contrasted to other instances in which extraction out of an adjunct is present, this is only a very tentative claim. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that a

[25]Bickerton (1990: 294) only tests for object extraction out of the lower VP and not out of VP_1.

similar approach to the analysis of SVCs as weak islands has also been proposed by Veenstra (1996a: 287).

However, this raises the question as to why adjuncts in KS seem to be weak islands for argument extraction in some cases (as in (339) but strong islands in (337) and (338). This may be explained based on the type of extraction present in the different movement types. Whereas in the sentences (337) and (338), an A' or Wh-movement is present, a movement into an A-position is apparent in the movement process displayed in (339). This observation may be corroborated by the base-generation analysis of the relative clause described above. It seems as if no A'-movement takes place in these cases.

Further tests are necessary in order to investigate the extraction patterns found in KS serials in detail. Since this study also investigated other research questions, this would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis. However, very tentatively speaking, it seems as if, with respect to extraction patterns, SVCs pattern with adjuncts that are weak islands for A-movement processes but strong islands for A'-movement processes (as well as adjuncts).

Despite the presented analysis, SVCs in KS seem to share properties with adjunction as well as with coordination. As has been described in chapter (3.3), similarities between coordination as well as adjunction are apparent, since both are instances of Pair Merge (Veenstra and Muysken (ms: 27), Chomsky (2004: 118)) in contrast to subordination or complementation, which is a process of Set Merge. Neither exhibit licensing and are hierarchically structured (Chomsky 2004: 117). In a similar vein, Munn (1992: 24) argues that coordination should be analyzed as an adjunction structure based on the similarities of parasitic gaps (traditionally analyzed as adjuncts) and ATB extraction (analyzed as coordination in other accounts).

However, Munn (1992: 13) also mentions that differences between parasitic gaps and ATB extraction exist[26]. Whereas in the former a pronoun can be repeated optionally, this is not possible in the latter. In KS serials it seems that object pronoun repetition is indeed possible, though not obligatory. This was shown with the help of the sentence pair in (340):

(340) a. Zot in bat li touy li san donn li kou-d-pye premye

b. Zot in bat li touye [ ] san donn [ ] kou-d-pye premye

In the second sentence in (340b), on the one hand, a parasitic gap *san donn kou-d-pye*, 'without kicking', is present, in which the pronoun can be repeated or not. Furthermore, in the verb phrase headed by *touye* , the presence of the object is also optional, as shown in chapter (10.5). Hence, SVCs in KS seem to pattern with parasitic gaps rather than ATB extraction sentences in this regard. A different finding for MC is presented in Syea (2013a: 25), in which it is argued that object pronouns can only

[26]Nonetheless, he argues that the adjunction approach to coordination can nevertheless be maintained.

be overtly repeated after V_2 only in coordination structures exhibiting a pause and an intonational break. However, no pause or intonational break could be observed in the sentences above if the participants repeated this or any other sentence with resumptive object pronouns which are also to be found in the corpus. Hence, this observation cannot be confirmed for KS and the adjunction analysis proposed here seems more plausible. A similar analysis for KS serials has also been proposed by Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996).

If indeed the relationship between the two verbs is realized by adjunction, the question arises as to the locus of adjunction, i.e. whether the two phrases are adjoined under VP or under T', as suggested by Bickerton (1989). The difference can be schematically represented as in the two simplified figures[27]:

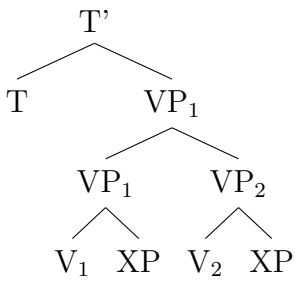


Figure 11.13: SVCs as VP Adjunction

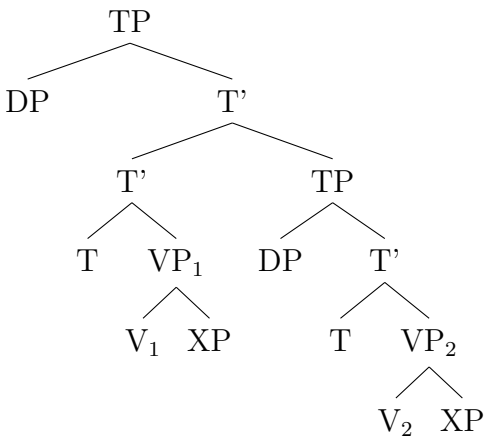


Figure 11.14: SVCs as T' Adjunction

Whereas in the first figure, the two verb phrases are merged separately and then adjoined under a common VP, the second figure displays the assumption that the two verbs are formed into VPs separately, then the second VP is extended to TP and adjoined to the subtree containing the first verb of an SVC at T' level.

As has been presented in each of the data chapters and discussed above, KS serials are predominantly concordantly marked. That is, a TMA marker at least is

[27]For instance, light verb phrases have been left out for the time being. They will be displayed further below.

present on both verbs. Furthermore, if a subject pronoun is present before V_1, it is very likely that a subject pronoun is repeated on V_2. Hence, it seems that the second structure displayed in (11.14) is more plausible since both phrases are tensed and exhibit an overt pronominal DP as subject. This suggestion has already been proposed by Bickerton (1989: 180, footnote) and can be confirmed with the help of the data in the present study. Furthermore, it has been shown by Aboh (2009: 9) that "the space between V_1 and V_2 involves more syntactic positions than previously assumed because it may involve tense/aspect markers, adverbs and clitic pronouns". This assumption is in contrast to Baker's (1989) proposal of double-headed VPs since in the latter, subject repetition on V_2 cannot be explained, in contrast to an adjunction approach under T' or TP, as also noticed by Byrne (1991: 210). Furthermore, this approach also contrasts with the claim made by Law and Veenstra (1992: 204), who argue that the second phrase should be a VP rather than a TP (or a CP) due to its analysis as one event. However, if this approach is adopted, repeated TMA and subjects in KS are in need of an explanation.

The VP adjunction analysis may potentially be possible for KS if the following considerations are taken into account: as was advanced by Brandt and Gabel (2017), it seems as if TMA markers as well as subject pronouns in KS (and Louisiana Creole) pattern with clitics rather than with free morphemes. As such, they may both be part of the VP[28] and the analysis proposed in (11.13), in which adjunction under VP may be assumed. In this case, the functional projection TP (or AspP of ModP for that matter), which dominates both verb phrases, indicates the setting for TMA markers, which are repeated overtly on both verbs as clitics. This analysis could also account for the precondition in SVCs that both verbs have the same negation configuration. As has been suggested by Pollock (1989), the NegP projection is contained below TP but above VP. Hence, negation c-commands both VPs and has scope over both.

Even though the VP-adjunction analysis may seem possible in KS, the T'-adjunction analysis will adopted in this study for the moment. This is due to the fact that no in-depth study of the clitic phenomenon and their position within a clause or phrase in KS has been undertaken and is still subject to discussion. In the T' analysis, subject as well as TMA repetition can be accounted for. Furthermore, NegP can also be explained based on Zanuttini (2001), since it is assumed that languages have been argued to differ concerning their NegP position within the sentence. In KS, the negative particle *pa* always precedes TMA markers and thus can be assumed to be above T. Hence, Neg has scope over both adjoined phrases and, therefore, both have the same negational configuration as required by the definition of SVCs.

Having described the general structure and concatenation principles in KS serials, the focus will now be placed on shared arguments, shared subjects in particular, the second main aim of investigation within the generative analysis of KS SVCs in this

[28] According to the VPISH, subjects originate in the VP in any case, however, if TMA markers are also assumed to be clitics, they may be analyzed as being contained within the vP too.

study. As has been suggested by Law and Veenstra (1992), Veenstra (1996a), Aikhenvald (2006) and others, argument sharing is a common property of SVCs, however, not a necessary one. This can be confirmed for KS, for instance with the help of selected sentences from the elicitation task. In the first two examples below, subjects as well as objects are shared.

(341) En zonm in zet en tas ater in kase
D Man ASP throw D cup ground ASP break
'The man has thrown a cup to the ground and broke it.'

(342) I pe kas dizef met dan bol
PRN ASP break egg put in bowl
'He is cracking an egg into the bowl.'

However, in the first of the following two examples, the subject is not shared, as a subject switch occurs, i.e. the object of the first verb is the subject of the second verb. Furthermore, the second example shows that objects are also not necessarily shared since V_1 has a different thematic object to V_2. In addition, the subject pronouns are overtly present before both verbs in the same sentence and hence a semantic though not syntactic sharing can be observed. Finally, in the third example, it becomes evident that object pronouns can also be repeated in KS serials. Once again, the pronoun refers to the same entity and, as such, they exhibit semantic sharing though not syntactic sharing.

(343) En zonm in pous en lot zonm ater in tonbe
D Man ASP throw D other man ground ASP fall
'The man has pushed another man$_i$ to the ground and he$_i$ has fallen.'

(344) I'n pran kouto i'n koup dipen
PRN.ASP take knife PRN.ASP cut bread
'He took the knife and cut the bread/He cut the bread with the knife.'

(345) I'n pous li i'n zet li ater.
PRN.ASP push PRN PRN.ASP throw PRN ground
'He has pushed and thrown him to the ground.'

With the help of the examples in (343–345), it can be shown that argument sharing is not necessary. However, Aikhenvald's (2006) prediction that SVCs may share arguments and that at least one SVC with subject sharing is present in a serializing language, is borne out for KS. In KS it seems that arguments can either be syntactically or semantically shared. In a syntactic sharing, only one overt DP is realized per SVC, whereas in semantic sharing, the syntactic subject is repeated but refers to the same entity. This is in contrast to, for instance, switch subject serials, in which semantically and syntactically arguments are not shared, i.e. two or more DPs are present per SVC that refer to a different semantic entity.

In general, different suggestions have been made concerning the nature of the shared arguments, as presented in section (3.3). Arguments are either shared in the truest sense of the word, that is, only one argument is present which is an argument of both verbs. This suggestion has been proposed by Baker (1989) with double headed VPs in which two verbs are heads that simultaneously share one argument. Alternatively, the sharing is realized by empty categories or coindexation of some sort, as proposed by Bickerton (1986), Law and Veenstra (1992), Larson (1991), Collins (1997) and others. Hence, one argument is present and one empty category, such as *pro*, PRO, empty operator or an NP trace, which is coindexed (or in any other way related) to the first argument. In these analyses, two verbs are present and two syntactic arguments, one of them overt, one of them covert. Finally, suggestions have been made that serial verbs should be treated as one complex verb which takes one argument, as in Lefebvre (1991).

Based on these suggestions, first, external arguments, i.e. subjects, will be considered here for KS, before the analysis is extended to internal arguments, i.e. objects. As has been shown, subjects in KS may be overt or covert before V_2. This poses problems for Baker's (1989) analysis that SVCs are double headed VPs, as argued by Byrne (1991). This analysis may account for object sharing phenomena, but does not leave room for repeated subjects. Hence, this does not seem to be the structure of KS serials. Likewise, the lexical approach by Lefebvre (1991) does not capture the possibility of repeated overt subject pronouns on V_2. It has been shown that some SVCs, such as *monte-desann*, may actually be in the process (or have already completed the process) of lexicalization. Nonetheless, this cannot be confirmed for all SVCs in KS and, hence, this approach to argument sharing can also not account for the observed phenomena in KS.

This results in an analysis which assumes that subject argument sharing is relegated via some kind of empty category. This has, amongst others, also been argued for internal argument sharing by Collins (1997: 472), who states that "only those analyses that admit that internal-argument-sharing effects are mediated by empty categories are empirically viable". Within the domain of subjects, the following possibilities may be investigated: either the covert subject is an instance of PRO, *pro* or a trace, or, to use terminology from the Minimalist Program (MP), a deleted copy of a movement process[29].

First the analysis will turn to the suggestion that null subjects may be PRO, as has been proposed, for instance, in Law and Veenstra (1992: 186). This analysis is

[29]Two further options are also presented in the literature on null subjects, either a variable, as suggested by Huang (1984) and Adone (1994), or a so-called null constant as proposed by Rizzi (1994) and Nicolis (2008). However, these will not be considered here since they are null representations of R-expressions. As has been discussed, R-expressions are rarely present in VP_2 and may be idiosyncrasies of the respective native speaker. Hence, it can be concluded that they are seemingly not allowed in the position and, thus, variables as well as null constants are also barred from this position.

problematic for KS serials based on the optionality of a repeated overt subject pronoun in VP_2 and the finite status of the second VP. PRO has been defined as an empty category that has to be ungoverned since it is [+ pronominal] as well as [+ anaphor] (Chomsky 1995: 41) in contrast to, for instance, *pro*, which is [+ pronominal] and [- anaphor]. Hence, PRO appears in non-finite and ungoverned contexts in contrast to *pro*. This is not true in KS since, due to concordant marking and overt TMA markers, the second verb phrase also seems to be finite. Furthermore, PRO can never be overtly realized[30] in contrast to pronominal subjects in KS SVCs, which may or may not be realized. Hence, a PRO analysis does not seem likely.

The second possibility is *pro*, as found in so-called *pro*-drop languages. These empty pronouns are optionally (un-)realized, appear in governed positions and in finite clauses. This description fits the optionally empty subjects in KS serials in VP_2 position. Furthermore, since the distribution of overt subjects in VP_2 has shown that R-expressions are almost never repeated, the subject position in VP_2 does not exhibit [- anaphor] and [- pronominal] features that are defining of R-expressions (Chomsky 1995: 41). Hence, the position has [- anaphor] and [+ pronominal] features as found in *pro*, or [+ anaphor] and [- pronominal] as found in NP-traces. Problems with the *pro*-based approach are constituted by the fact that even though licensing of *pro* may be achieved by TMA markers, the identification of *pro* as suggested by Rizzi (1986) is unclear since KS does not exhibit a rich agreement morphology. Hence, Adone, Gabel, and Choppy (2017) argue that the status of KS as a *pro*-drop language in the classical sense is disputable, similar to what has been discussed with reference to Chinese, Japanese and Korean in Huang (1984)[31].

Recent developments within the analysis of syntax in MP has opened up a third possibility for the analysis of overt or covert subjects in VP_2 in KS SVCs. The relationship between the two pronouns or DPs may be described as an instance of an A-movement process, realized by copy and deletion. For this option, a short section on the theoretical background has to be given first before the extent to which the analysis can be transferred to SVCs in KS can be investigated. A recent suggestion within MP is to reanalyze the empty subject in so-called obligatory control (OC) sentences as instances of deleted copies after an A-movement process (Hornstein (1999, 2001); Boeckx and Hornstein (2003, 2006); Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010).) In earlier versions of Generative Grammar, such as in GB, different modules of syntax have been proposed: bounding-, government-, theta-, binding-, case- and, finally, control-theory (Chomsky 1981: 5). The latter module was deemed necessary as so-called control sentences could not be explained based on other syntactic processes such as raising.

[30] However, Chomsky (1986: 117) mentions that an overt representation of PRO may be the arbitrary pronoun *one* in English and its cognates in other languages.

[31] Apart from the unclear identification due to missing rich agreement, Adone, Gabel, and Choppy (2017) also show that other properties usually connected with *pro*-drop languages, such as free inversion and that-trace violations as proposed by Chomsky (1981: 240), are either not possible or only very marginally accepted in KS.

This contrast between control and raising sentences can be depicted by the following examples, originally presented in Gabel (2013: 1):

(346) I want to gain control
I_i want [PRO_i to gain control]

(347) I seem to gain control
I seem [∄ to gain control]

Whereas in the control sentence (346), the relationship involves the empty category of PRO, which is connected to the main subject via indexation, as indicated with the subscript $_i$, in the raising sentence (347), the relationship between the PRN *I* (the subject in the subordinate clause as well as in the main clause) is one of Argument-Movement (A-Movement). The control module as well as PRO have explicitly been created for the types of sentences given in (346). The introduction of PRO was required due to the θ-Criterion which stated that one DP is not allowed to carry more than one θ-role (Chomsky 1981: 31). In (346), both verbs need to discharge their θ-role. The subject pronoun *I* receives its θ-role from the first verb, *want*, whereas PRO receives a θ-role from the second verb, *gain*. Hence, the two subjects, *I* and PRO, have to be distinct since neither can have 2 roles. This is in contrast to the raising sentence in (347), in which only the verb *gain* has a θ-role to discharge and the raising verb *seem* does not. Hence, the subject *I* is allowed to move from the lower position to the higher position in the sentence because it only 'collects' one θ-role in the course of the derivation.

Since the category of PRO as well as the whole control module have only been suggested for the kinds of sentences in (346), they have an exceptional status within the grammatical description. Given minimalist ideas and objectives, Hornstein (1999) has proposed that the control module as well as PRO be abandoned and these control sentences reanalyzed with the help of other grammatical descriptions already present and required in syntactic theory. The idea is to analyze OC sentences in which an antecedent is needed (e.g. in (346) above) akin to raising structures as a result of A-Movement[32]. Therefore, this approach is called the Movement Theory of Control (MTC). The sentence given above in (346) is hence analyzed within the MTC as the following:

(348) I want to gain control
I_i want [∄ to gain control]

The MTC requires and stipulates two important notions, which will be mentioned here briefly as they also bear on the analysis and discussion of SVCs and shared arguments within SVCs in particular. The first idea contained within the MTC is the

[32]Non-obligatory control (NOC) sentences, in which no antecedent is necessary, are analyzed as instances of *pro* (Hornstein 1999: 93). However, since only OC PRO cases are considered here, no further discussion concerning NOC is undertaken. For a further account of NOC, cf., amongst others, Hornstein (2001).

abandonment of the θ-Criterion. Since DS has been explained away, as indicated in section (1.2) and the θ-Criterion is located in D-structure, it too may be dispensed with (Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010: 43). The second idea that is a precondition for the MTC is that sideward movement is allowed, i.e. movement out of an adjunct is licit in this approach (Nunes 2001). This is important for the analysis of so-called adjunct control sentences given below in (349), taken from Hornstein (1999: 88):

(349) John_{i} heard Mary_{j} [without $\text{PRO}_{i/*j}$] entering the room

In this sentence, PRO is controlled by and interpreted as the subject of the matrix clause. If PRO is to be dispensed with in the MTC and this relationship should be relegated to A-Movement, then argument movement out of adjuncts has to be allowed, since [*without entering the room*] is an adjunct out of which the subject *John* is extracted and merged in subject position, i.e. in Spec-TP position. As has been described above, Huang's (1982) CED should prohibit movement out of adjuncts. However, it has also been shown that it is potentially possible to extract certain elements out of adjuncts. The same approach is proposed by Nunes (2001, 2004), who advances the theory of sideward movement. As such, sideward movement is defined as when "an element in one subtree is merged to a position in another 'unconnected' subtree. In short, such movement is interarboreal."(Hornstein 2001: 47). This can be schematically depicted with the help of the following figures:

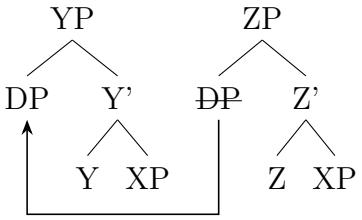


Figure 11.15: Sideward Movement, 1

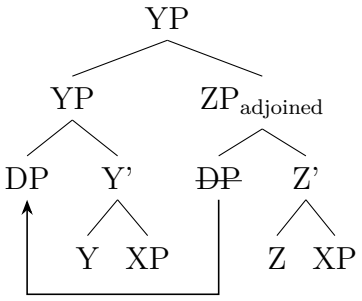


Figure 11.16: Sideward Movement, 2

In the first figure, two sub-trees are merged independently of each other. The DP, which is embedded within the phrase ZP is copied and moved into the other subtree i.e. into

YP via sideward movement. After that ZP is adjoined to YP. Likewise, sideward movement has been suggested to be present in parasitic gap structures, which have already been mentioned above (Nunes 2004: 95ff.).

This analysis of sideward movement out of adjuncts may be extended to SVCs in KS. This is based on two observations: first, SVCs have been analyzed as adjunction structures[33] and second, it has been argued that a PRO subject is present in SVCs. Since it has been proposed within MP that PRO should be abandoned and control structures should be reanalyzed as an A-movement process, the following sections will investigate, whether shared arguments in SVCs can be analyzed in a similar fashion. Hence, the proposed structure of SVCs and external argument sharing may be represented by the following two figures which display the derivation of such a structure:

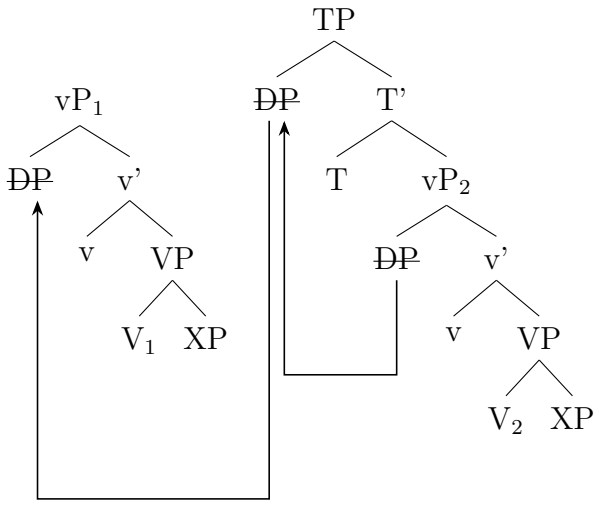


Figure 11.17: Sideward Movement of External Arguments in KS SVCs, 1.1

As is evident, first two subtrees are generated that are not yet connected, the second one being a TP due to its tensed status. The DP contained within the right phrase is first merged in spec-vP_2 position and raised to spec-TP position to check the EPP feature on T. KS data suggest that the pronoun appears in Spec-TP position in the second phrase since it overtly precedes TMA markers, such as in *I ti pran kouto* ***i*** *ti koup dipen.* From this position the DP is copied and moved into the other subtree into spec-vP position since the first verb in this structure has to discharge its θ-role. In a second and third step, displayed in (11.18), the TP is adjoined at T' level[34] and

[33]Syea (2013b) also suggests a structural analysis for SVCs that is based on a theory from Manzini and Roussou (2000), which, similar to Hornstein's (1999) theory, attempts to dispense with PRO.

[34]Hornstein (2001: 97) argues that adjuncts should not "hang higher than T'" since, if they do, Wh-movement out of an adjunct is not constrained, contrary to the facts. However, he mentions that, in some accounts, adjuncts may be attached at TP and still prohibit Wh-extraction. Pending

the DP moved out of vP_1 into spec-TP, once again to check an EPP feature on T in the first phrase.

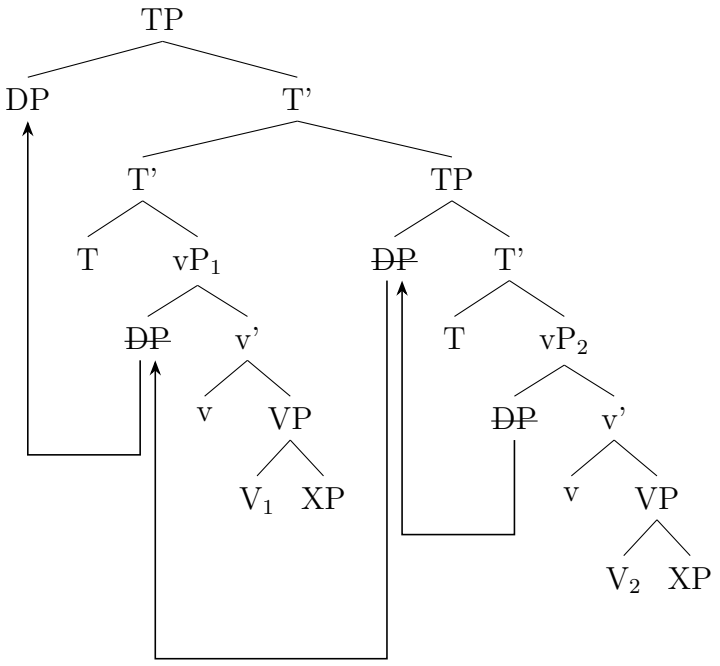


Figure 11.18: Sideward Movement of External Arguments in KS SVCs, 1.2

Problems with this analysis arise since the operation move has to be stipulated by unchecked features in MP or else movement will not take place Hornstein (2009: 127). In the derivation displayed in (11.17), the case feature on DP within the adjunct may have been checked in Spec-TP position, hence rendering it invisible to further extraction operations and disallowing sideward movement. v_1 has to discharge its θ-role, however, since the DP in the adjunct already has its case as well as θ-feature checked, it is no longer available for movement and, thus, should not be copied and merged internally. Furthermore, in this derivation, a (non-)deleted copy has case which is contrary to chain requirements in A-movement in which only the head of a chain may have its case features checked.

A possible solution to these problems is to assume that vP_2 is formed first out of which the DP is merged via sideward movement to vP_1 in order for the first verb to discharge its theta-role. Since serials are tensed in KS, both vPs are merged with a T head. Within the adjunct, agreement features as well as the case feature on the DP have to be checked and, hence, DP is raised to Spec-TP position. The adjunct is then merged with the first tense projection under T'. This derivation is sketched in the following two figures:

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further analyses, it is assumed that adjuncts attach at T' level in KS SVCs, akin to what Bickerton (1989) has suggested.

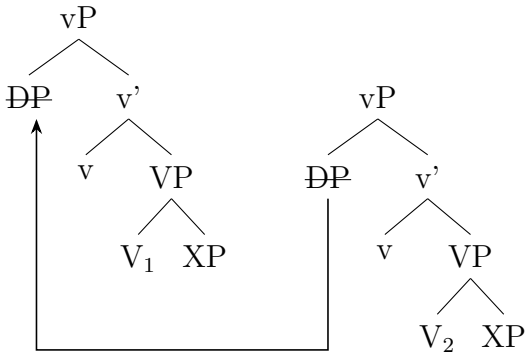


Figure 11.19: Sideward Movement of External Arguments in KS SVCs, 2.1

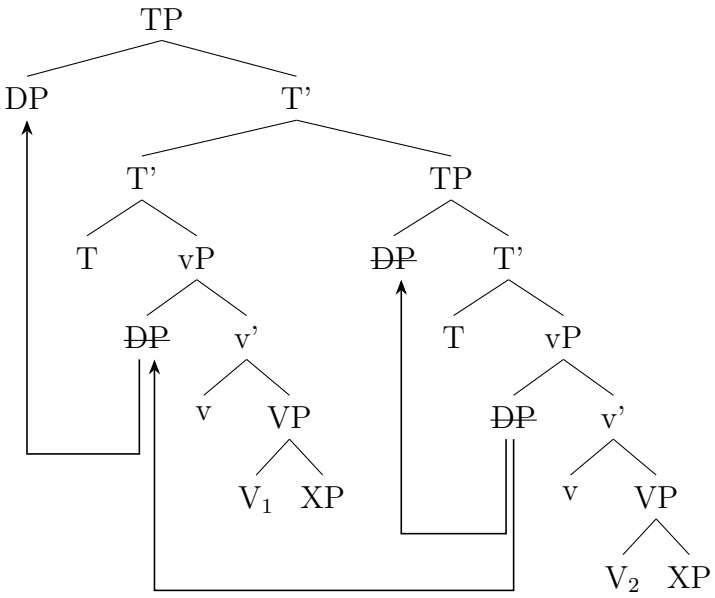


Figure 11.20: Sideward Movement of External Arguments in KS SVCs, 2.2

Alternatively, these considerations concerning movement as well as case assignment could provide further reasons to adopt a vP adjunction rather than T' adjunction combined with the assumption that tense, mood and aspect clitics are realized within the verbal domain required by a c-commanding T. Since spec-vP is not a case checking position, the case of the subject pronoun would not be checked in the tail of the chain, and would have to move sideward in order for the derivation to succeed.

Theoretically, it would be desirable to extend the analysis of sideward movement of external arguments out of an adjunct in KS SVCs to internal argument-sharing phenomena. As has been described above, Law and Veenstra (1992) suggest an empty

operator analysis for object-sharing phenomena. Null operators have been suggested predominantly for parasitic gap constructions as, for example, in Munn (1992). Nunes (2004), however, shows that these instances can also be reduced to sideward movement under a copy theory of movement. Hence, this may also be a possibility for object-sharing phenomena in (KS) SVCs. If this proves feasible, a suggested structure of KS serials under a sideward movement analysis may be the following[35]:

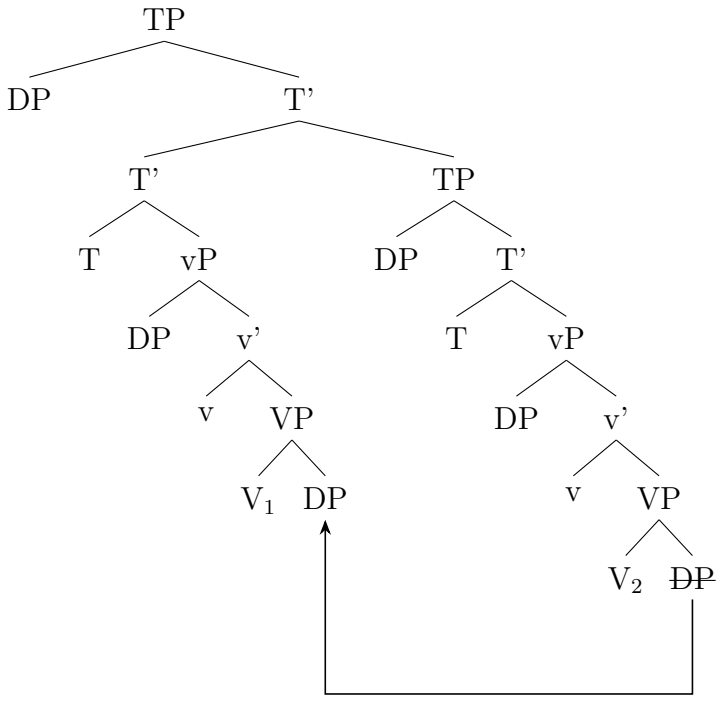


Figure 11.21: Sideward Movement of Internal Arguments in KS SVCs

As has already been mentioned earlier, the focus of this study has primarily been on subjects due to their prominence in KS serials and due to the fact that comparatively less attention has been paid to external arguments in contrast to internal arguments in the literature. Internal arguments in KS serials may be shared, though this is not a necessary precondition, as mentioned above. Furthermore, it seems that objects that are semantically shared may be overtly realized syntactically in both VPs, as has been shown, for instance, with the help of example (340). For many, this has been an excluding criterion for SVCs, however, as has been argued, these structures nonetheless satisfy all other criteria proposed for SVCs in this study and, since object sharing does not seem to be a necessary precondition, it can be concluded that these instances, in which an object pronoun is overtly repeated, can be recognized as SVCs.

Based on internal argument or non-argument sharing in particular, different structures have been proposed for different types of SVCs. For instance, Law and Veenstra (1992) argue that, within the class of Argument Introducing 'take', THEME Serials as

[35]For sake of readability, VP is displayed as such without bar level and the distinction between direct and indirect object. Furthermore, V to v movement is not indicated and external argument sharing is likewise eliminated from the picture.

well as INSTRUMENTAL Serials have to be distinguished[36]. As this has not been investigated comprehensively within this study, only some remarks concerning this will be made here. First, from a theoretical and minimalist point of view, a unitary analysis of all types of serials would be desirable. Second, one of the reasons to suggest a different structure is the impossibility of preposition stranding in certain serials, as evidenced by Jamaican Data in Law and Veenstra (1992: 193). However, as has been shown in chapter (10.) this indeed seems to be possible in KS. Hence, the sentence *I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen avek*, 'He took the knife and cut the bread with (the knife)', was accepted by many of the participants. This may point to the possibility that an empty category or a deleted copy of the argument is present in VP_2 in INSTRUMENTAL SVCs, contrary to Law and Veenstra's (1992) claim but similar to what has been proposed by Collins (1997) and Campbell (1996). Problems with a sideward movement approach appear in THEME-Serials or, as Campbell (1996) calls them, Accusative SVCs, in which the verb assigns case to a complement. Since the tail of a chain cannot be case marked, it follows that this type of SVCs cannot be instances of moved elements (either sideward, or upward). If the position receives case, an empty Operator analysis may be a better option to internal argument sharing.

In addition, other problems with an analysis of sideward movement in SVCs arise concerning extraction patterns in KS SVCs. In general, a movement analysis out of an adjunct predicts that extraction from A' positions within the adjunct are not possible (Hornstein 2001: 90). At first glance, this is confirmed for KS, since no Wh-phrase may be extracted out of the adjoined phrase, as presented above. A potential difference concerning A-movement and A'-movement has been displayed for KS serials within this study. However, on the one hand, this analysis does not seem to account for other languages, which have been shown to allow extraction from a theta- as well as case marked position (hence, a movement from an A'-position to another position). On the other hand, if it is assumed that Case is not assigned to the position, the element originating in an argument position could potentially be moved sideward to a different argument position within vP_1. For instance, this has been shown for parasitic gaps by Nunes (2004). From this position, it could be moved upwards to Spec-CP Position. This derivation could explain extraction patterns found in other languages, but not in KS. Hence, if the analysis is reformulated to capture cross-linguistic observations, it does not match the observed data in KS or, if the analysis is retained as is, the data of other languages do not match the theory with respect to extraction patterns[37].

Despite the disadvantages of this analysis, some theoretical as well as empirical advantages can also be named for a sideward movement approach to shared arguments: from a theoretical viewpoint, it satisfies minimalist considerations. It dispenses with

[36] A similar, though not exact assumption is also made in Campbell (1996).

[37] However, as has been suggested above, an in-depth study of extraction patterns in KS is required in order to verify or falsify the results of the 2 argument extraction sentences included in the present study. Hence, the option remains that the results of this study are not representative and that KS patterns similarly to other languages.

the analysis of external argument sharing in SVCs as PRO, a category that was specifically construed to capture control sentences. If this theoretical apparatus could be reduced, syntactic theory would be more elegant. PRO in this case is replaced by an operation, which is already presumed to be existent in languages, i.e. movement, or internal merge. In addition, since the θ-Criterion has been dispensed with, shared arguments in SVCs may actually receive more than one θ-role. Allowing sideward movement out of an adjunct can account for extraction patterns and seemingly arising contradictions to Huang's (1982) CED. As was proposed in earlier accounts, adjuncts constitute strong islands and should not be available to movement operations. It has been shown, however, that adjuncts may constitute weak islands and arguments may be moved out of the second VP in SVCs (for instance by Veenstra (1993)). Based on this, Law and Veenstra (1992: 202) and Veenstra (1993: 162) suggest a rephrasing of the CED, which states that extraction is licit if a domain is L-marked. This reformulation can be dispensed with if sideward movement is allowed. In this account, material can be extracted out of the adjunct but not another adjunct within the adjunct from which it is extracted.

This analysis may also account for some empirical observations in KS. Overt repetition of subject pronouns may be captured by this approach. According to Nunes (2004: 17ff.), lower copies of the moved material may be phonetically realized in certain cases. It is possible that the lower copy may be phonetically realized in KS SVCs. Of course, problems arise if R-expressions are considered. It seems that R-expressions are neither repeated before V_2 nor resumed by a pronoun in KS SVCs. If it is possible to realize overtly the tail of a chain in moved constituents in SVCs, R-expressions should not be an exception to this. However, repeated relative pronouns before V_1 and V_2 are captured under this approach given that they are base-generated as proposed above. Furthermore, this theory can account for adjunct extraction patterns observed in KS. Adjunct extraction in SVCs is only possible out of the first VP, thus confirming the constraint of sideward movement out of adjuncts which only allows arguments, not other adjuncts to be extracted.

Nonetheless, it has to be stated that serious issues remain with such an approach and that it cannot account for all of the observed phenomena completely. However, other approaches to argument sharing, such as a lexical approach or the suggestion of double headed VPs, can also be rejected for KS. Furthermore, if empty categories are assumed, *pro*, PRO, and empty operators have been suggested. PRO can be excluded for the analysis of empty subjects in KS based on either the finite nature of the verbs or the possibility of overt realization in the second VP. Similarly, *pro* is problematic since KS does not seem to be a *pro*-drop language in the classical sense. Finally, an empty operator analysis has been suggested for object-sharing phenomena in Theme SVCs by, for instance, Law and Veenstra (1992). It has been observed by Collins (1997) that the position in which the null operator appears is unusual since it mostly appears in Spec-CP. In the present analysis it has also been assumed that the adjoined phrase is

not a CP and, therefore, does not exhibit a prototypical position for an empty operator. Nonetheless, for the time being, it seems that an empty operator analysis to internal argument sharing, at least for some types of SVCs, is the best candidate to capture the observed cross-linguistic features of SVCs. However, it remains to be shown whether this is also a viable analysis for KS SVCs based on extraction patterns. Furthermore, a unified approach that, on the one hand, captures internal as well as external argument sharing and, on the other hand, can be extended to all types of SVCs is desirable from a theoretical point of view.

Within this section KS SVCs have been analyzed as adjoined structures from a generative perspective. Since TMA as well as subject pronouns are present before the second verb in a structure, it has been suggested that the second phrase is adjoined to the first under T', a suggestion similarly proposed by Bickerton (1989). A subordination analysis has been excluded based on, inter alia, the long/short verb form alternation, the non-licensed status of the second VP and adjunct extractions. A coordination analysis has been discussed and it was shown that this is also a potential candidate for the concatenation principle underlying KS SVCs. Nevertheless, pending further tests and analyses, an adjunction analysis is preferred based on extraction patterns. It seems that A-movement of, for instance, subject pronouns out of SVCs is possible in contrast to A'movement. However, it has to be noted that this is based on a limited number of sentences in this study and that different extraction facts have been observed for other languages. In addition, MC, a sister languages of KS, seems to exhibit extraction out of SVCs and this has also been claimed by Bickerton (1989) for KS.

Regarding argument sharing, it was shown that neither subjects nor objects necessarily have to be shared, though this is nevertheless a possible option for SVCs. Furthermore, it was argued that subject as well as object pronouns can be repeated overtly in VP_2 even if they semantically refer to the same entity. Different suggestions proposed in the literature have been investigated and discussed for KS in terms of the nature of empty or shared arguments. It seems that shared subjects can not be analyzed as an instance of PRO due to finiteness and optional realization. Hence, it has been suggested that these may be analyzed as a movement, i.e. a copy and deletion process, based on recent suggestions in MP. Necessary preconditions for the viability of such an analysis are the abandonment of the θ-Criterion so that DPs can receive more than one θ-role as well as the assumption that sideward movement, i.e. movement out of adjuncts, exists. These suggestions can be traced back to analyses proposed by Nunes (2004), Hornstein (1999, 2001) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2003), Boeckx and Hornstein (2006) and Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010). If such an analysis is adopted for external arguments, it may be desirable to extend this analysis to internal arguments as well. However, it has been shown that many caveats and issues exist based on KS data as well as cross-linguistic comparison. Hence, a more detailed analysis and investigation into this proposal is necessary. Nonetheless, it is an idea worthwhile pursuing due to the minimal and elegant nature of the suggestion

which conforms to theoretical considerations within the Minimalist Program.

12. Conclusion

This aim of this thesis was to describe and analyze SVCs in KS, a topic that was controversially discussed in the literature of the 1980s and 1990s between Bickerton (1989, 1990, 1996), on the one hand, and Seuren (1990) as well as Corne, Coleman, and Curnow (1996) on the other hand. Whereas the former maintained that SVCs are part of KS grammar, the latter refuted this claim. Hence, the first of five main research questions that were investigated within this study was the following:

1. **Can Serial Verb Constructions be found in Kreol Seselwa based on the definition and criteria of SVCs proposed in the literature?**

The definition of SVCs that was used in order to answer this question was based on Haspelmath (2016) and Aikhenvald (2006). SVCs are structures that contain multiple independent verbs which appear in a single clause without a complement relationship and linking elements. It is assumed that they can be classified according to prototypes and located on a continuum. Furthermore, several generalizations follow from this definition. First, SVCs have the same TMA as well as negation setting. They may but do not necessarily have to share arguments and are conceptualized as one event. Finally, they exhibit neither a pause nor a rise or fall in intonation contour.

It can be ascertained that SVCs do indeed exist in KS since the structures investigated in this thesis conform to the definition and criteria above. The sentences did not contain an overt subordinator, such as, for instance, *ki*, 'that', or *apre*, 'after', or an overt coordinator, such as *e*, 'and', or *me*, 'but' between V_1 and V_2. A complement relationship between the two verbs was also shown to be non-existent based on the fact that long verb forms appear between the two verbs in the investigated structures in contrast to environments in which arguments or other complements follow the verb. All of the verbs had the same TMA setting, which was either apparent due to the semantics or due to overt TMA marker repetition before the second verb in a given structure. If, for example, sentences with different TMA markers before the respective verbs were given to the participants during the judgment task, they either corrected the TMA marking or explicitly mentioned that it has to be the same TMA marker. In KS SVCs may share either subject or object arguments. However, it was also shown that so-called switch subject SVCs, in which the object of the first verb is the subject of the second verb, are likewise present, though they do not feature particularly frequently in the present corpus. Furthermore, it was argued that in KS semantic argument sharing and syntactic argument sharing has to be distinguished at times in KS. This is the case in concordantly-marked SVCs, in which the subject pronoun is overtly repeated before V_2. In such cases, the pronoun refers to the same entity, hence, semantically speaking, both verbs share an argument, but the pronoun is repeated twice and, thus, from a syntactic point of view, both verbs have their own arguments[1].

[1]However, if the structural analysis of sideward movement of pronouns is adapted, syntactic argument

The second to last criterion, conceptualization of SVCs as one event, is difficult to substantiate. However, within this study a participant indicated that he could see three actions in the video, the last of which consisted of an SVC, and, as such, two verbs were used in the description of the third action. Furthermore, when presented with different three-verb SVCs during the acceptability judgment task, some participants indicated that the third action constitutes a different event and does not belong to the first two verbs. Hence, it can be concluded that SVCs are conceptualized as one event. The last criterion, which is that neither a pause nor a rise or fall in the intonation contour can be observed between the two verbs, was assumed to be true for written SVCs if no comma was printed in the text. Since this is only one indicator, the spoken data were also investigated in this regard. With the help of Praat, it was shown that most structures neither contained a pause nor a rise or fall. This was particularly apparent if they were compared to clear cases of coordination (either overt or covert). Some cases were present that could not clearly be identified based on the intonation pitch line drawn by Praat. However, in most cases it could be shown that this is due to background noises. In addition, these may be captured by a continuum approach to SVCs and neighboring phenomena.

Having determined that SVCs in general are part of KS grammar, the study proceeded to investigate the following second research question:

2. Which Types of SVCs that have been identified in the literature can be discerned in KS?

Within the framework of this question, formal as well as semantic types of SVCs were identified and compared to KS. With regards to Aikhenvald's (2006) suggested parameters, it was shown that all SVCs are multi-word. Hence, root serialization and other forms of SVCs in which the two verbs are part of one phonological and/or grammatical word do not exist in KS. Furthermore, asymmetric as well as symmetric SVCs exist since the combination of a major (free) and a minor (fixed) verb as well as the combination of two major verbs was found. In addition, contiguous as well as non-contiguous SVCs are present since objects and other material can intervene between the two verbs or either can be absent. Finally, most of the discussion in this thesis has evolved around (non-)concordant marking, i.e. the question as to whether only one of the verbs is marked for grammatical categories such as tense, mood, aspect and subjects, or whether all of the verbs exhibit such a marking. These grammatical markers in KS are not realized as affixes but as either free morphemes or clitics depending on the analysis[2]. It has been shown that KS clearly favors concordantly-marked SVCs. Usually, at least the TMA marker is repeated before the second verb. Furthermore, it has been shown that concordant subject marking is dependent on the type of subject

sharing is also present due to the fact that the two pronouns are part of a chain in which the lower copy is not deleted.

[2]cf. Brandt and Gabel (2017) for a more detailed discussion.

before V_1. If an R-expression, i.e. a proper name or a full DP, is present, the subject is almost never repeated before V_2, thereby confirming Seuren's (1994) Tacit Subject Condition. Nonetheless, if the first subject is a pronoun, it is very likely that the pronoun will be repeated. However, this is not a necessary condition since the subject may be shared syntactically even if a pronoun precedes V_1. Hence, it can be argued that KS allows optional concordant marking in SVCs.

In addition to this formal classification, a semantic typology of KS SVCs was also investigated. It was shown that some but not all types that have been identified in other languages are present in KS. Within Type 1 Serials, Directionals, Argument Introducing 'give' and Aspectuals are attested in this study, though the latter is only sparsely represented. It has been argued that Argument Introducing 'give' is not part of KS grammar (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013a). However, if the definition above is taken as a basis, the sentences present in this thesis conform to all the defining criteria. Hence, this is an important finding since it has to be assumed that Give SVCs exist in KS. Argument Introducing 'say' serials that matched the definition are by and large only attested in one older written source. It has been shown that structures that contained the word *poudir* cannot or can no longer be classified as serials in KS. Hence, it seems that Say serials do not exist in today's KS grammar. The same can be argued for Degree SVCs. Structures that contained *depas*, 'surpass', and are accepted by the participants, have to be classified as Directionals.

Within Type 2 serials, the presence of Argument Introducing 'take' can also be confirmed with the help of the present investigation. Causative structures containing *fer*, 'make', were also contained within the corpus of this study. However, as has been discussed, it is unclear whether these should in fact be analyzed as instances of verbal infinitival complementation and, as such, be excluded under the definition of SVCs adopted in this thesis. Nonetheless, Causative SVCs may potentially exist if it can be shown that *fer* is the second of three or more verbs and that all verbs can exhibit concordant TMA marking. Hence, based on this study, Causatives can neither be confirmed nor excluded for KS, though it is likely that they are not part of KS grammar. Finally, Type 3 and Type 4 SVCs, Resultatives and Open-ended SVCs, are evidenced by the data gathered in this study. Within Resultatives, subject switch SVCs appear and they exhibit less restriction than it has been shown for other languages. That is, transitive verbs can be combined with transitive as well as intransitive verbs and intransitive verbs can be combined with intransitive verbs. The combination of V_1 intransitive and V_2 transitive seems to be illicit in KS Resultatives[3].

In general, it seems as if 2-verb SVCs are clearly preferred in KS, though three or more verb SVCs are possible. However, this highly depends on the conceptualization of these verbs as one event, as has been shown with the help of the judgment data. Furthermore, it was argued that, even though KS does exhibit prototypical SVCs from

[3]Though in other types of SVCs, it seems to be possible to combine an intransitive with a transitive verb in KS, such as in *vini-pran DP*, 'come-take DP'.

a cross-linguistic perspective, many semantic as well as structural types do not, which may be one of the reasons for the rejection of their existence in KS on the part of some linguists. On the one hand, Aikhenvald (2006) argues that concordant as well as non-contiguous SVCs are somewhat non-prototypical. In the present corpus of written, semi-spontaneous as well as elicited data, 80.5% of the SVCs are concordantly marked. Furthermore, a little over 50% are non-contiguous SVCs. Also, regarding the semantic types, some can be found that are non-prototypical. For instance, it has been argued that some Directional as well as Open SVCs have a specific aspectual reading and are, as such, not as easily classified into the respective subtypes. Therefore, a continuum approach to SVCs should be adopted in which SVCs can be located on a continuum of semantic as well as formal types.

Finally, this continuum analysis was extended beyond SVCs to include neighboring phenomena as well and to capture the multi-verb phenomena of KS as precisely as possible. As has been shown, covert coordinations in KS border on SVCs and transition areas may be observed, for instance, in which neither a clear pause and a rise or a fall nor a clear single intonation contour can be observed. Hence, these structures escape a clear classification. On the other end of the continuum, complementation as well as grammaticalization or lexicalization structures can be found, which once again exhibit transitional areas to SVCs. Since it was argued that SVCs are adjunction structures[4], it may be argued that multi-verb structures in KS are located on a continuum from coordination to adjunction up to complementation depending on the level of integration of the two (or more) verbs.

The third and fourth research questions within this study dealt with the following aspects:

3. **What is their distribution and frequency with respect to different data and types?**

4. **Can variation in the use of SVCs be detected concerning categories such as age, education or origin of the speakers?**

Based on the analysis of the different data sources, it is evident that distribution as well as variation can briefly and informally be described using the following pairs: written vs. oral, produced vs. accepted and old vs. young. It was shown that SVCs in the written corpus appear predominantly in older publications, whereas SVCs are somewhat absent in those that are more recent. This was traced back to English and French influence since written KS seems to follow the European languages (M.T. Choppy, p.c.). Since these do not exhibit SVCs, they are also less likely to appear in KS writing. Furthermore, if produced SVCs in written, semi-spontaneous and elicitation data are compared to the judgment task it becomes apparent that SVCs are not used productively. However, if they are judged concerning their acceptability, far more

[4]Cf. question (5) and the following paragraphs below.

SVCs are accepted than produced. Hence, it was concluded that serials are part of KS grammar but are not particularly productive and depend on certain elicitation techniques. The types that are used most often in spoken as well as written language are Open-Ended SVCs and Directionals. Other types that have been confirmed for KS often depend on elicitation techniques to be produced, and it is for this reason that a triangulation of methods has proven highly fruitful.

Not only in the written corpus could a variation concerning older and younger texts be observed but also in the spoken data it seems that the younger a participant is, the less likely he or she is going to utter an SVC. Age group 5 produced the most SVCs, while the lower numbers in age group 6 may potentially be traced back to observer effects since the interviewer was introduced to some participants as someone who wanted to learn KS. The resulting language used in the interviews may therefore not represent actual speech but the lect that the interviewees thought would be best to teach to the foreigner, i.e. a lect that is closer to the European languages also present on the Seychelles. However, if age group 5 and age group 2, the youngest age group in this study, are compared, considerable differences in the use as well as acceptance of SVCs emerge. This difference was traced back to two observations. On the one hand, the younger age groups received formal education in KS in school, a setting in which SVCs are not likely to appear. On the other hand, an increased influence of English which does not exhibit SVCs on the younger generation was observed. Therefore, it has been shown that the use of SVCs can also be connected to the sociolinguistic data gathered during the course of the study. It seems that the more English is present and used by the participants, the less likely it is that SVCs will be produced. This may hint at an incipient loss of these structures in KS grammar.

Concerning the other social categories, it has to be noted that the younger a participant was, the higher his or her educational level. Hence, it seems to be difficult to ascertain whether age or education has an effect on the use of SVCs. However, since age groups 2-4 do not differ to a significant degree with respect to education but a difference in the use of SVCs can nonetheless be observed, it seems that age is the more relevant criterion. Furthermore, no considerable difference in male and female speech could be observed based on the data. However, as has been mentioned, a gender skew can be observed in this study and hence, the results are not representative. Finally, most participants originated from Mahé and, thus, the question concerning variation due to origin is difficult to ascertain. Interestingly, the two speakers who were born and raised in LaDigue produced or accepted more SVCs or different structures in SVCs than the other participants. This is particularly visible if the one participant, aged 28, is compared to her peers in age group 2. For instance, she produced 52.9% of all the SVCs uttered by age group 2 during the elicitation data. All of the others who used SVCs during this task only uttered 11.8% of all SVCs each. These numbers may hint at a potential inter-island variation concerning SVCs.

Whereas research questions (1)-(4) can be answered more of less without doubt,

the last research cannot be answered definitely. It investigated the following aspect:

5. **How can SVCs in KS be analyzed concerning their syntactic makeup? How can argument sharing, particularly with regards to external arguments, be accounted for?**

Several aspects were investigated in order to answer this research question. First, it was argued that the VPs in KS SVCs are not subordinated. This concatenation principle can be excluded based on the appearance of long verb forms in SVCs which do not appear in complementation or subordination structures, on the optional status of the second VP which is not licensed by the first verb and finally on the possibility of adjunct extraction which is evident in subordination but not in SVC structures. It was argued that good reasons can also be adduced to analyze the relationships of the two verbs and their respective phrases as coordinated structures. However, since it can be shown that SVCs are monoclausal and prototypical coordinations often involve two CP layers, an adjoined structure analysis is preferred here. In addition, extraction patterns of Wh-elements in KS also point to an adjunction of the second VP. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that this conclusion is based on a limited set of sentences tested during the judgment task and differs considerably from what has been proposed in other languages, among them MC (Syea 2013b), and also from what has previously been suggested for KS (Bickerton 1990). It was argued that the locus of adjunction is most likely the T' layer in KS due to overt TMA repetition.

Last, but not least, argument sharing and overt argument repetition was discussed. A focus was placed on external arguments since they feature fairly predominantly in KS SVCs. Since the proposed analysis of shared subject arguments which assumes an empty category PRO to be contained within VP/TP_2 does not capture the finite nature of the second element in KS serials and cannot account for overtly repeated pronouns, it was rejected. A *pro* analysis was also critically discussed since KS seems to be a null subject language but does not pattern with other prototypically analyzed *pro*-drop languages. Therefore, a different and new analysis that is located within the Minimalist Program was investigated that is mainly driven by theoretical considerations. In this analysis of argument sharing, a syntactic theory of SVCs could be considerably reduced since PRO and empty operators could be dispensed with, the unclear status of *pro* in non-*pro*-drop languages could be circumvented and all of these would be subsumed under the umbrella of the copy theory of movement, a process that is already available in languages. As presented in the introduction (1.2), within MP it is assumed that all languages show displacement properties, i.e. movement or internal merge. This analysis of SVCs proposes that shared subjects as well as repeated pronouns may be explained by the same process of movement and deletion or non-deletion of copies. Several preconditions are necessary for that theory to be viable: sideward movement from an unconnected subtree into another subtree is licit (Nunes 2001, 2004), multiple spell-out of copies is licit in KS SVCs, arguments may receive

more than one θ-role due to the abandonment of DS (Hornstein (1999, 2001), Boeckx and Hornstein (2004) Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes (2010), amongst others) and the lower position may not be a Case-marked position. Whereas the analysis of repeated as well as shared subjects as an instance of sideward A-movement potentially may be possible given these preconditions, the extension of this idea to internal argument sharing is more difficult to facilitate even though it is theoretically desirable. Hence, it has been concluded that an empty operator analysis for internal argument sharing phenomena is more plausible for the time being though, of course, a unified approach would be preferred and, for this, further tests targeted on internal argument-sharing in KS would have to be conducted.

To conclude, three main areas can be identified in KS serials in which further research and investigation would be promising. First, within a typology of KS SVCs, a broad scale study concerning Argument Introducing 'say' would be interesting in order to determine their existence, status as well as potential origin. As has been shown, some of the structures found in this study conform to the definition of SVCs and, hence, the question arises as to whether *poudir* sentences can be traced back to a serial origin or whether they have to be seen as independent structures that surfaced and prevailed in KS grammar based on external factors. Furthermore, further investigations have to be conducted concerning Causatives SVCs in order to show whether they exist in KS or whether they always involve a form of complementation.

Second, within the area of variation in KS serials, it seems promising to inquire further into inter-island variation. As this thesis has shown, it seems that native speakers of KS who grew up on LaDigue exhibit more or structurally different SVCs. However, since only two participants from LaDigue took part in this study, no reliable and significant inference could be made from this. Hence, this is a direction worthwhile pursuing, also in comparison to the language of Praslin, the third main island of the Seychelles.

Third, and finally, a more detailed and targeted structural analysis of KS serials has to be undertaken. For instance, the observed extraction patterns in SVCs in this thesis have to be verified based on more conditions, more participants and more verb combinations. It has to be investigated whether the different types of SVCs in KS display a heterogeneity in structure or whether they could potentially be analyzed with the same underlying representation. Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether a sideward movement analysis is indeed a plausible explanation for the structural properties of SVC based on further tests concerning internal as well as external argument sharing. Finally, it has to examined whether this theoretically appealing approach can account and, hence, be adopted for Serial Verb Constructions in the world's languages as well as in Kreol Seselwa.

A Appendix

A1 Informed Consent

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Informed Consent

Dear participants,

Thank you very much for taking the time to help. By signing this document you allow us to use your input for our work.
We are two doctoral students from the University of Cologne and are interested in linguistic aspects of Seselwa. Astrid Gabel would like to investigate aspects of sentence structure, while Melanie Brück would like to learn more about general communication strategies used by speakers of Seselwa.

(1) Please understand that,

a. You can withdraw your consent completely or in part anytime and without giving any reason.
b. You can disallow publication of particular statements, discussion of certain topics etc. anytime and independently from the general consent you are asked to give below.
c. We fully commit to honoring your contribution to the work appropriately.

Please choose which actions you would like to allow by circling the respective letter below.

(2) I give Melanie Brück and Astrid Gabel the right to:

a. Make audio-recordings during our session(s).
b. Make video-recordings during our session(s).
c. Use these recording as well as the form and content of what I say during the session(s) for publications of the following kind, unless I state otherwise (see 1 b) above).
    i. Written publications
    ii. Conference papers
    iii. Teaching.
d. Store the recordings and related information with the Lenstiti Kreol Enternasyonal.

e. Make the data available to other researchers for their projects. Those researchers will have to ask the Lenstiti Kreol Enternasyonal for permission first.

_____	_____
Location	Date
_____	_____
Name	Signed

A2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

A2.1 English Version

Biography

- Age
- Origin
- Place of Residence
- Occupation
- Education
- Time abroad
  - if yes: where and how long?

Language Use

- Which language(s) did you learn as a child at home?
- Which languages did you learn in school?
- In which language were you taught in school?
- Which language(s) do you speak...
  - at home
  - to neighbors/friends
  - to your children
  - to your siblings
  - to your parents
  - to your grandparents
  - at work
  - to pets
  - to shop keepers
  - in your dreams
  - when you answer the phone
  - when you count
  - when you swear
- In which language do you write...
  - your shopping list
  - an informal text
  - a formal text
- In which language do you read...
  - newspapers
  - books
  - instruction manuals

- In which language do you listen to...
  - the radio
  - the TV
  - music
- Which language do you generally prefer to speak?
- Which language do you generally prefer to write?
- Self-assessment of competence in
  - English: Basic, Fair, Good, Excellent
  - French: Basic, Fair, Good, Excellent
- Do you prefer to use English or French in situation where you are not able to use Kreol Seselwa?

Language Attitude

- How do you feel about Kreol Seselwa? Do you like the language?
- Which language should be primarily taught in school?
- Do you think that children should receive more instruction in Kreol Seselwa in schools?
- Do you think that younger people speak a different Kreol Seselwa than older people?
  - If yes:
    - Examples?
    - Why do you think this is?
- Do you think that English or French have an influence on Kreol Seselwa?
  - If yes:
    - Examples?
    - What do you think about that?

A2.2 Kreol Seselwa Version

Biography

- Ki laz ou annan?
- Kote ou ti ne, kote ou grandi?
- Kote ou reste?
- Ki louvraz ou (ti) fer?
- Ki pli o nivo ledikasyon ou'n komplete? Ziska kel laz ou'n al lekol?
- Eski ou'n deza pas letan a letranzer?

Language Use

- Ki langaz ou ti koze dan lakour ler ou ti ankor zanfan? / pti pti?
- Ki langaz ou ti aprann dan lekol?
- Ki langaz zot ti servi pour montre leson dan lekol lontan?
- Ki langaz ou koze dan lakour konmela?
- Ki langaz ou koze...
  - avek ou zanmi ek ou vwazen
  - avek ou zanfan
  - avek ou ser ek frer
  - avek ou paran
  - avek ou granparan
  - kot travay
  - avek ou zannimo domestik
  - dan laboutik
  - dan ou rev
  - lo telefonn
  - ler ou konte
  - ler ou zoure
- Dan ki langaz ou ekrir...
  - ou lalis konmisyon
  - en let amikal
  - en let ofisyel
- Dan ki langaz ou lir...
  - zournal
  - liv
  - papye lenstriksyon (pour servi ou lekipman elektronik)
- Dan ki langaz ou ekout...
  - radyo
  - televizyon

  - lanmizik

- Ki langaz ou pli kontan koze?
- Dan ki langaz ou pli kontan ekrir?
- Ki manyer ou koz Angle: Pa tro byen, Byen, Ase byen, Tre byen
- Ki manyer ou koz Franse: Pa tro byen, Byen, Ase byen, Tre byen
- Eski ou prefer servi Angle ouswa Franse ler ou pa kapab koz Kreol?

A3 Description of Elicitation Videos

No.	Description	Targeted Type	Targeted SVC
1	A man opens the door, goes outside and comes back in (repeated once).	Directional	goes-comes; ale-vini
2	A man opens the door, comes in, and goes back outside.	Directional	comes-goes; vini-ale
3	A man opens the door, comes in and goes back outside (repeated once).	Directional	comes-goes; vini-ale
4	A man opens the door and closes it (repeated once).	Open/Directional	open-close; ouver-ferme
5	A man is running away.	Directional	runs-go; taye-ale
6	A man apraoches a bike, mounts the bike and drives away.	Directional/Open	mount-go; monte-pedale-ale
7	A man walks up the stairs, comes back down (repeated once).	Directional	ascend-descend; monte-desann
8	Someone takes a knife and cuts a bread.	Argument-take	take-cut; pran-koupe
9	Someone takes the drumsticks and beats the drum.	Argument-take	take-beat; pran-bate
10	Someone takes a match and lights a candle.	Argument-take	take-light; pran-alime
11	Someone takes some meat and puts it on the grill.	Argument-take	take-put; pran-met
12	Someone takes some spices and puts them in scrambled eggs, stirs.	Argument-take	take-put; pran-met
13	Someone takes an eggbeater and stirs eggs.	Argument-take	take-make/stir; pran-bate
14	Someone takes a bowl of cracked eggs and pours them into pan, scrambles.	Argument-take	take-pour/stir; pran-met/bate
15	A man takes a ball and throws the ball.	Argument-take	take-throw; pran-anvoye
16	A man takes a photo and shows it to a woman.	Argument-take	take-show; pran-montre
17	A man takes a picture and hangs it on the wall.	Argument-take	take-hang; pran-met
18	Someone takes an egg and cracks it open and pours in a bowl.	Argument-take/Open	take-crack/open-put; pran-kase-met

No.	Description	Targeted Type	Targeted SVC
19	A man takes a banana, peels it and eats it.	Argument-take/Open	take-peel-eat; pran-plise-manze
20	Someone takes a tomato and puts it into a bowl.	Argument-take	take-put; pran-met
21	Two men are racing, one finishes first.	Aspectual	race-finish; ale; taye-fini
22	Someone is eating and finishes eating.	Aspectual	eat-finish; manze-fini
23	A man drinks coffee and finishes drinking.	Aspectual	drink-finish; bwar-fini
24	A man draws some money from an ATM and gives it to a woman.	Argument-give	draw-give; tire-donnen
25	A man approaches and gives someone a book.	Argument-give	comes-gives; vini-donnen
26	A man buys some flowers and gives them to a woman.	Argument-give	buy-give; aste-donnen
27	A man throws a cup to the floor and it breaks.	Resultative	throw-break; zete-kase
28	A man walks, twists his ankle and hobbles away.	Resultative/ Open	walk-twist-XY; ale-devir-XY
29	One man pushes another man, he falls.	Resultative	push-throw/fall; pouse-zete/tonbe
30	Two men are playing catch around a tree/race around a tree.	Open-ended/Directional	catch-race around; atrape-vire, or XY
31	A man is doing burpees/jumping up and down.	Open-ended/ Directional	jump up-jump down; sote-desann, or XY

A4 Description of Scale and Sentences used in Acceptability Judgments

A4.1 Rephrased Acceptability Scale

1. Perfect
2. Good but unusual
3. Acceptable but a bit strange
4. Acceptable but very strange
5. I do not think that this is acceptable but I have heard others use it
6. Understandable, but nobody would use it
7. Not acceptable at all

A4.2 Sentences used in Acceptability Judgments

1. I'n taye in ale.
2. I'n taye i'n ale.
3. I taye ale.
4. Mon'n taye in ale.
5. Mon'n taye mon'n ale.
6. Astrid in taye i'n ale.
7. Astrid pe taye pe ale.
8. Astrid pe taye i pe ale.
9. Astrid in taye in vini.
10. Mwan, ki'n taye i'n ale.
11. Mwan, ki mon'n taye mon'n ale.
12. Mwan, ki'n taye mon'n ale.
13. Bann zwazo pe tonbe vini dan rekolt.
14. Mari in sorti dan lakaz in al laboutik.
15. Mari in sorti dan lakaz pe al laboutik.
16. Bann zanfan pe taye pe ganny bis.
17. Bann zanfan in taye in ganny bis.
18. I ti pran kouto koup dipen.
19. I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen.
20. Ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen.
21. I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen avek.
22. I ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen me i pa ti koupe.
23. I ti pran kouto pour koup dipen avek me i pa ti koupe.
24. I ti pran kouto i'n koup dipen.
25. I ti pran semiz montre mwan.
26. Manman ti aste koko donn zanfan.
27. I'n anmenn liv donn nou.
28. I'n anmenn liv donn nou me pa'n donnen.
29. Astrid anmenn liv donn Mari.
30. I'n anmenn liv ti donn nou.
31. Zan ti dir ou poudir bis pou tarde.
32. Ki Zan ti dir ou poudir pou tarde?
33. Zan ti dir ou in poudir bis pou tarde.
34. Zan ti dir ou ti poudir bis pou tarde.
35. Mon konne poudir i ti fer ronm yer.
36. Mon dir ou poudir i ti fer ronm yer.
37. Mon pou dir ou poudir i ti fer ronm yer.
38. Lekel mon konne poudir ti fer ronm yer?
39. Ki mon konne poudir i ti fer yer?

40. Kan mon konne poudir i ti fer ronm?
41. Ou panse poudir i al lakaz.
42. I kriye poudir ou bezwen fer atansyon.
43. Zan in fini ekrir en let.
44. Zan in ekrir en let fini.
45. Astrid pa'n fini aprann Kreol Seselwa.
46. Astrid pa'n aprann Kreol Seselwa fini.
47. Astrid pa'n aprann Kreol Seselwa pa fini
48. Astrid in fini pa aprann Kreol Seselwa.
49. Astrid in aprann Kreol Seselwa pa fini.
50. Zan ti taye depas Mari.
51. Zan grandi depas Mari.
52. I pa kapab get but depas son nennen.
53. Lalkol i fer msye bat son fanm.
54. Lakol ti fer msye ti bat son fanm.
55. Lakol ti fer msye bat son fanm.
56. Msye ti fer son fanm sourir.
57. I'n bat lisyen touye.
58. I'n bat lisyen in mor.
59. I ti bat lisyen ti mor.
60. Zan in zet tas ater in kase.
61. Zan zet tas ater kase.
62. Zanfan pe tap boul dan lafnet kase.
63. I pran laliny met dan delo tire.
64. I ti ouver pwason ti netwaye ti met lo dife.
65. Manman ti aste diri ti anmennen lakour ti kwi.
66. Myse ti pran bannann ti plise ti manze.
67. I rase manyok griye donn nou pour nou manze.
68. I ti telefon dokter ti vini.
69. I kriy so msye touye en bib.
70. I ti kriy so msye ti touye en bib.
71. Ki i ti pran ti koup dipen?
72. Ki i ti pran kouto ti koupe?
73. Ki mannyer i ti pran kouto i ti koup dipen? (what does mannyer refer to?)
74. Ki mannyer i ti war sa zomn taye? (what does mannyer refer to?)
75. Manman donn zanfan savonet benny li menm.
76. Manman donn zanfan savonet benny li.
77. Mon pran kouto koup mwan.
78. I pran kouto koup li menm
79. I pran kouto koup li.
80. Mon pran Mari montre li menm dan mirwar.

81. Mon pran li menm montre Mari dan mirwar
82. Zot bat li touye.
83. Zot bat li mor.
84. I tonbe i touye.
85. I tonbe i mor.
86. En zanmi pous Zak tonbe.
87. Zot in bat li touye san donn kou-d-pye.
88. I sape tonbe mor.
89. Msye monte desann.
90. Msye ti monte desann.
91. Msye ti monte ti desann.

A5 List of putative SVCs in the Written Data

No.	Source	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous
1	Accouche 1976:15	me selman kan i vvwar son bann kanmerad pe **bwar** pe **fete** dan lotel, ...	Open	y	y
2	Accouche 1976:15	i vwar en bann dimoun pe **manze bwar** dan lotel...	Open	n	y
3	Accouche 1976:15	Alors Konper Soungoula i **mazinen** i **dir**	Say	y	y
4	Accouche 1976:17	deswit i **sorti** deor i **al** vwar li	Directional	y	n
5	Accouche 1976:17	i **met** en kou lanmen dan son leren i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
6	Accouche 1976:21	Aswar i **mazinen** i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	y
7	Accouche 1976:23	Ler i **dormi** aswar i **sou**,...	Open	y	n
8	Accouche 1976:25	i **konte** i **vwar** i **reste** siz san roupo avek de-trwa kas dan son pos...	Open	y	y
9	Accouche 1976:25	Soungoula i **mazinen** i **dir**: ":..."	Say	y	y
10	Accouche 1976:27	...I **tate** i **vwar** son bout lake pe komans sorti...	Open	y	y
11	Accouche 1976:27	Soungoula i **leve** i **al** lo son lili	Directional	y	y
12	Accouche 1976:29	Soungoula i **get** i **vwar** drayver in al vir loto	Open	y	y
13	Accouche 1976:29	I **taye** i **pran** lafore	Open	y	y
14	Accouche 1976:35	I **get** deor i **vwar** en fakter	Open	y	n
15	Accouche 1976:41	Ler zot ti'n **vini vizit** bann sa kannel	Directional	n	y
16	Accouche 1976:45	i **friz** son labous i **ale** an drivan	Directional	y	n
17	Accouche 1976:45	I **reste dormi** dan sa fotey	Open	y	y
18	Accouche 1976:49	Avan ki i **dir** bonzour dokter i **dir** "..."	Say	y	n
19	Accouche 1976:51	Kanmeleon i **vire** i **gete** i **vwar** son lekor	Open	y	y
20	Accouche 1976:51	Kameleon i **reponn** li i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
21	Accouche 1976:52	Tang i **reponn** li i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n

No.	Source	SVCs	Type	concordant	contiguous
22	Accouche 1976:52	Konper Tang i **reponn** li i **dir** (2^{nd} instance on same page)	Say	y	n
23	Accouche 1976:57	La i **desann** i **dir** avek son bann envite: "..."	Say	y	y
24	Accouche 1976:71	I **tay** deor i **al** zwenn li	Directional	y	n
25	Accouche 1976:71	E i **tonm mor** ater	Resultative	y	y
26	Accouche 1976:71	Koman i war ki **tonm mor** si vitman ater...	Resultative	y	y
27	Accouche 1976:71	I **tonm mor** lanmenm	Resultative	y	y
28	Accouche 1976:77	I **pran** laparol i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
29	Accouche 1976:91	Maza i **reponn** li i **dir**...	Say	y	n
30	Accouche 1976:93	I **reponn** li par son pti non gate i **dir**...	Say	y	n
31	Accouche 1976:95	I **reponn** zot i **dir**:"..."	Say	y	n
32	Accouche 1976:95	I **reponn** li i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
33	Accouche 1976:97	Serpantine i **reponn** i **dir**...	Say	y	y
34	Accouche 1976:97	Alor Manmzel Serpantine in **arive vin** Madanm Serpanten	Directional	n	y
35	Accouche 1976:97	I **vwar** li i **dir**	Say	y	n
36	Accouche 1976:103	Mon **pran** mon semen mon **ale**	Directional	y	n
37	Accouche 1976:113	Al-Lakaz' i **mor riye** dan li menm	Resultative	n	y
38	Accouche 1976:115	I **reponn** li i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
39	Accouche 1976:115	Marselien i **kriye** i **dir**	Say	y	y
40	Accouche 1976:115	Sese i **reponn** li i **dir**, ...	Say	y	n
41	Accouche 1976:119	Madanm Marselien i **pran** laparol i **dir**, ...	Say	y	n
42	Accouche 1976:121	I **reponn** son manmanm an pleran i **dir**,...	Say	y	n
43	Accouche 1976:125	Virzil i **reponn** li i **dir**: "..."	Say	y	n
44	Accouche 1976:127	Virzil i **reponn** li i **dir**: ".." (2^{nd} instance)	Say	y	n

No.	Source	SVCs	Type	concordant	contiguous
45	Abel 1982:3	. . . i **pike** i **ale**	Directional	y	y
46	Abel 1982:4	Mon ti **tonm** lanmen la lo padport mon ti **asize**, . . .	Open	y	n
47	Abel 1982:4	Andrine i **desann** i **al** laboutik	Directional	y	y
48	Abel 1982:4	Ler i ti **remonte sorti** laba bor lanmer. . .	Directional	n	y
49	Abel 1982:4	Marmay in **taye** zot in **al** rod lapay pour Andrine griy son kafe	Directional	y	n
50	Abel 1982:4	. . . kalou pe **monte desann** dan pilon	Directional	n	y
51	Abel 1982:5	Soley in **anmas** tou son paka lalimyer in **ale**	Directional	y	n
52	Abel 1982:12	Nou **sorti** dan zot lakaz nou **ale**	Directional	y	n
53	Abel 1982:15	I ti **prefere reste** debout	Open	n	y
54	Abel 1982:25	Regis i **leve** i **rod** zalimet pour li alim nou pti fannal	Open	y	y
55	Abel 1982:28	i'n **fimen** i'n **fini**	Aspectual	y	y
56	Abel 1982:29	Lanbilans in **arive** in **ale**	Directional	y	y
57	Abel 1982:30	i ti **retournen sorti** lopital	Directional	n	y
58	Abel 1982:31	Semenn i **ale vini**	Directional	n	y
59	Abel 1982:34	Sak semenn i **rise pouse**	Directional	n	y
60	Abel 1982:35	I **vini** i **tyonbo** mwan	Open	y	y
61	Abel 1982:39	konmen **dir koze**	Say	y	y
62	Abel 1982:44	mon'n **pike** mon'n **ale**	Directional	y	y
63	Abel 1982:45	i ti **pran** semen **desann**. . .	Directional	n	n
64	Abel 1982:46	Sa i'n **fini** i'n **mor**	Resultative	y	y
65	Abel 1982:47	Regis in **retourn** en pe boner **sorti** travay	Directional	n	n
66	Abel 1982:55	Byen boner i'n **kouri** i'n **desann**	Directional	y	y
67	Abel 1982:57	lemwan i **vini** i **ale**	Directional	y	y

No.	Source	SVCs	Type	concordant	contiguous
68	Abel 1982:58	i'n **soupire** i'n **les** zot	Open	y	y
69	Abel 1982:59	Regis in **monte sorti** legliz	Directional	n	y
70	Abel 1982:60	Semenn i **ale** i **vini**	Directional	y	y
71	Abel 1982:60	ti parey pour nou, **tir** dan labarb **met** dan moustas	Take	y	n
72	Abel 1982:61	Bann ki'n deza **ale ranmase** zot dir...	Directional	n	y
73	Abel 1982:62	losean ti'n **dekouver** toi son bann bangno ti'n **met** deor	Open	y	n
74	Abel 1982:62	i **kouri** i **ale**	Directional	y	y
75	Abel 1982:64	i ti **prefere sorti ale**	Directional	n	y
76	Abel 1982:66	Tou sa bann latet ti ape **monte desann** apre sa	Directional	n	y
77	Abel 1982:68	E la akoz ki Thérèse ti ape fer sa traze **monte desann** senk fwa,...	Directional	n	y
78	Abel 1982:71	i ti **godiye** i ti **ale**	Directional	y	y
79	Robert:1999:27	Sarlot ti'n **vin** anmenn mesaz **sorti** kot per laparwas	Directional	n	n
80	Robert:1999:27	Sak fwa i ti **vin** kot li i ti **fer** li **pran** lakoler	Causative	y	n
81	Robert:1999:35	I ti **mor riye**	Resultative	n	y
82	Robert:1999:40	Dimoun ti pe **ale vini** lasose	Directional	n	y
83	Valentin 2001:4	... pe **ale** pe **al** rod lenstriksyon,...	Directional	y	y
84	Valentin 2001:6	Manmzel Y ozordi mon **pase** mon **dir** li bonzour,...	Say	y	y
85	Valentin 2001:10	Nou'n **monte desann** lo laroul ou silab	Directional	n	y
86	Valentin 2001:10	Nou'n **fors** nou **regar** atraver laliny	Open	y	y
87	Valentin 2001:17	Mon **kokiy** mon lekay mon **frote**	Open	y	y
88	Valentin 2001:17	Mon **redi** mon lalenn mon **soufle**	Open	y	n
89	Nation 11.12.04	Par egzanp, la ki « Trades Tax» lo « fridge » ek « washing machine» pe **desann sorti** 50 pour vin 25 poursan,...	Directional	n	y

No.	Source	SVCs	Type	concordant	contiguous
90	Nation 03.01.07	En fiy i mor apre ki i **tonbe sorti** dan en pick-up	Directional	n	y
91	Choppy 2012:40	Konmsi mon ti war latet papa pe **monte desann**	Directional	n	y
92	Melanie 2012:7	Marselya ti **tonm asize** lo ros dan lari degre i ti'n fatige	Resultative	n	y
93	Melanie 2012:9	Apre sa Sezarin ti avoy Zita sers tabatyer dan son pannyen louvraz, me i ti **tarde retournen**	Directional	n	y
94	Melanie 2012:10	I **tir** en pti morso avek son ledwa **met** byen anndan dan kwen son labous	Take	y	n
95	Melanie 2012:20	Dan tou sa **monte desann** Marselya pa'n zwenn Rober ditou	Directional	n	y
96	Melanie 2012:23	Apre ki zot ti'n byen rakonte zot de Sezarin, Zita ti **vini sorti** lekol e i ti vin asiz ek zot anba lavarang	Directional	n	y
97	Nation 08.10.14	[...] akoz sa ki zot tande lo televizyon i **pase** i **ale** me dan zournal parkont sa dimoun ki pe lir zot pran plis letan pour analiz sa ki zot pe lir [...]	Directional	y	y
98	NA 2017:6	I annan en dimoun la in anvoy mwan en mesaz i dir avek mwan in **antre sorti** Maurice vandredi	Directional	n	y
99	NA 2017:10	i annan en bato par egzanp ki'n **vini sorti** Madagascar	Directional	n	y
100	NA 2017:11	tou bann pasaze ki **vini sorti** Madagascar	Directional	y	y
101	NA 2017:11	bann dimoun ki **arive sorti** tou destinasyon	Directional	y	y
102	NA 2017:12	msye ki in admet Lopital letan i ti **vini sorti** Madagascar	Directional	n	y
103	NA 2017:26	tou bann dimoun ki pe **vini sorti** Madagascar	Directional	n	y
104	NA 2017:41	Me bokou in **sanze** bokou in **evolye**	Open	y	n
105	NA 2017:42	bann dimoun ki *once* i **detekte** i **annan** sa maladi, ...	Open	y	y
106	NA 2017:45	Eski letan nou konsonm bwat bef par egzanp bann manze vitman ki nou **kwi** nou **donn** nou zanfan oubyen nou konsonmen?	Give	y	n
107	NA 2017:59	I annan dimoun ki'n **ale vini** Lopital	Directional	n	y
108	NA 2017:59	mon pa pour dir lekel in **ale vini** Lopital	Directional	n	y

No.	Source	SVCs	Type	concordant	contiguous
109	NA 2017:62	E Dokter pour dir avek ou i annan en kantite Kanser nou'n **koze** nou'n **dir**, Kanser Prostat parmi bann zonm Sesel i o,...	Say	y	y
110	NA 2017:62	letan en dimoun in **al** Klinik dan son distrik in **vwar** en Dokter in **monte desann**,...	Directional	n	n
111	NA 2017:62	in **ale** in **retournen** in **monte desann** in **fini** pas kekfwa 3 mwan oubyen 6 mwan apre sa, sa maladi son problenm i kontinyen	Directional	y	y
112	NA 2017:62	plitar lot i **vini** i **demann** ou menm kestyon	Open	y	y
113	NA 2017:62	lot apre midi i **vini** i **demann** ou menm kestyon	Open	y	y
114	NA 2017:65	E ou pou **vwar** Mr Speaker pou **dir** problenm pa ni bezwen en ta larzan, pou rezourd li	Say	y	n

A6 Semi-Spontaneous Data

A6.1 List of putative SVCs in Semi-Spontaneous Data

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Task
1	Ou **pran** pwason ou **sizle** li	Take	y	n	2	Recipe
2	Ou pou **pran** ou piman ou **kraze**	Take	y	n	5	Recipe
3	Ou **pran** par kwiyer ou **met** li dan sa bann trans	Take	y	n	5	Recipe
4	. . . Epi mami **anmennen sorti** travay	Directional	y	y	2	Recipe
5	Apre nou veye, toultan fodre ou veye pangar i **monte tonb** dan dife	Resultative	y	y	6	Recipe
6	Nou veye tap, tap, tape pangar i **monte tonb** dan dife	Resultative	y	y	6	Recipe
7	XY **ekrir** mwan lalmagne **dir** mwan si mon kapa (.) eh anvoy reset	Open	y	n	5	Recipe
8	apre sey byen **plise tir** sa lapol lo lay	Open	y	y	5	Recipe
9	nou bezwen **met** nou lantir **bwi** lo dife	Open	y	n	4	Recipe
10	Ok, i annan dimoun i **rousi** son zourit avan ley **met** son dile koko	Open	n	n	4	Recipe
11	netwaye deor, **kwi manze**	Open	y	y	3	Activity
12	**Kwi manze** enn ta louvraz nou fer	Open	y	y	3	Activity
13	nou **grat** sa lapo latet reken nou **tir** sa bann ehm disab ki lo la	Open	y	n	4	Recipe
14	Aprezan ou **pers** ou dile ou **servi** sa dile koko	Open	y	n	4	Recipe
15	Ou **vin** ou **met** li **bwi**	Open	y	n	4	Recipe
16	Prezan ou **pran** li **met** li dan en pwalon	Take	y	n	4	Recipe
17	safron, - *know* safron?- **met** ansanm ladan ou **les** li kwi	Open	y	n	4	Recipe
18	**Dekor** li byen girland **met** lalimyer ladan	Open	y	n	4	Christmas
19	Apre nou al- aswar al lanmes nwel. M'**ale** mon **fini**, nou pran. . .	Aspectual	y	y	4	Christmas

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Task
20	Nou fer nou dezennen, nou fer party, **bwar manze**	Open	y	y	4	Christmas
21	Apre anmezir i pe **sode** i pe **large** la, mon met	Open	y	y	2	Recipe
22	Letan **retournen sorti** dan lanmes, . . . , nou get televizyon	Directional	y	y	3	Christmas
23	nou **reste** lamenm entre fanmir nou **partaz** kado	Open	y	n	3	Christmas
24	Mon netwaye, mon koup li an morso, **met** li **marinade** dan en pe limon	Open	y	n	6	Recipe
25	apre ou **met** li **sode**	Open	y	n	6	Recipe
26	De- en pti ge delo **met** li **sode** avek en pe disel ek dipwav	Open	y	n	6	Recipe
27	**met** li **bwi** en pti pe dan son kastrol	Open	y	n	6	Recipe
28	ler nou nou **vini sorti** lanmes, . . .	Directional	y	y	6	Christmas
29	. . . mon pe **desann** mon pe **al** kot XY	Directional	y	y	6	Christmas
30	mon dir zot bononm nwel in **pase** in **anvoy** la par lafnet	Open	y	y	6	Christmas
31	zot **sizle** li zot **met** son bann zepis	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
32	Apre, apre sa la, nou kommans **kwi manze**	Open	y	y	3	Christmas
33	midi edmi ler vini, **dir** bonzour **swet** kanmerad nwel	Open	y	n	3	Christmas
34	Apre, mon **asiz** li mon **met** ladan	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
35	ou'n **sizle** li byen menm ou'n **pran** ou bann zepis ou'n marinade ou'n les li griye	Open	y	n	2	Recipe
36	Nou *spend* nou lazourne **kwi manze** ansanm. Manz ansanm . . .	Open	y	y	2	Christmas
37	Si i annan ki'n pour donn kanmerad nou **sanze** nou **dekaste**	Open	y	y	2	Christmas
38	Ou **met** ou lapo latet reken **bwi**	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
39	Ou **pran** ou pwason sale **met bwi**	Take	y	n	2	Recipe
40	Ou **pran** bilenbi ou **rape**	Take	y	n	2	Recipe
41	Ou kab **fer** sek **met** ou piman, tou . . .	Open	y	n	3	Recipe

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Task
42	Salad mang, ou **plis** ou mang ou **lave**, ou kapab koup koup...	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
43	Mon **sans** rido mon **met** mon lakaz	Open	y	n	3	Christmas
44	Donk prezan nou **prepare netway** lakaz	Open	y	y	5	Christmas
45	Ou ganny sans reflesir lo bann keksoz ki'n **passe** in **fini** prezan	Aspectual	y	y	5	Christmas
46	Ou eh koup li, ou **netway** ladan ou **pran** son bann gous	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
47	Mon **pran** li mon **rousi** mon zak	Take	y	n	3	Recipe
48	Apre **azout** ou pwason **met** en pti pe delo zis par lao les li *simmer*	Open	y	n	3	Recipe
49	Prezan, li in **ale** in **regarde**	Open	y	y	6	Flood
50	Prezan, sa madanm in **sorti** dan lakaz in **vin** regarde obor semen	Directional	y	n	6	Flood
51	Bato i **tap** li **tonbe**	Resultative	n	n	6	Flood
52	borlanmer, kot delo in **monte** in **balye** la	Open	y	y	6	Flood

A6.2 Intonation contour of putative SVCs in Semi-Spontaneous Data

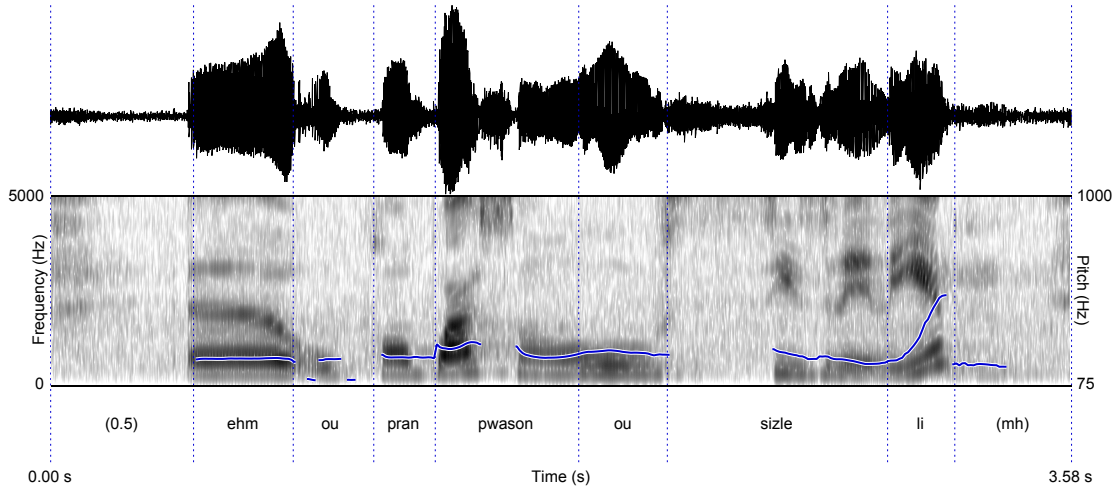


Figure 1.1: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (1)

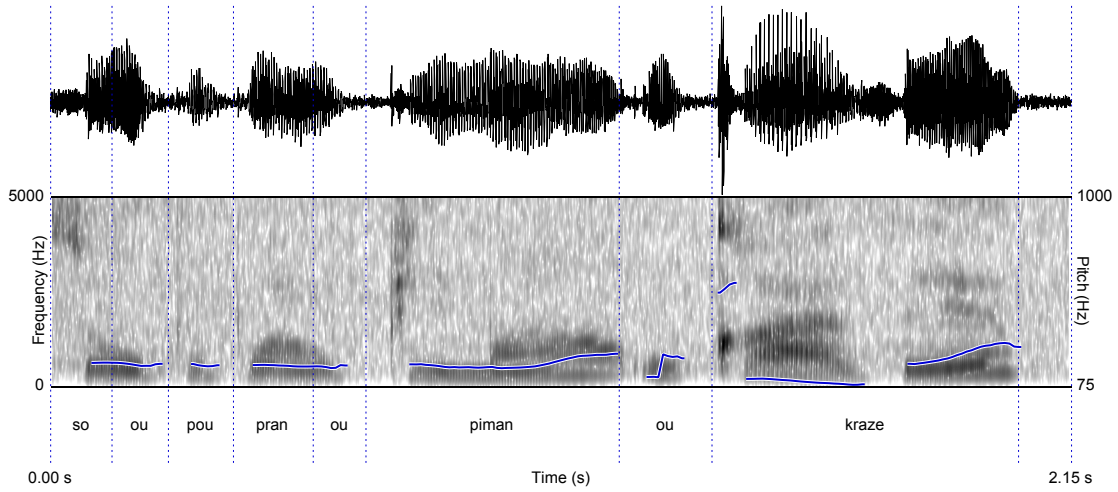


Figure 1.2: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (2)

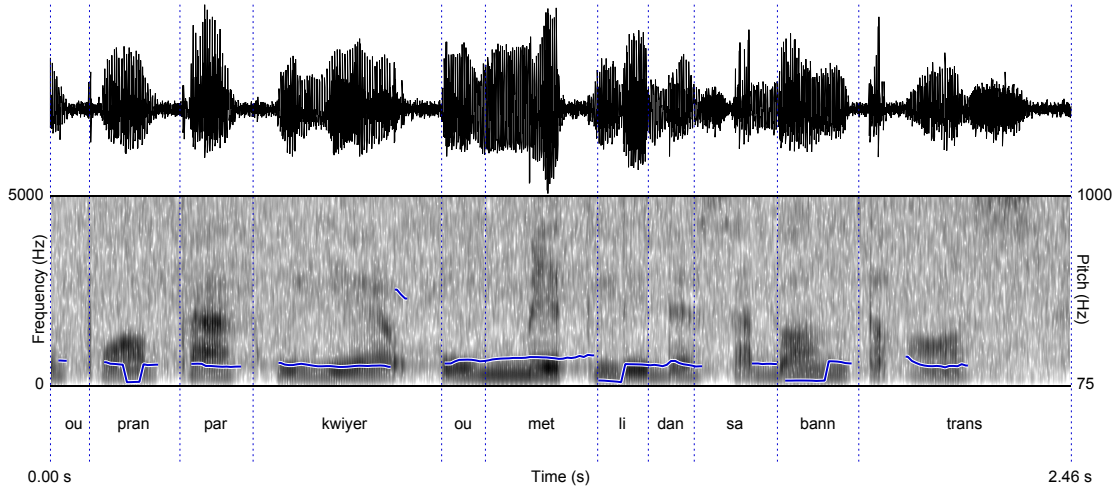


Figure 1.3: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (3)

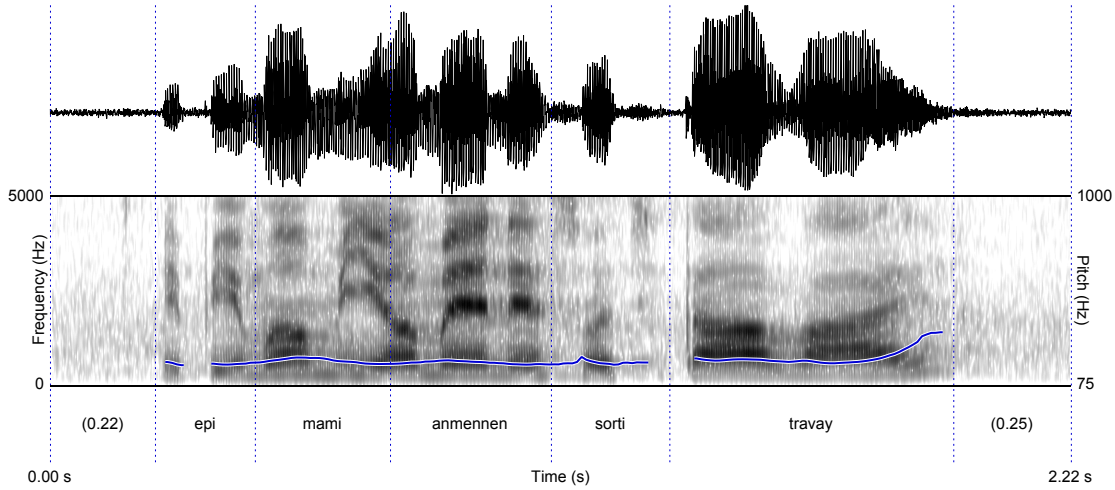


Figure 1.4: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (4)

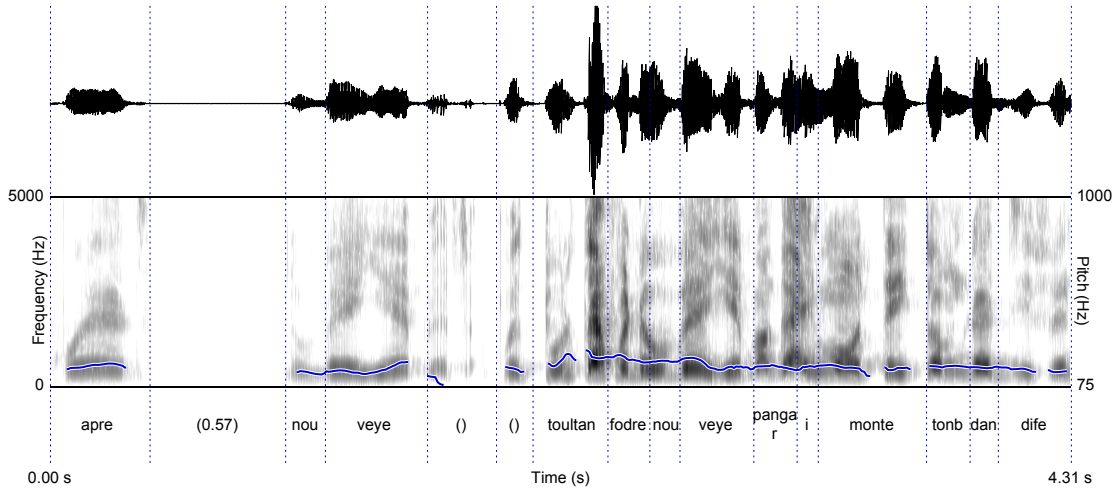


Figure 1.5: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (5)

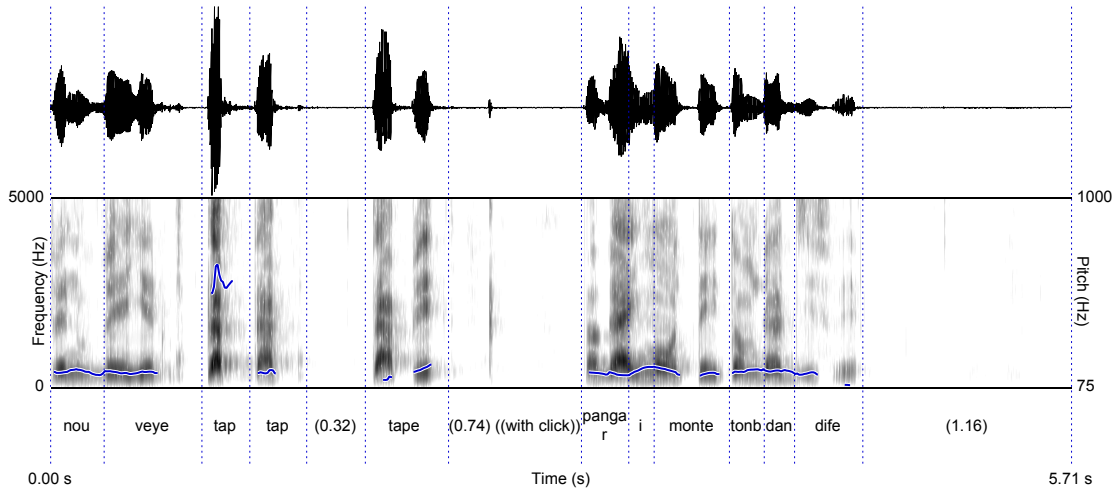


Figure 1.6: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (6)

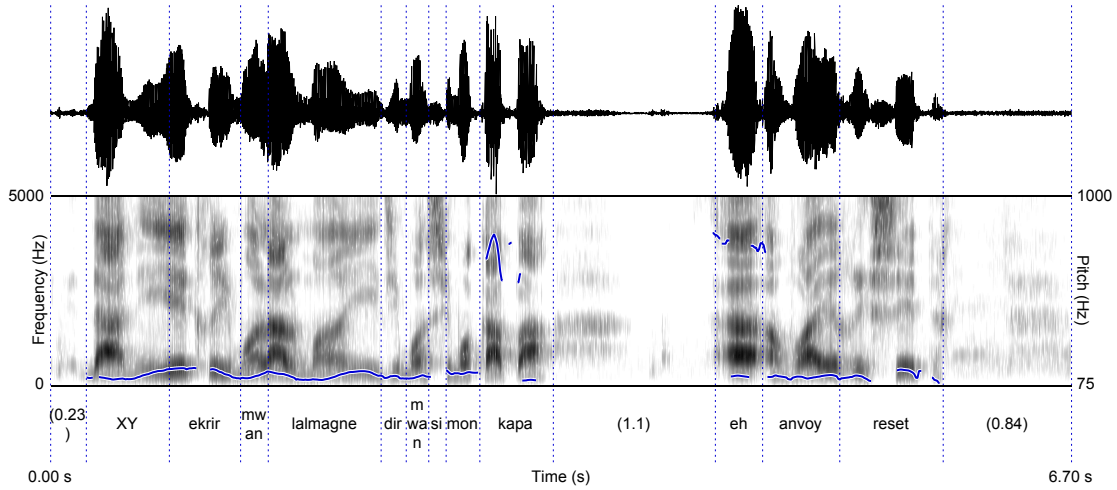


Figure 1.7: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (7)

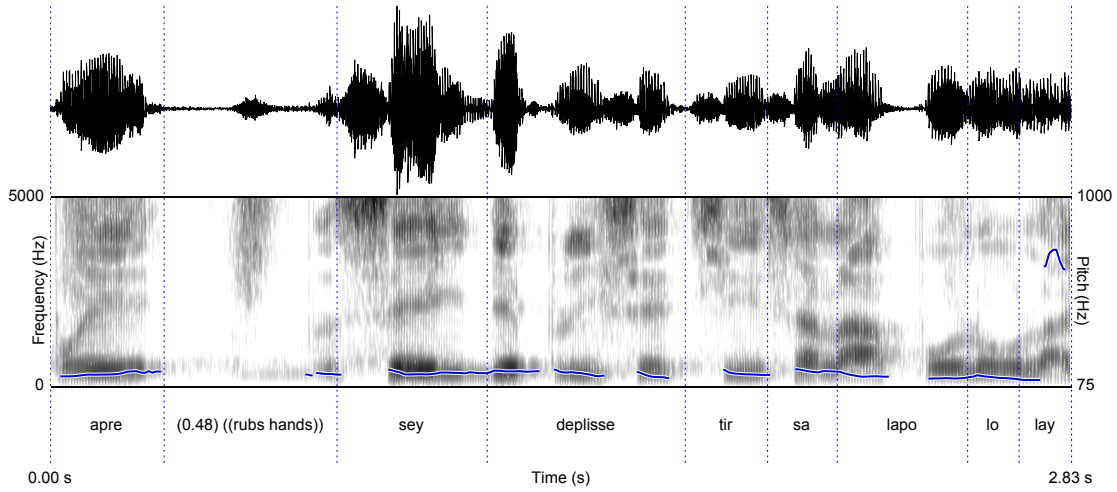


Figure 1.8: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (8)

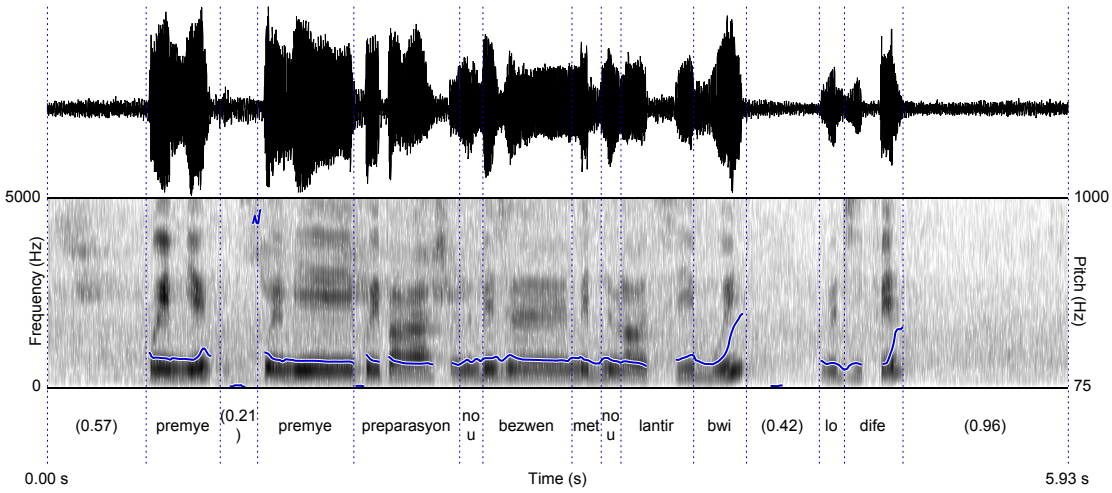


Figure 1.9: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (9)

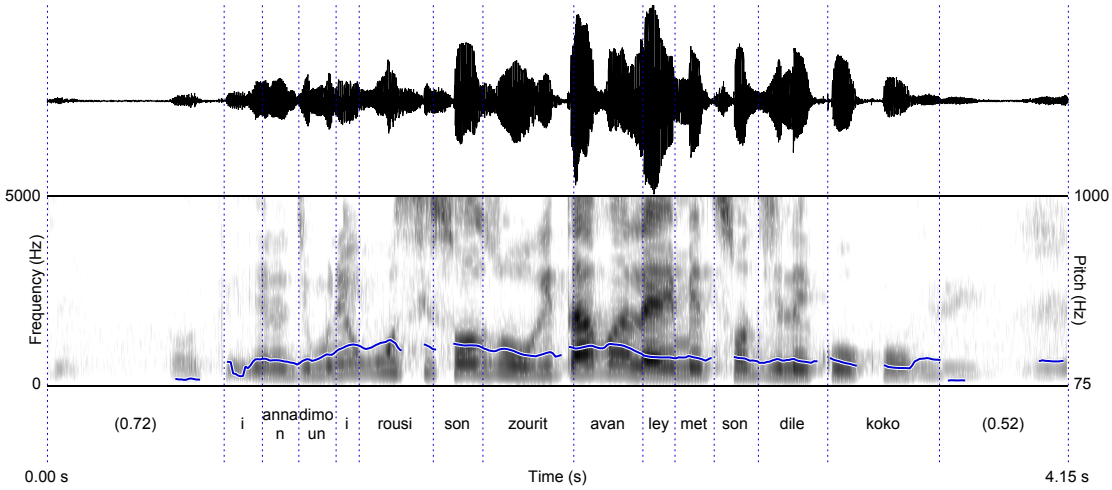


Figure 1.10: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (10)

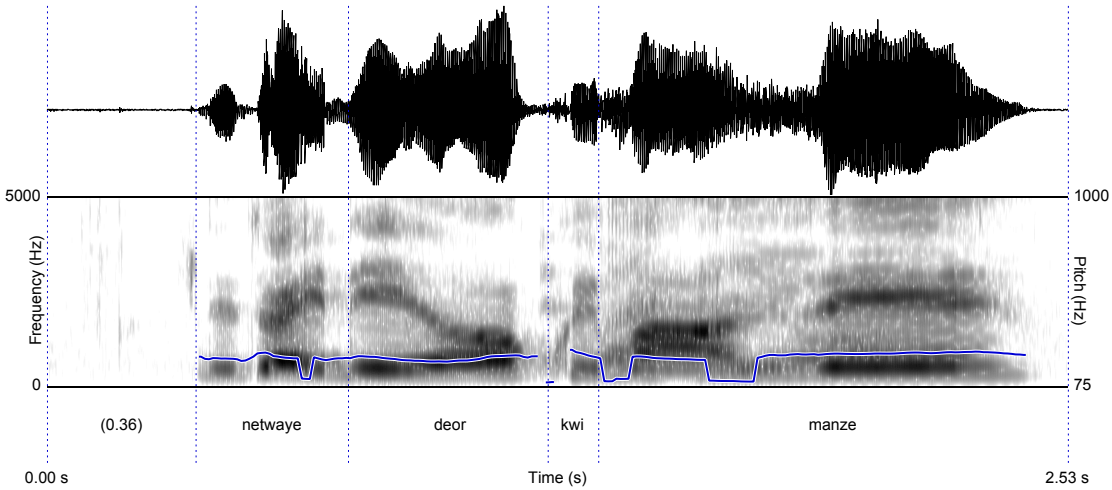


Figure 1.11: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (11)

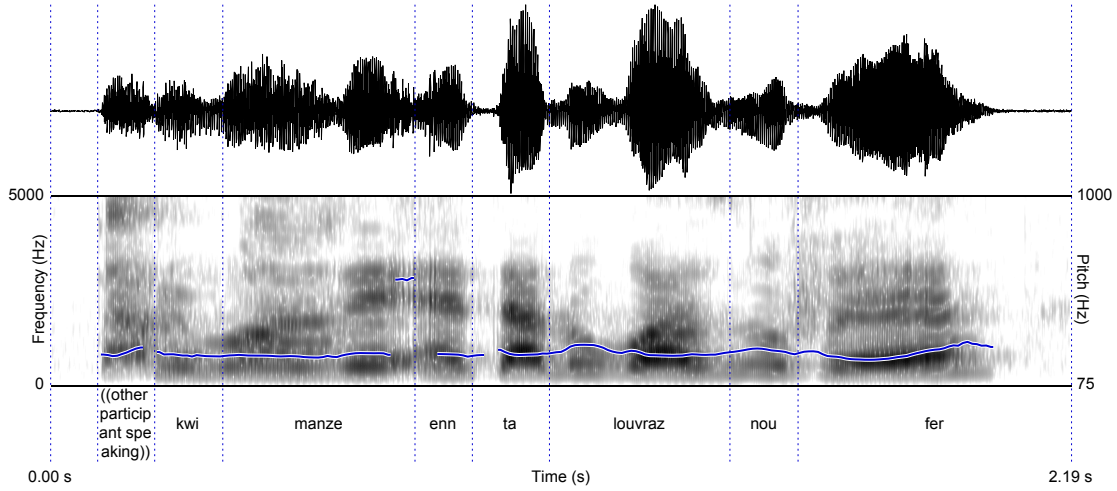


Figure 1.12: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (12)

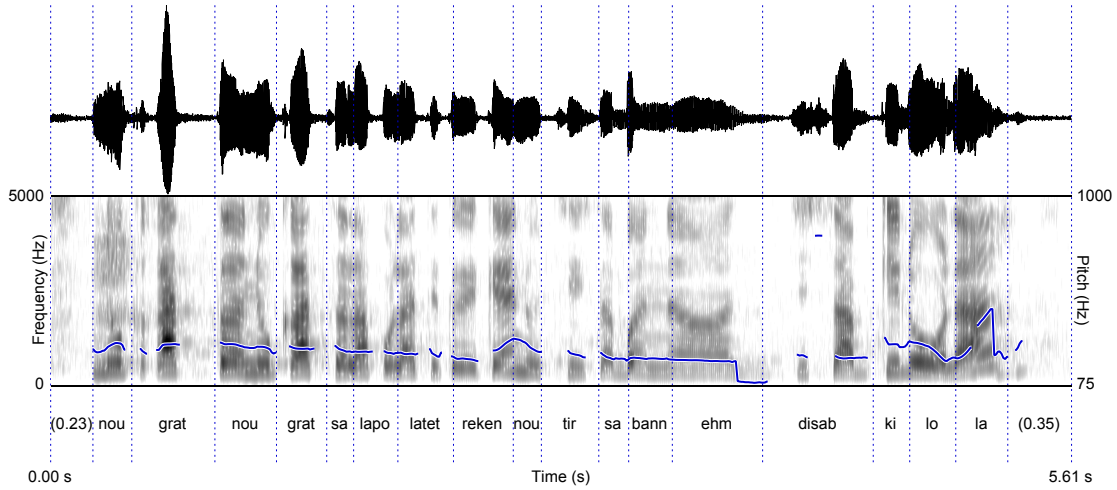


Figure 1.13: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (13)

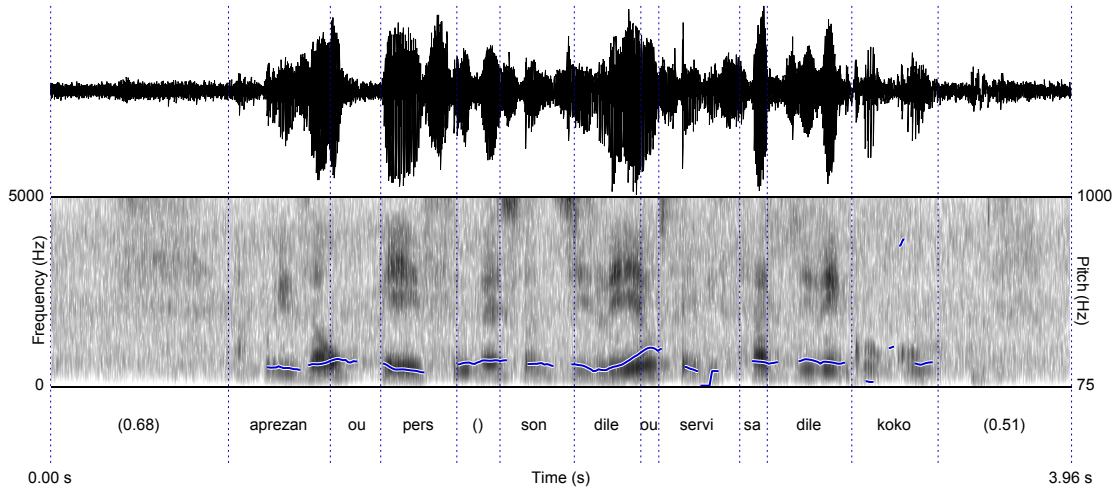


Figure 1.14: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (14)

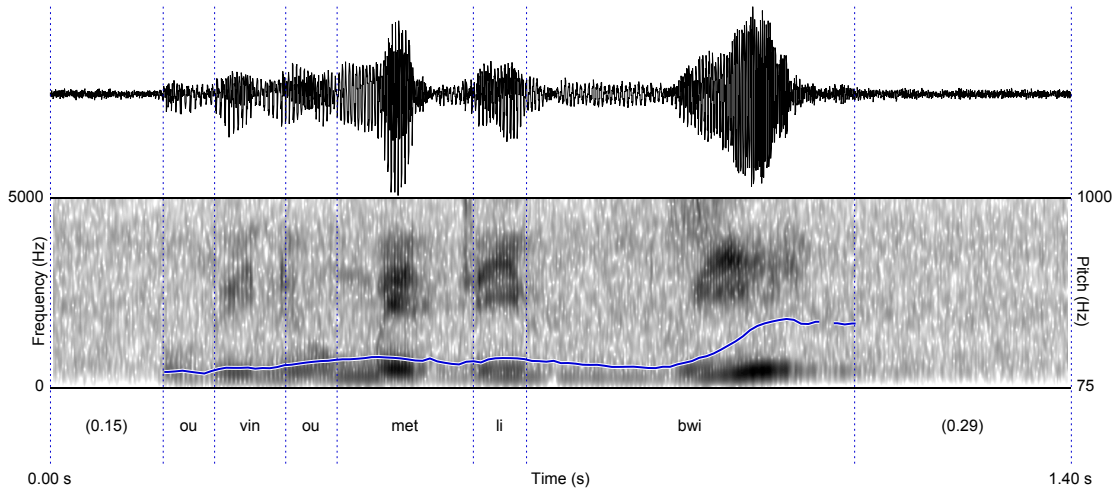


Figure 1.15: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (15)

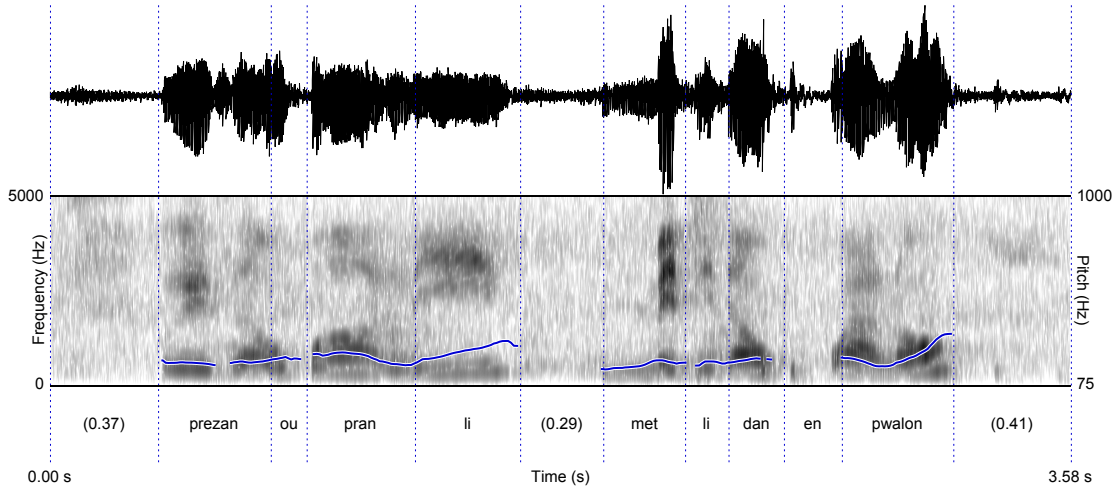


Figure 1.16: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (16)

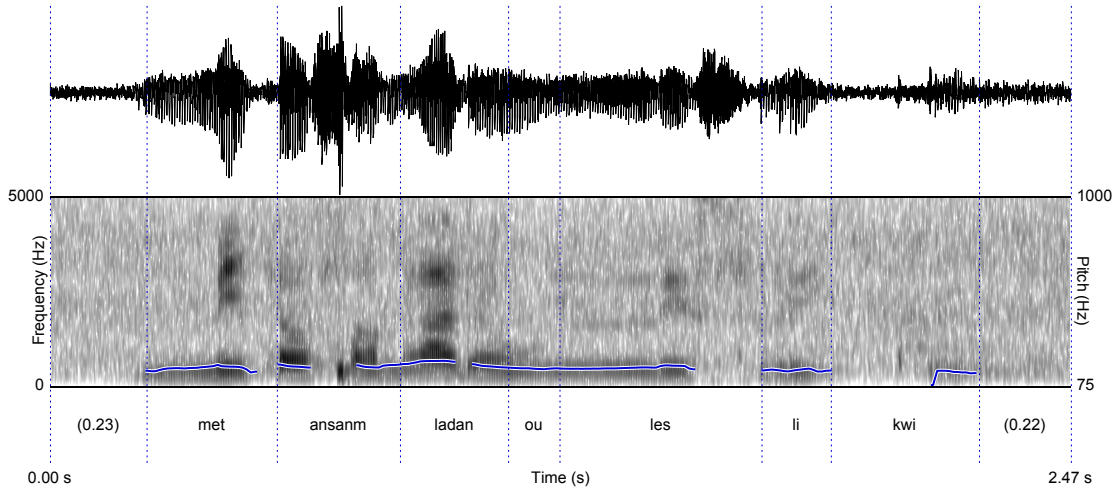


Figure 1.17: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (17)

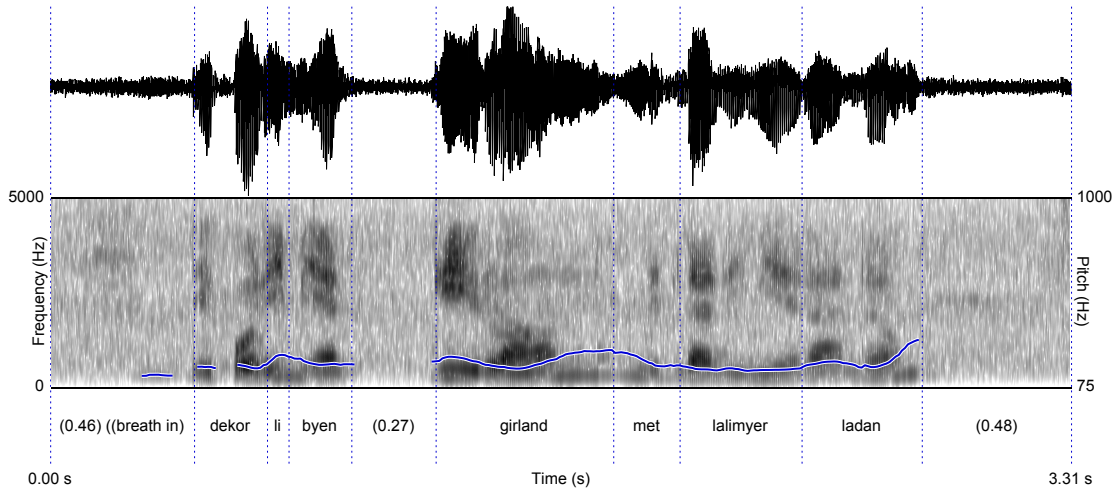


Figure 1.18: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (18)

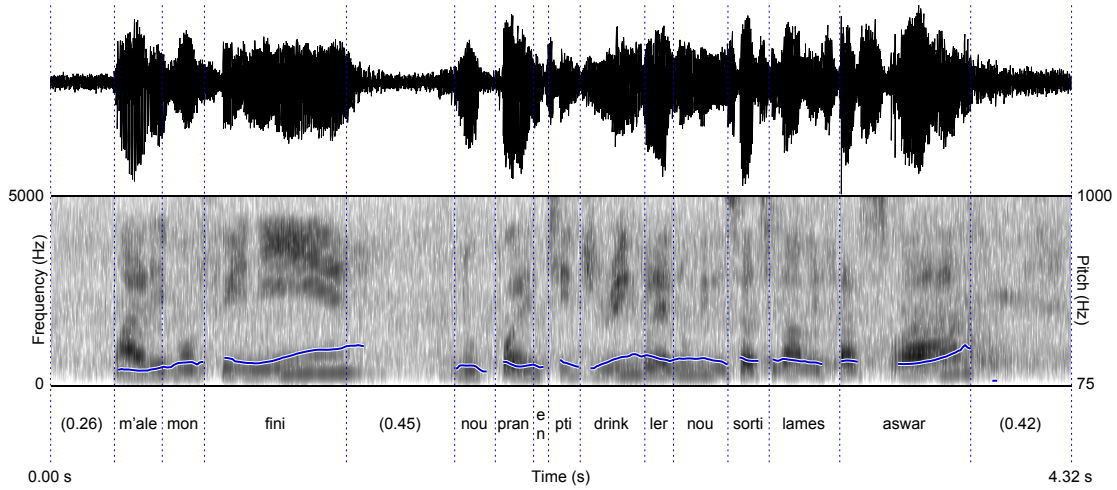


Figure 1.19: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (19)

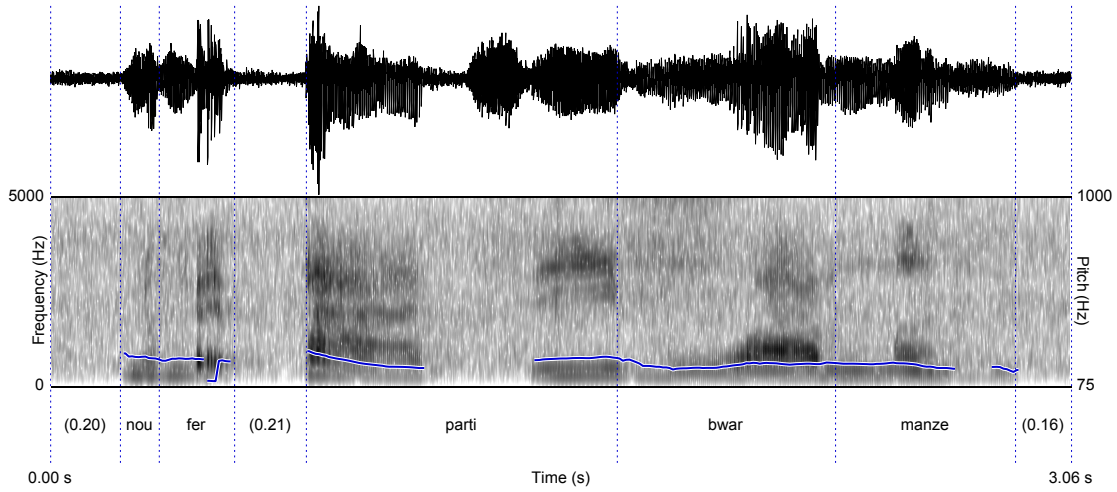


Figure 1.20: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (20)

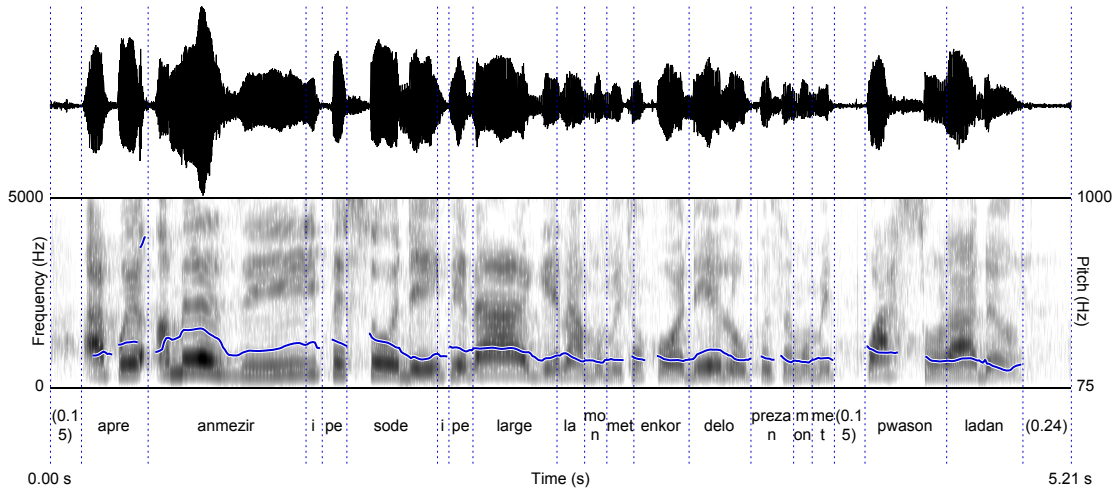


Figure 1.21: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (21)

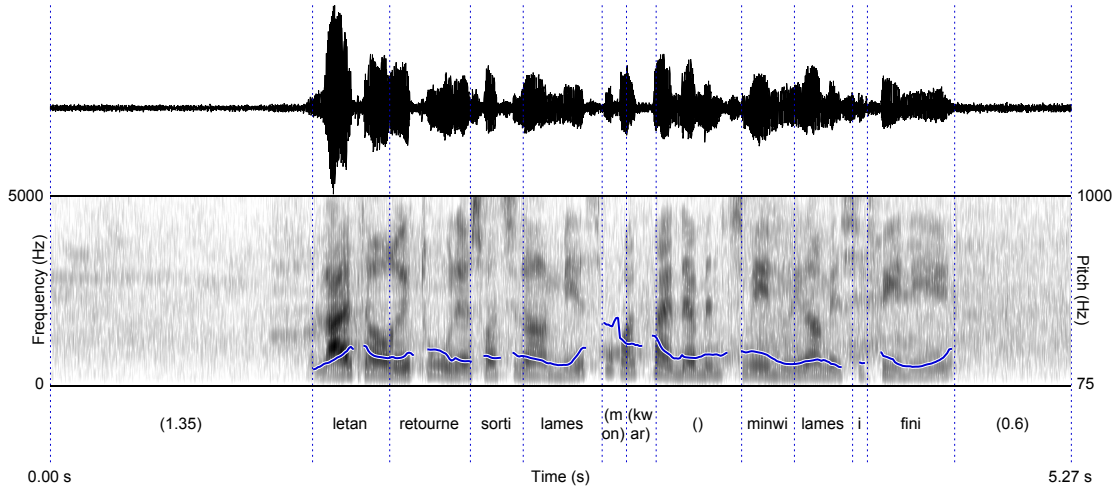


Figure 1.22: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (22)

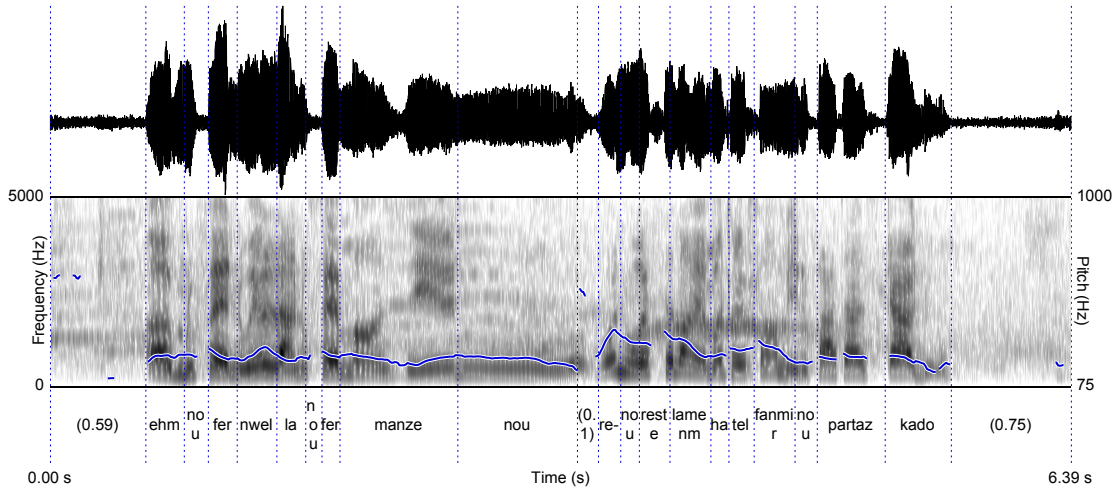


Figure 1.23: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (23)

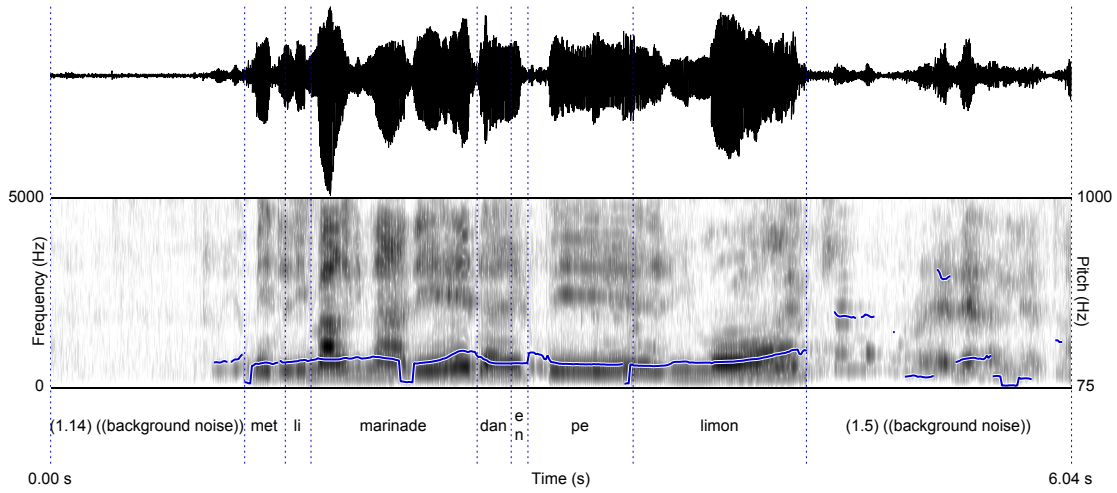


Figure 1.24: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (24)

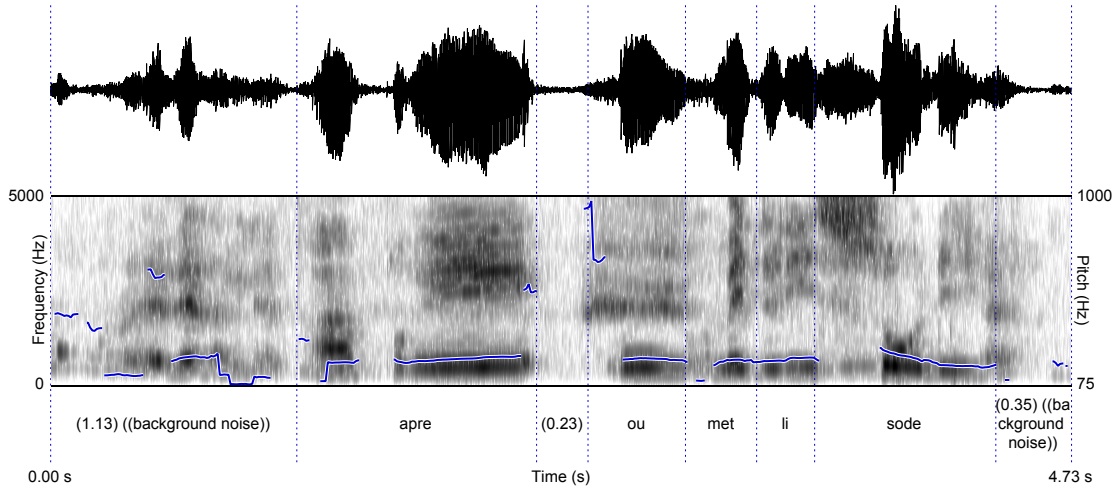


Figure 1.25: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (25)

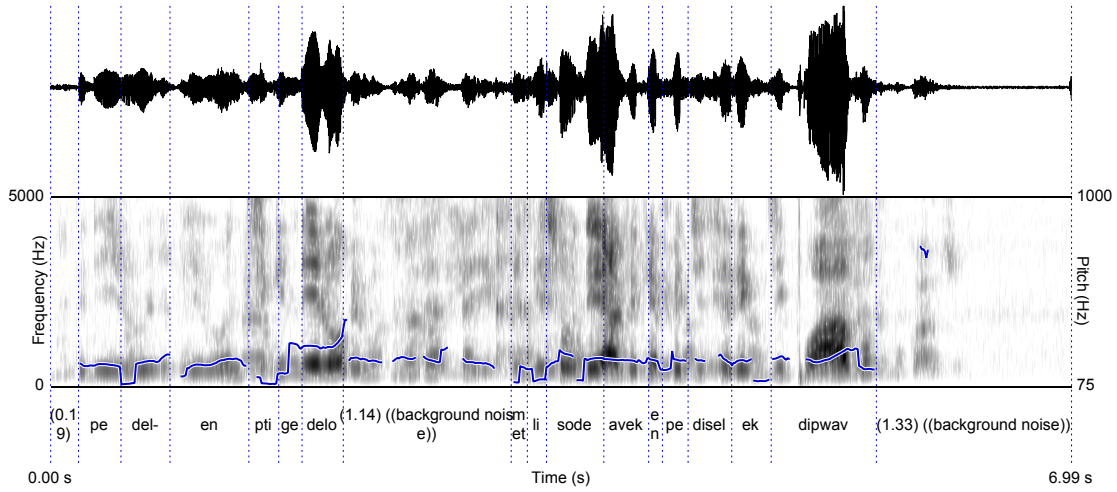


Figure 1.26: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (26)

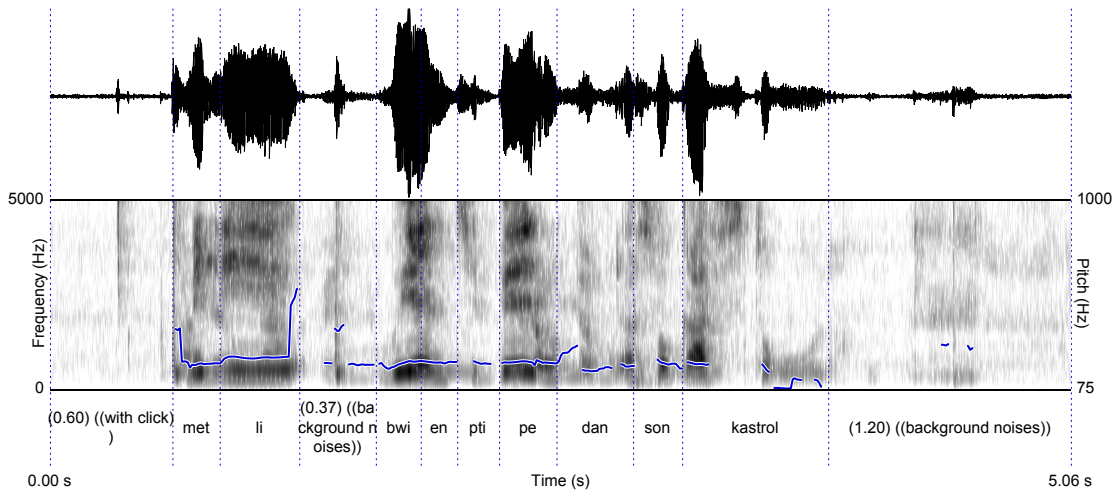


Figure 1.27: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (27)

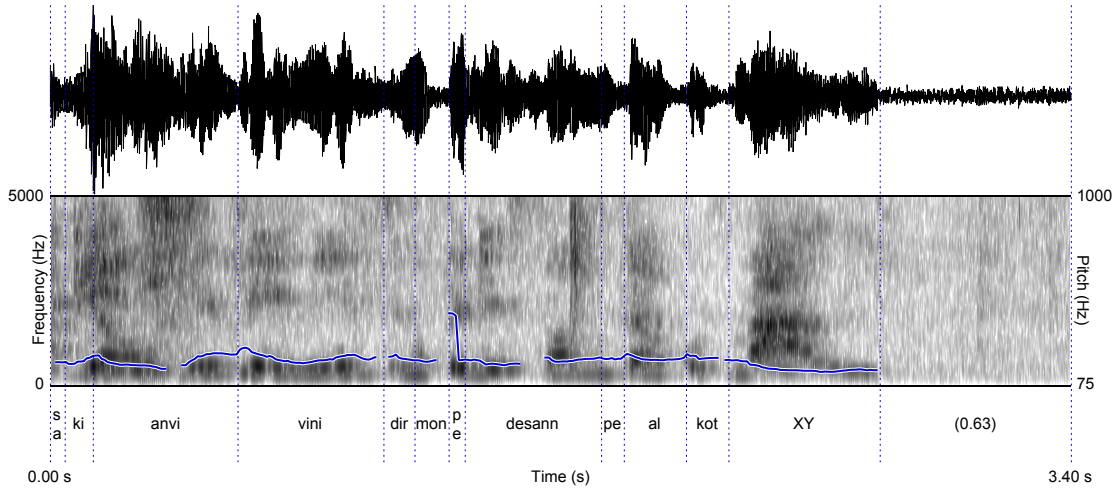


Figure 1.28: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (28)

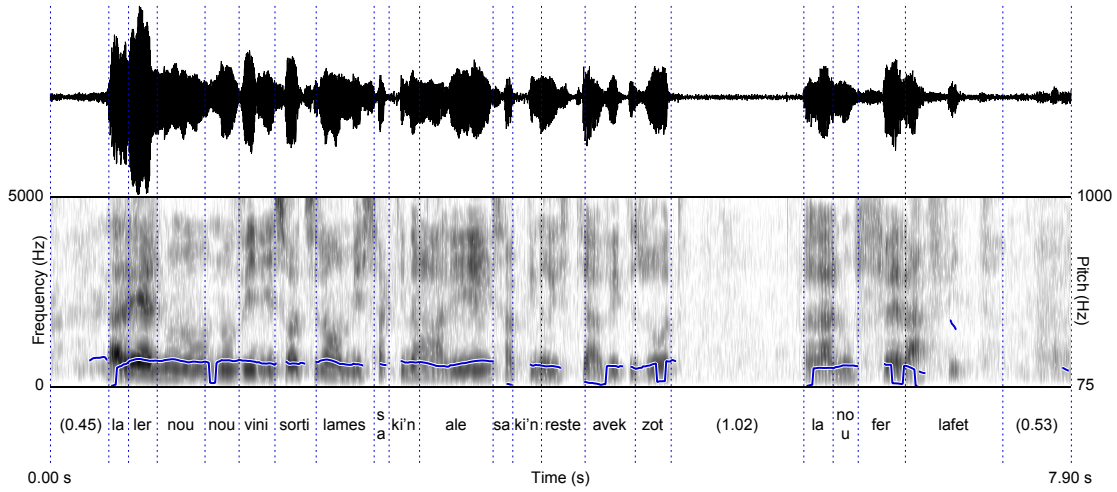


Figure 1.29: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (29)

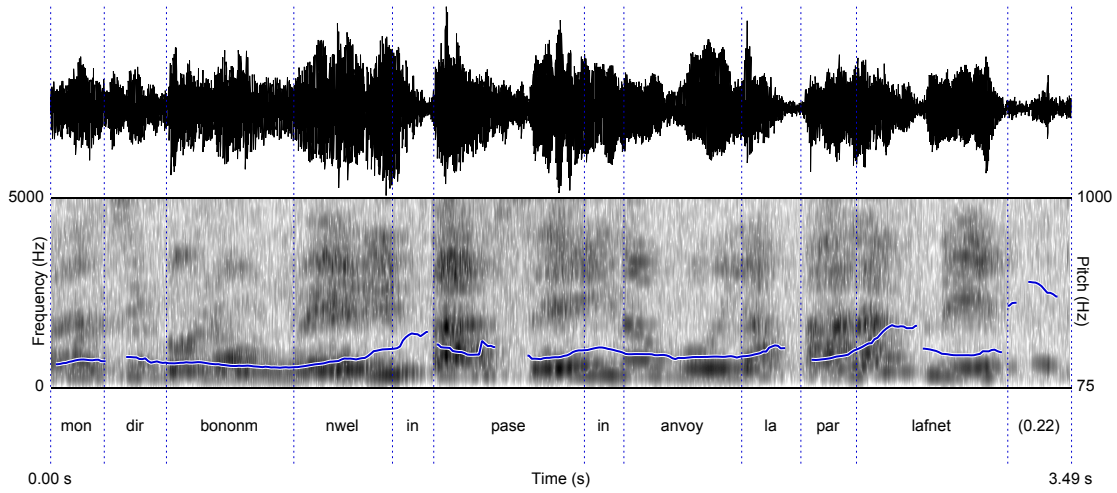


Figure 1.30: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (30)

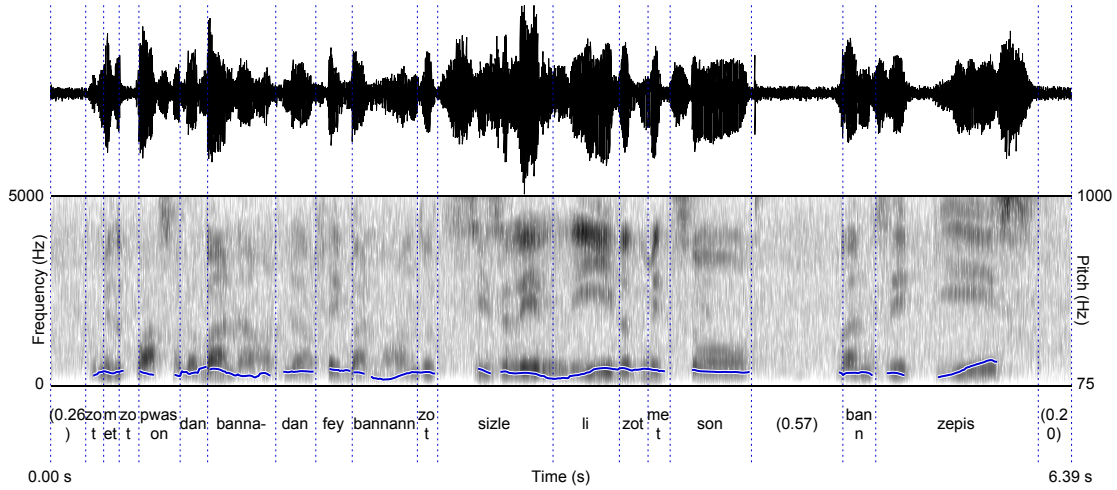


Figure 1.31: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (31)

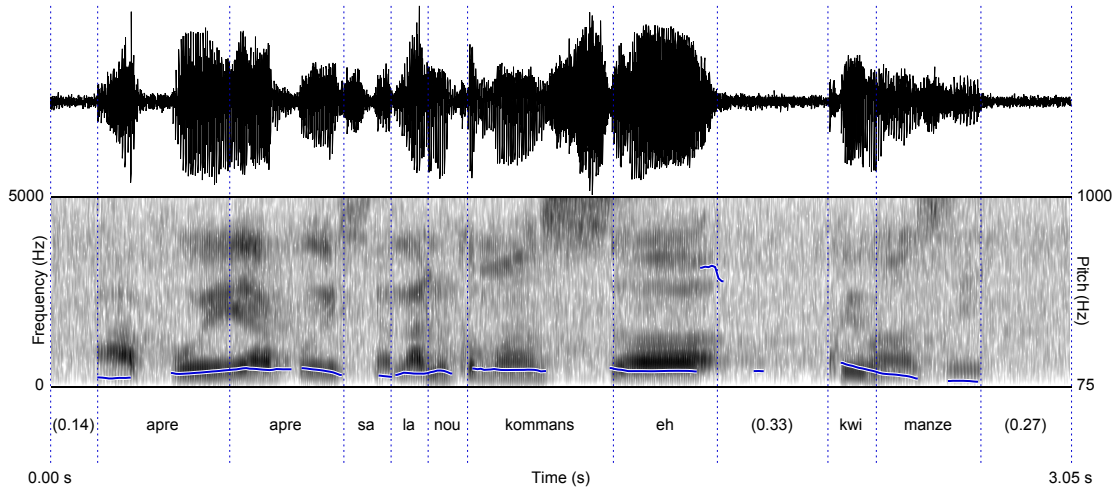


Figure 1.32: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (32)

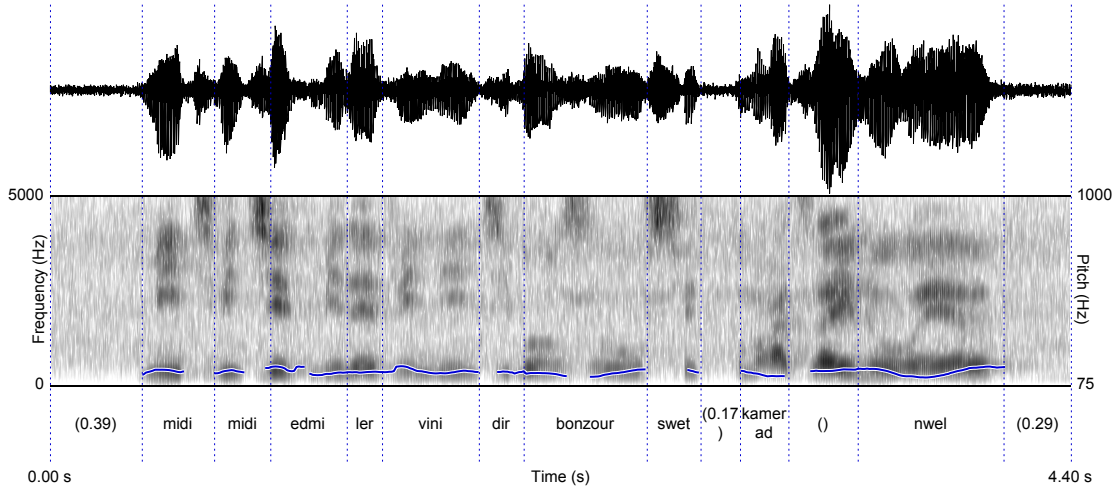


Figure 1.33: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (33)

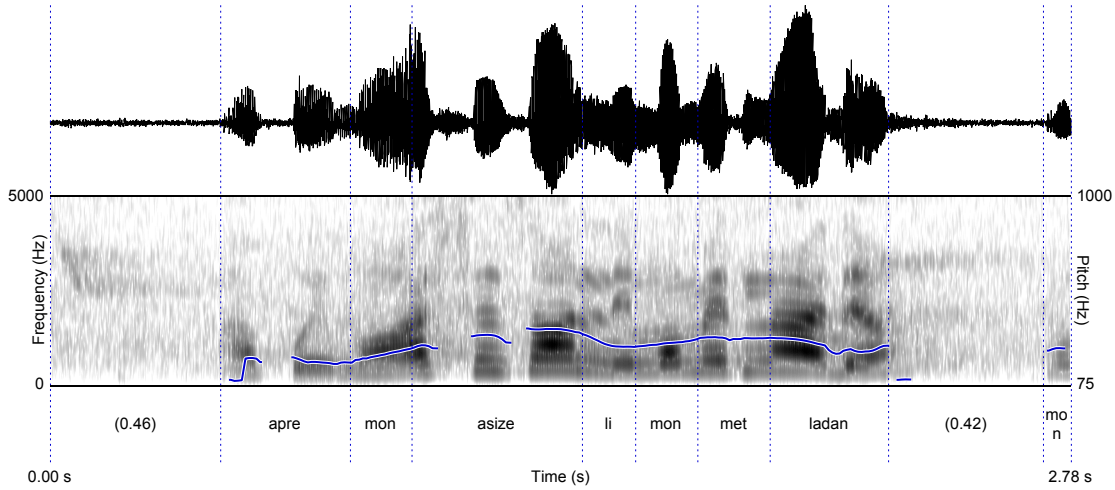


Figure 1.34: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (34)

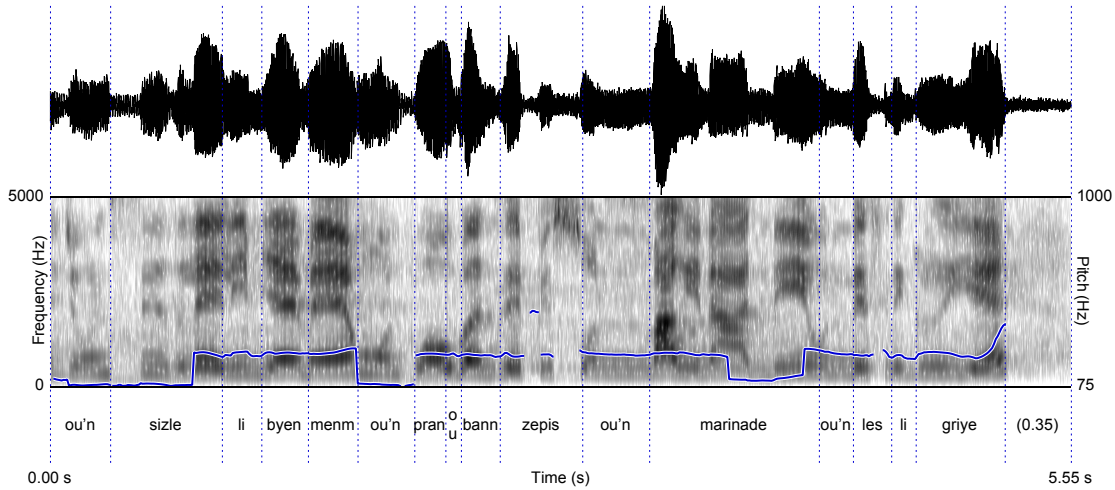


Figure 1.35: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (35)

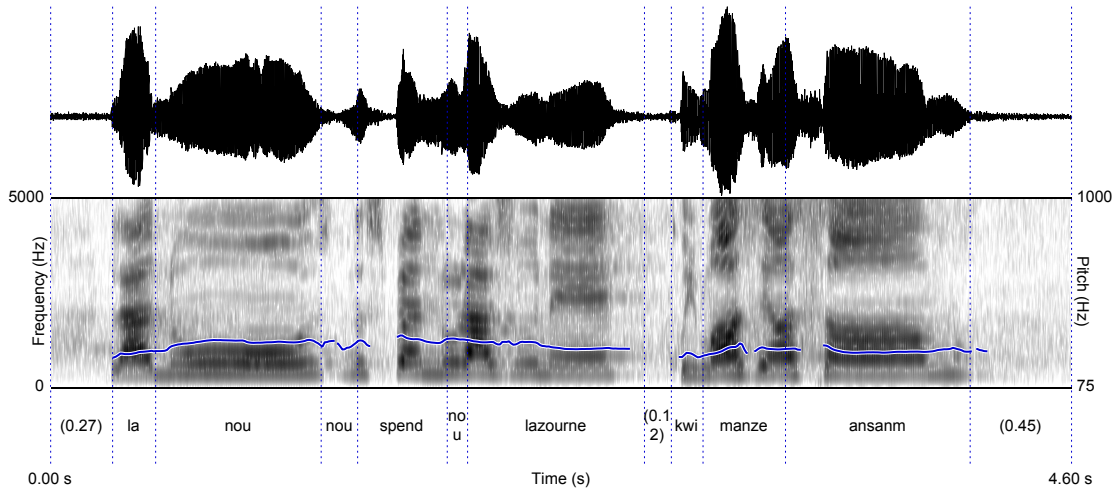


Figure 1.36: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (36)

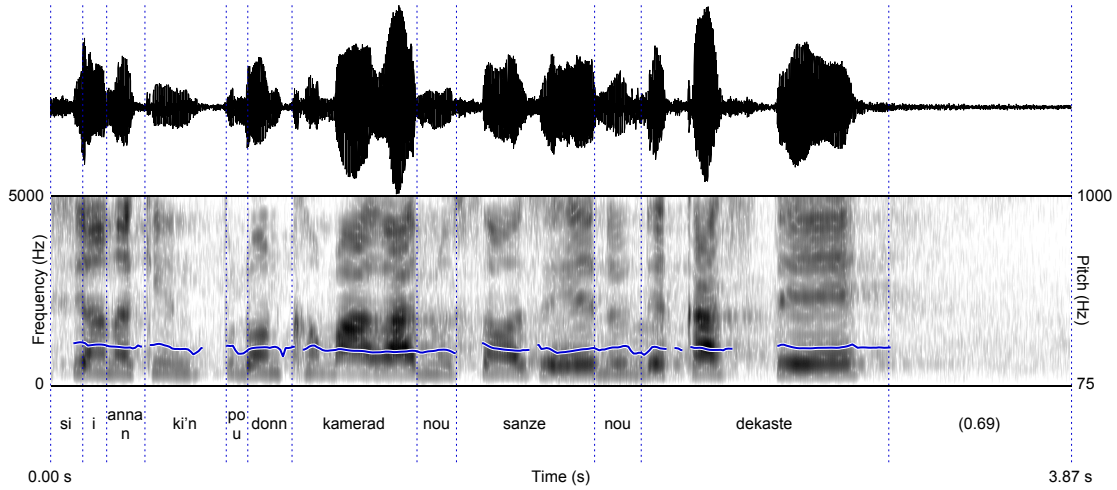


Figure 1.37: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (37)

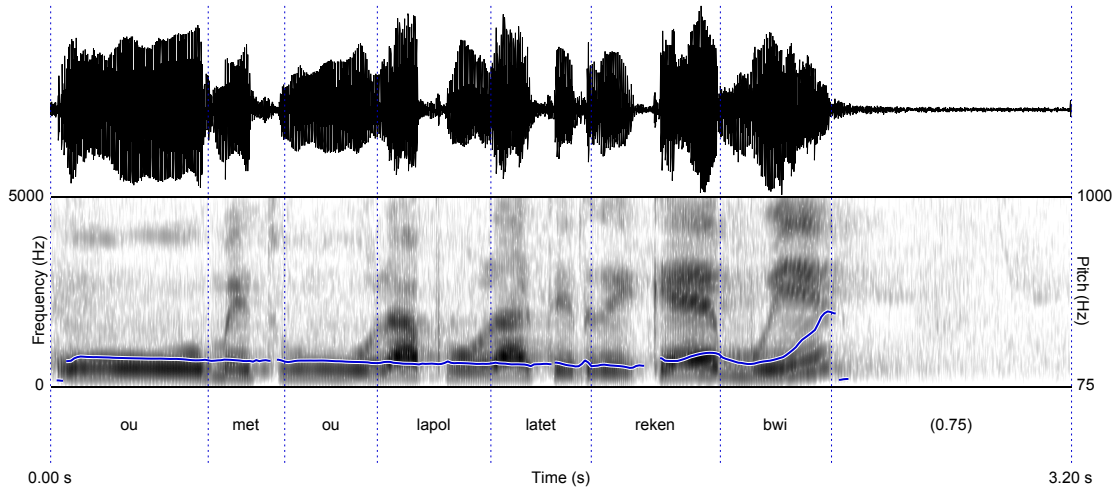


Figure 1.38: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (38)

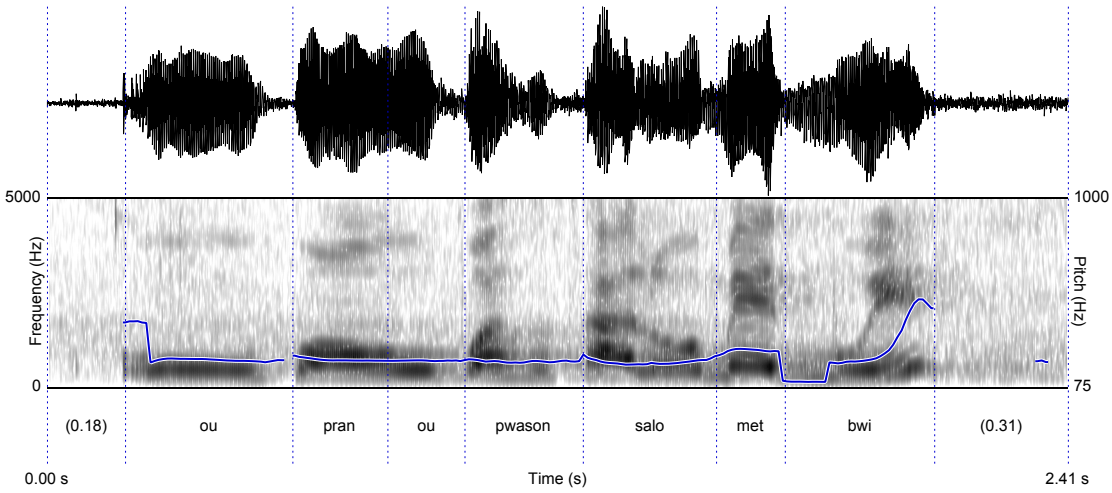


Figure 1.39: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (39)

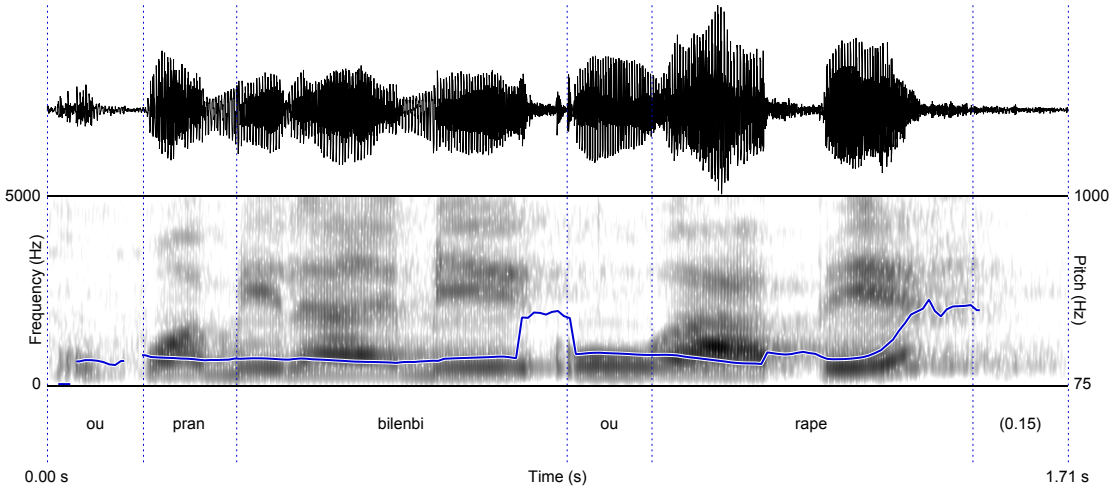


Figure 1.40: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (40)

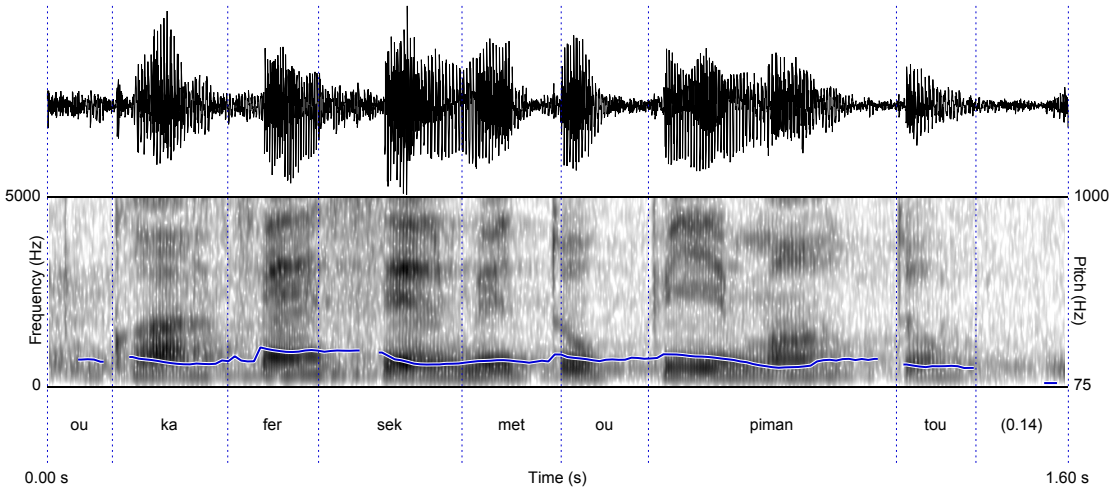


Figure 1.41: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (41)

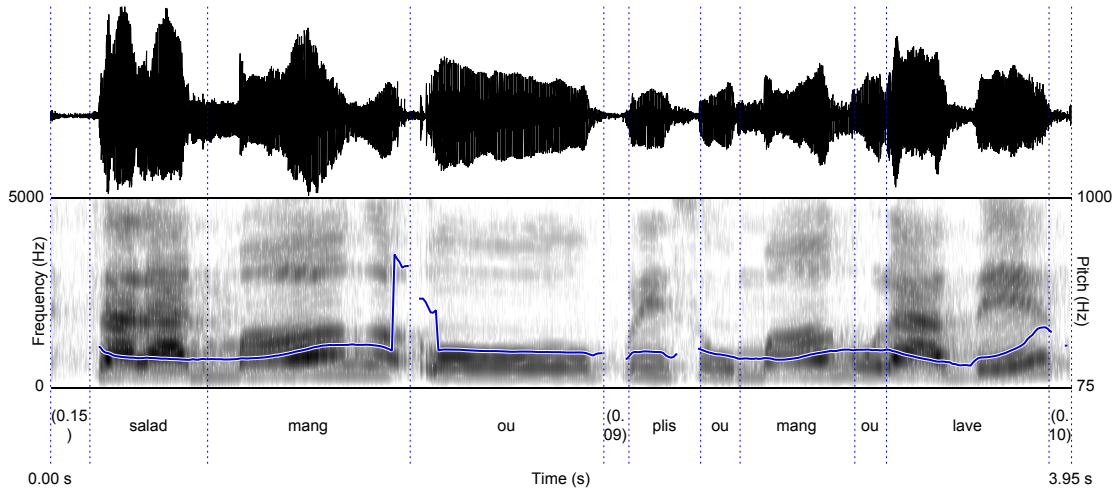


Figure 1.42: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (42)

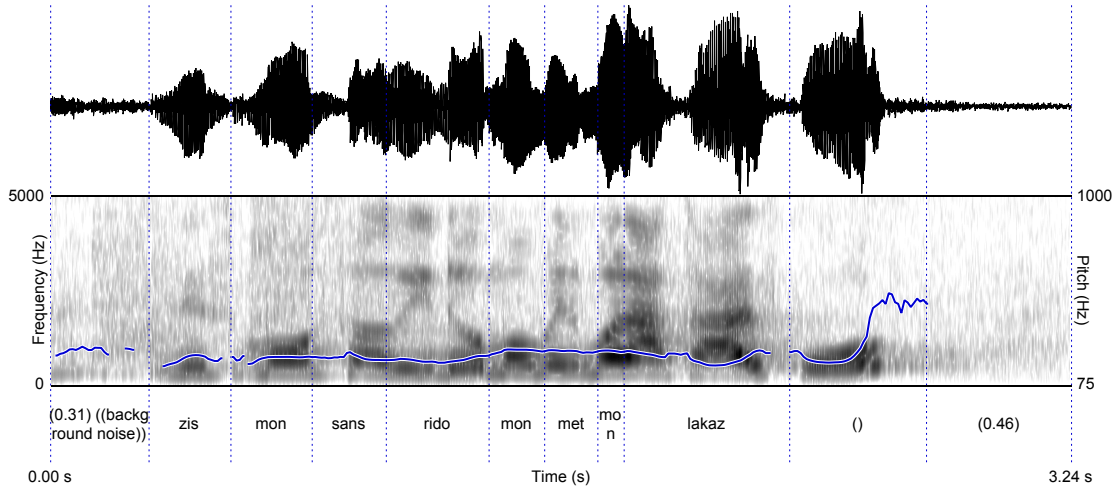


Figure 1.43: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (43)

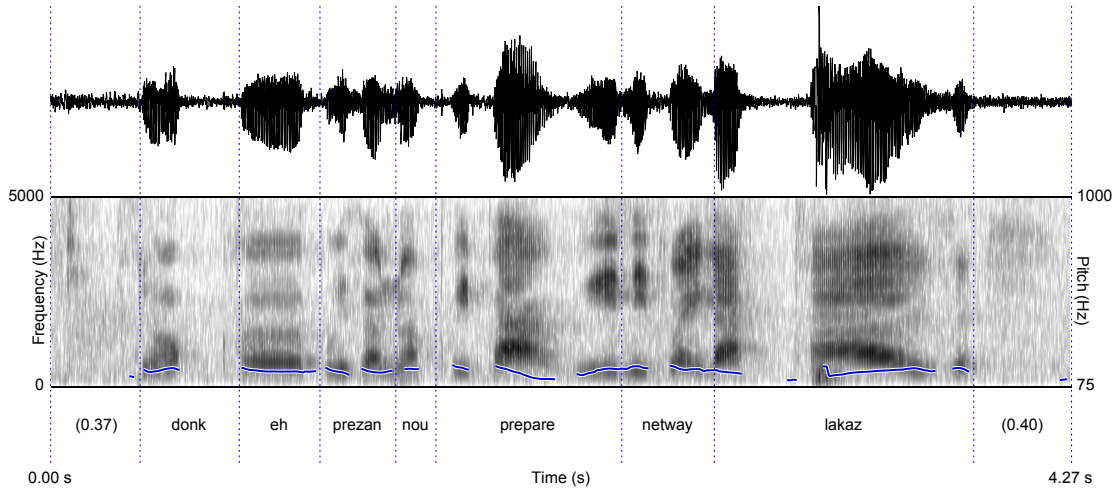


Figure 1.44: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (44)

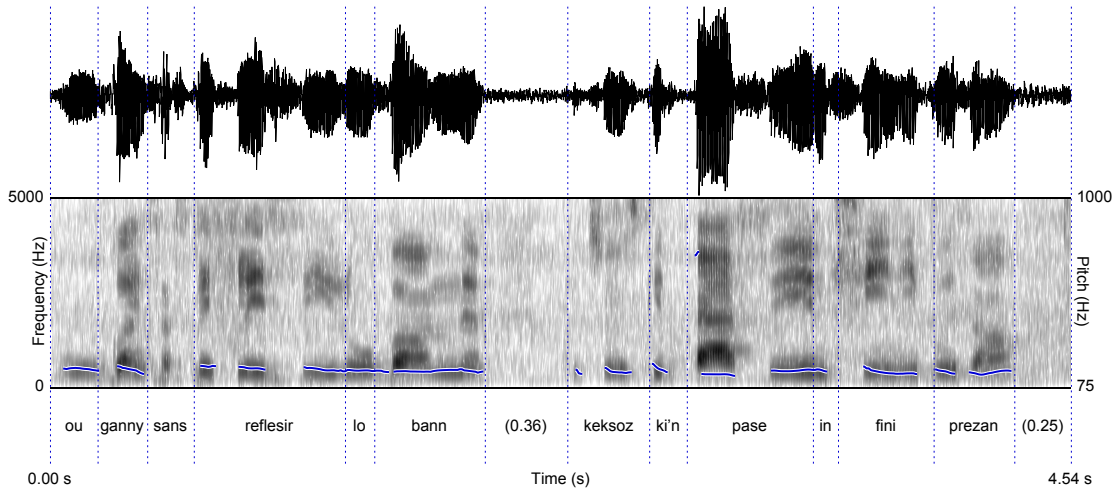


Figure 1.45: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (45)

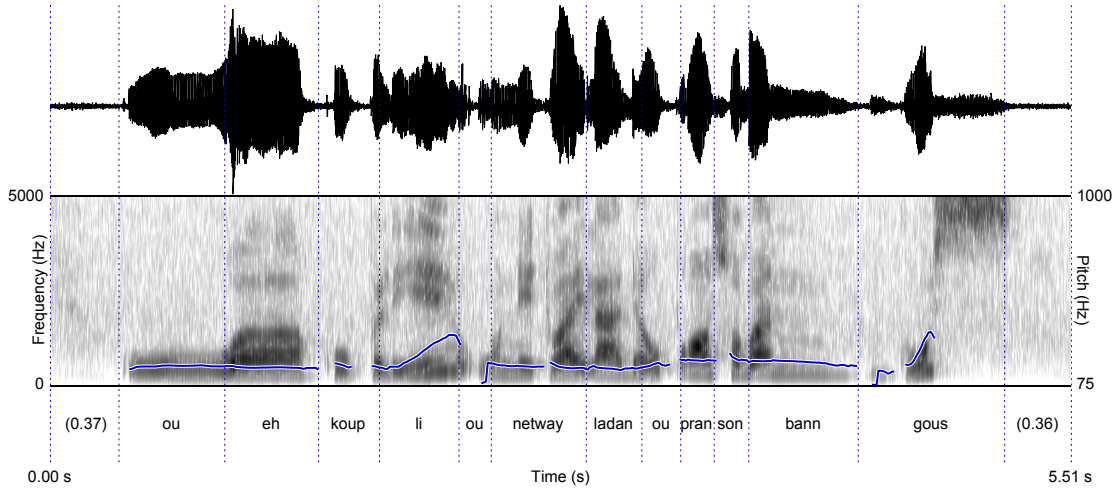


Figure 1.46: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (46)

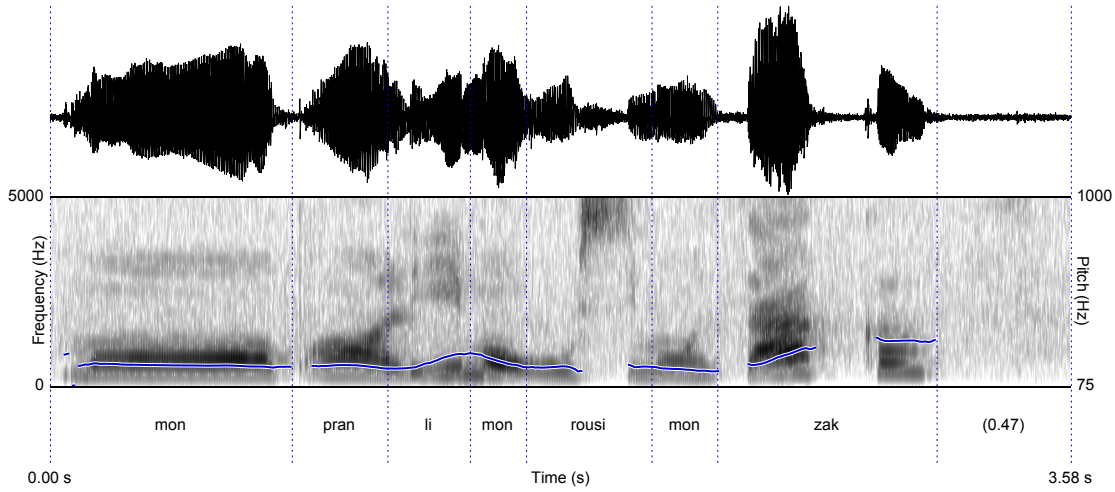


Figure 1.47: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (47)

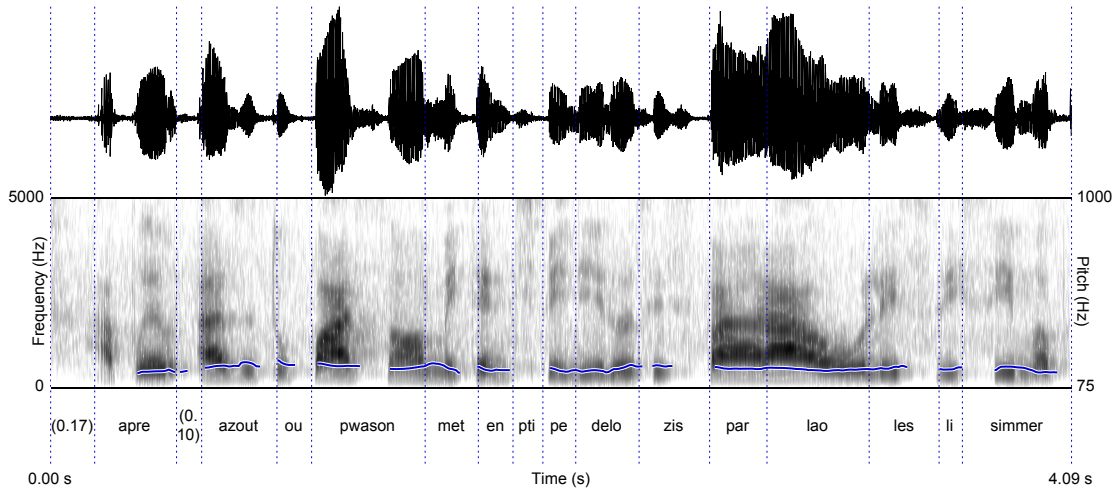


Figure 1.48: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (48)

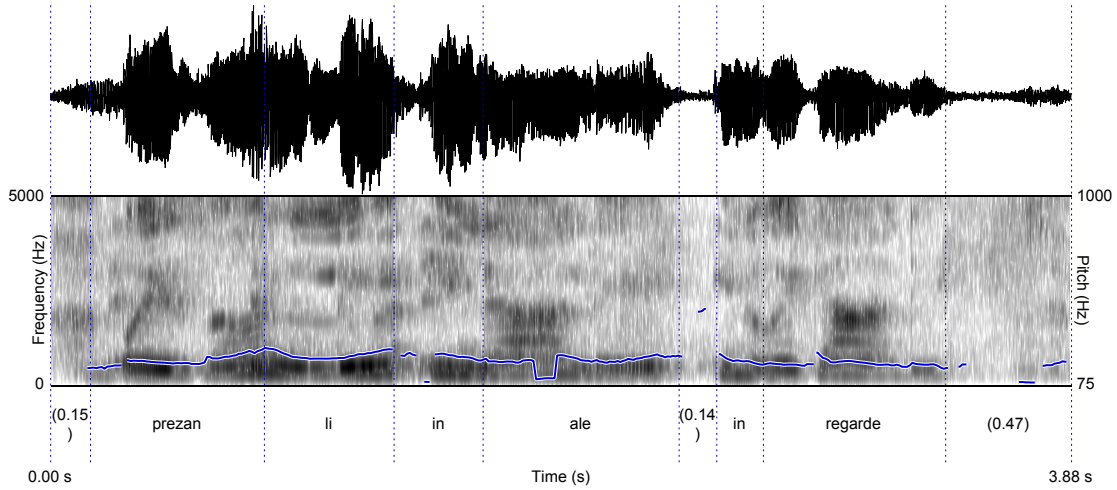


Figure 1.49: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (49)

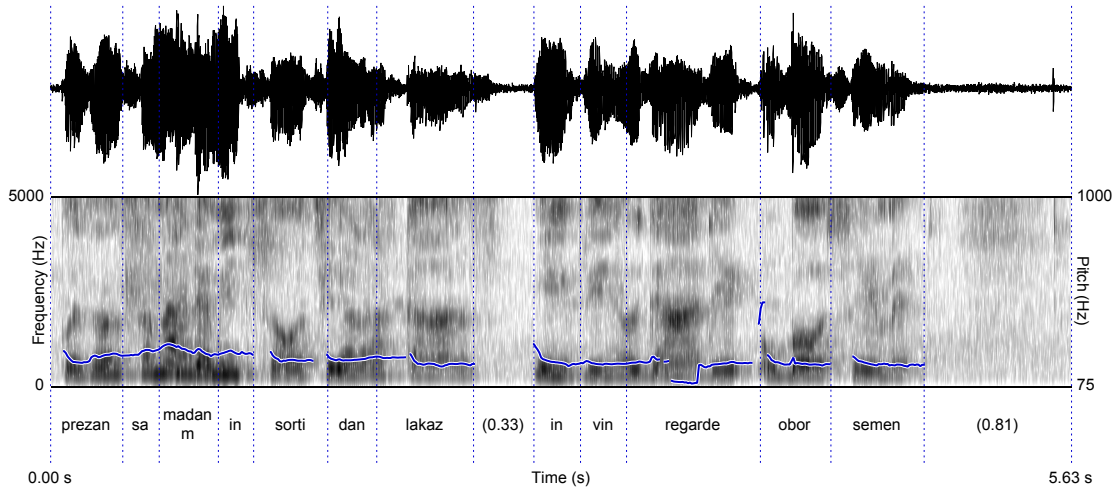


Figure 1.50: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (50)

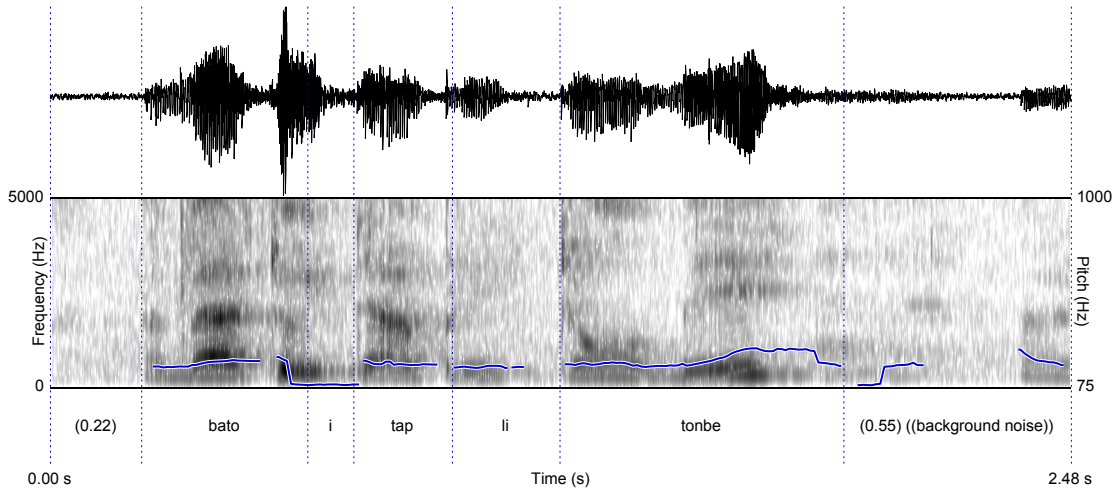


Figure 1.51: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (51)

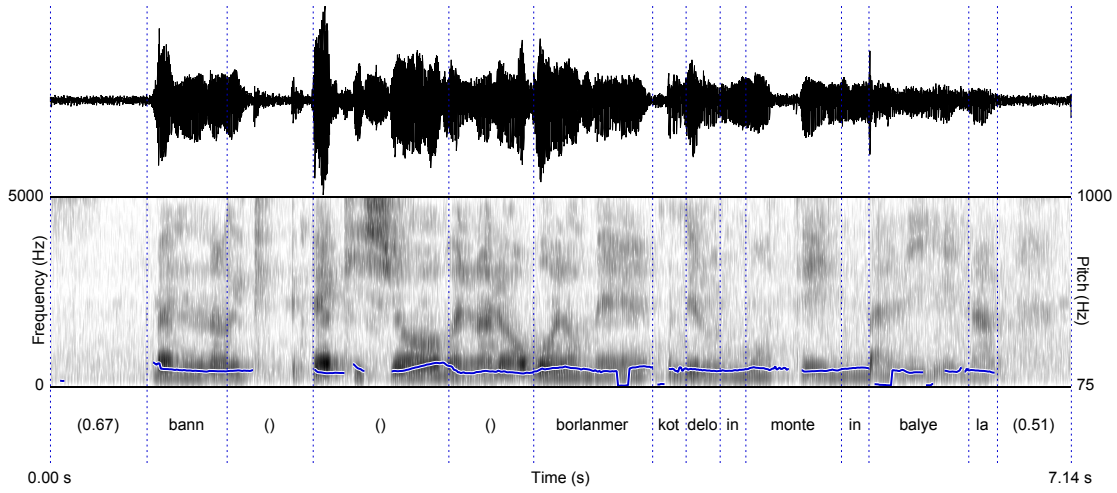


Figure 1.52: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Semi (52)

A7 Elicitation Data

A7.1 List of putative SVCs in Elicitation Data

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
1	Son tas i **tonbe kraze**	Resultative	n	y	2	27
2	En msye in vini, i'n **pran** sa bisiklet i'n **pedale** e i'n ale	Take	y	n	5	6
3	En dimoun in vini, i'n **trap** sa de baget i'n **tap** sa tanbour	Take	y	n	5	9
4	En dimoun in **vini** in **pran** sa bwat zalimet, i'n- i'n eklate e i'n alim sa labouzi	Open	y	y	5	10
5	En dimoun in **vini** in **pran** avek en pla ki annan de lezot bout ladan	Open	y	y	5	11
6	En dimoun in **vini** in **pran** en pti pe disel, dipwav in **met** ladan e kontinye bat sa dizef	Open	y	n	5	12
7	En dimoun in **vini** in **pran** sa bol avek sa lonmnet ki'n prepare	Open	y	y	5	14
8	En msye in anmas en gran portre ater e i'n **pran** i'n **akros** li lo miray	Take	y	y	5	17
9	En dimoun i **vini** i **pran** en lot dizef parmi	Open	y	y	5	18
10	I **kase met** ankor dan sa bol	Open	y	y	5	18
11	En msye i **vini** i **pran** sa bannan i **plise** i **manze**	Open	y	y	5	19
12	E i **fini** manz son lonmnet dizef i **depoz** son kwiyer avek son fourset dan son lasyet vid	Open	y	n	5	22
13	En msye pe tir larzan dan ATM (.) i **fini** tire i **pran** sa larzan i **ale** i **donn** en madanm	Give	y	n	5	24
14	. . . e i **pran** sa liv i **donn** en dimoun	Give	y	n	5	25
15	. . . e sa tas i **sap** li **tonbe kraze**	Resultative	n	n	5	27
16	Sa msye i pous sa lot msye e i **zet** li ater i **tonbe**	Resultative	y	n	5	29
17	En zonm pe **monte** pe- pe **desann** peron	Directional	y	n	2	7

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
18	La I pe mont leskalye, apre i pe **retournen** i pe **desann** leskalye	Directional	y	y	6	7
19	Pe fri, pe **fri** dizef **met** dan pwalon	Open	y	n	6	14
20	Pe **fer** paryaz **taye**	Open	y	n	6	21
21	Ya pe **pey(e) donn** larzan sa madanm	Give	n	y	6	24
22	I'n **pran** son baget tanbour i'n **tap** lo son tanbour	Take	y	n	6	9
23	Lo son grill i annan de bout pork, epi'n **repran** ankor en lot in **met** lo grill	Take	y	n	6	11
24	I'n **bat** dizef i'n **met** uh dipwav ladan	Open	y	n	6	12
25	Epi'n **pran** son dizef in **met** ladan, epi'n vire (.) pou li fer kwi byen	Take	y	n	6	14
26	I'n **pran** i'n **anvoye**	Take	y	y	6	15
27	Epi dan bwat ti annan senk dizef i'n **pran** ankor enn i'n **kase** i'n **met** dan bol	Take	y	n	6	18
28	En msye in **anmenn** en liv in **donn** en lot dimoun	Give	y	n	6	25
29	I'n aste en bouke fler, epi (.) i'n **anmenen** i'n **tap** laport (.), sa madanm in ouver, in prezant sa madanm sa bouke fler	Open	y	y	6	26
30	I'n **sap** li i'n **tonbe kraze**	Resultative	y	n	6	27
31	I **ouver** laport i **ferm** laport	Open	y	n	4	4
32	Wi, **monte desann** *is also ok*	Directional	y	y	4	7
33	I **anmas** boul i **anvoye**, non?	Take	y	n	4	15
34	I pe **tir** keso (=keksoz) **montre** ha madanm	Take	n	n	4	16
35	**Kas** dizef **met** dan bol? *Also possible*	Open	y	n	4	18
36	Eh, **mont** peron **desann** peron.	Directional	y	n	3	7
37	Wi, I'n **mont** peron i'n **desann**	Directional	y	n	3	7
38	Wi, I pe **monte desann**	Directional	n	y	3	7

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
39	I pe **ouver ferme**.	Open	n	y	3	4
40	**Pran** portre **met** lo miray	Take	y	n	3	17
41	**Pran** bannann **depliss** bannann **manze**[1]	Take	y	n	4	19
42	**Fer** payaz **taye**	Open	y	n	4	21
43	**Met** dan fourset **manze**	Open	y	n	4	22
44	I'n **aste** fler i'n **donn** son zanmi	Give	y	n	3	26
45	I'n **larg** ater i'n **kase**	Resultative	y	n	4	27
46	I'n **pous** li i'n **tonbe** ater	Resultative	y	n	4	29
47	Mon pa'n war kot i ale me selman apre i'n **retournen** i'n **desann**	Directional	y	y	5	7
48	Wi, **monte desann**, wi. Wi, **monte desann**	Directional	y	y	5	7
49	Sa msye in **vini pran** son bwat zalimet e alim en labouzi	Open	n	y	5	10
50	Sa msye i pe fer en lonmnet dizef, i'n **pran** son zepis **met** dan son dizef e pran son wis pou li bat son dizef	Take	n	n	5	12
51	Sa msye in (.) **vini pran** son manze, manze	Open	n	y	5	22
52	I'n- i'n **asize pran** son tas dite e bwar son dite	Open	n	n	5	23
53	Sa msye in **al** kot en magazen fler in **aste** fler	Open	y	n	5	26
54	I'n pe marse en sel kou i'n ganny en douler dan son sevir ki'n **fer** li **aret** marse	Causative	n	n	5	28
55	Zot pe **taye fer** letour sa pye dibwa pou ganny kanmarad	Open	n	n	5	30
56	Sa myse pe **monte desann**	Directional	n	y	4	7
57	I'n **pran** zalimet i'n **alime** e in alim labouzi	Take	y	n	4	10
58	I'n **pran** son de baton i'n **komans** tap lo sa tanbour	Take	y	n	3	9

[1]This SVC was uttered by the interviewer and confirmed to be possible by the participant. Hence, no audio recording is available.

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
59	I'n **ouver** i'n **tir** bwat zalimet ladan	Open	y	y	3	10
60	. . . apre i'n **pran** en lot enkor i'n **met** lo grill	Take	y	n	3	11
61	I annan en msye in **vini** in **tir** sa portre ek sa peg	Open	y	y	3	16
62	E i annan en msye in **vini** in **dese**, i'n **anmas** sa portre	Open	y	y	3	17
63	I'n **pran** sa portre i'n **met** lo miray	Take	y	n	3	18
64	En msye in **vini** in **pran** sa bannann, i'n plise	Open	y	n	3	19
65	En msye in **vini** in **pran** en bann sa tomat in **met** dan sa bol	Open	y	n	3	20
66	E i'n **pran** sa tas i'n **met** lo latab	Take	y	n	3	23
67	I'n **pran** papye i'n **ale** i'n **al donn** en fyi	Give	y	n	3	24
68	Fyi in ouver laport, i'n **pran** sa bouke fler i'n **pran** i'n **donn** sa fyi	Give	y	n	3	26
69	. . . i'n **pran** sa tas i'n **pwen larg** ater e . . .	Take	n	n	3	27
70	En msye in **vini** in **ouver** laport	Open	y	y	4	1
71	. . . dapre i'n **tourn** enkor deor i'n **ferm** laport	Open	y	n	4	1
72	Ti'n **ouver ferme**, **ouver ferme**, **ouver ferme**	Open	n	y	4	4
73	En msye in **vini** in **roul** en bisiklet in **mont** lo la in **pedale** in **ale**	Open	y	n	4	6
74	Bez(wen) **monte desann** dan peron	Directional	y	y	4	7
75	I'n **pran** lavyann i'n **met** lo gril	Take	y	n	4	11
76	Aprezan i pe **pran** dizef i pe **bate**	Take	y	n	4	13
77	**Pran** dizef i pe **fri**. I pe fri dizef	Take	n	n	4	14
78	I'n **anmas** zafer later i'n **anvoye**	Take	y	n	4	15
79	I'n **anmas** en portre ater i'n **pos** lo miray	Take	y	n	4	17
80	I ape tir larzan lo masin ATM. **Ale** () **donn** son madanm	Give	y	y	4	24
81	I'n **pran** en liv i'n **donne** en dimoun deor	Give	y	n	4	25

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
82	En dimoun anmenn en bouke fler pour li, i'n peye apre i'n **anmennen** i'n **donn** son madanm	Give	y	y	4	26
83	I pe **entre sorti**	Directional	n	y	2	3
84	Pe **ouver ferme**	Open	y	y	2	4
85	Komsi i'n **pran** kouto i'n **koup** dipen	Take	y	n	2	8
86	I pe anmase – I'n **anmas** en boul i'n **anvoye**	Take	y	n	2	15
87	I'n **anmas** en portre ater i'n **met** anpadan	Take	y	n	2	17
88	I'n **kas** dizef i'n **met** dan bol	Open	y	n	2	18
89	I'n **anmas** sa bannann i'n **pliss** sa bannann i'n **manz** sa bannann	Open	y	n	2	19
90	I'n **anmas** sa bannann i'n **plisse** i'n **manze**	Open	y	n	2	19
91	I'n **anmas** sa tomat i'n **met** dan bol	Take	y	n	2	20
92	I'n **aste** en fler i'n **donn** ou	Give	y	n	2	26
93	I'n **pous** li i'n **zet** li ater	Resultative	y	n	2	29
94	Mh, I'n **al** i'n **ouver** laport i'n **antre**	Directional	y	n	3	3
95	Prezan sway i'n konfize ki bor i'n **antre** in sor- i'n **tourne**	Directional	y	y	3	3
96	Trwa keksoz. I'n pran bato, i'n zwe tanbour, apre i'n **pran** lanmen i'n **met** lo tanbour pour son arete	Take	y	n	3	9
97	I'n **pran** zalimet i'n **alime**, i'n alim labouzi	Take	y	n	3	10
98	I'n **bese** i'n **pran** mon kwar en boul, i'n anvoye	Open	y	y	3	15
99	I'n **bese** i'n **pran** en portre i'n **met** anler	Open	y	n	3	17
100	I'n **kas** dizef i'n **met** dan bol	Open	y	n	3	18
101	I'n **pran** bannann i'n **plisse**, i'n **manze**	Take	y	n	3	19
102	I'n pran en boul – i'n ((tschuk)) ((L)) i'n **pran** ha tomat i'n **met** dan bol	Take	y	n	3	20

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
103	I'n **tir** larzan lo ATM i'n **donn** en madanm	Give	y	n	3	24
104	I'n **marse** i'n **pran** en liv i'n **donne** en (.) en dimoun	Give	y	n	3	25
105	I'n al aste fler, i'n **pran** en- sa fler i'n **donn** en madanm	Give	y	y	3	26
106	I'n **larg** en tas ater i'n **kraze**	Resultative	y	n	3	27
107	Pe **entre sorti**	Directional	y	y	3	3
108	Pe **ouver ferme**	Open	y	y	2	4
109	Pe **monte desann** dan peron	Directional	y	y	2	7
110	I'n **atrap** la boul i'n **anvoye**	Take	y	n	2	15
111	I'n al aste en bouke fler? I'n **anmennen** i'n **donn** ou	Give	y	y	3	26
112	**Beze atrap** li	Open	y	y	2	30
113	I'n **rentre resorti**	Directional	n	y	3	3
114	**Monte desann** peron	Directional	y	y	3	7
115	Pe ouver laport. **Ouver ferme**	Open	y	y	3	4
116	Enn pe **monte desann**	Directional	n	y	3	7
117	I pe **kas** dizef **met** dan bol	Open	n	n	3	18
118	**Pran** tomat **met** dan bol, wi	Take	y	n	3	20
119	I'n **zete** en tas ater i'n **kase**	Resultative	y	n	3	27
120	Pe **retournen monte redesann**, **monte desann**	Directional	y	y	5	7
121	i pe bate, i **pran** i **met** dan pwalon	Take	y	y	5	13
122	En zonm in **pran** en gro lobze ron in **atrape** in **leve**, i'n zet ater	Take	y	n	5	15
123	En zonm in **pran** en portre ater in **pran** in **met** anpadan	Take	y	n	5	17
124	En zonm in pran dizef, i'n tap lo sa bor bol, i'n **kas** sa dizef i'n **met** dan bol	Take	y	n	5	18

No.	SVC	Type	concordant	contiguous	Age Group	Video
125	En zonm in **pran** en bannann lo bala varang in **plisse** apre in **manze**	Take	y	n	5	19
126	En zonm in pran en liv i **vini donn** en lot dimoun (devan) liv	Give	y	n	5	25
127	En zonm in **zet** en tas ater in **kase**	Resultative	y	n	5	27
128	En zonm in **pous** en lot zonm ater in **tonbe**	Resultative	y	n	5	29
129	Oke, en msye i **antre** lap- i **ouver** laport i **referme**	Open	y	n	3	4
130	Vwar dire pe teste son laport si i kapab r- **ouver ferme** son laport i bon	Open	y	y	3	4
131	Oke, en msye in **vini** in **pran** son bisiklet pour li al swa fer hon legzersis	Open	y	y	3	6
132	Oke, parey sa msye pe fer son legzersis an **montan desann** dan peron	Directional	y	y	3	7
133	Sa msye in **pran** son portre in **met** anpadan, lo son miray	Take	y	n	3	17
134	Oke, sa msye in manz son lonmnet dizef, apre i'n **pran** son fourset ek kouto i'n **pos** dan son lasyet	Take	y	n	3	22
135	Sa msye, son-son tas in **sap** li in **tonbe** in **kraze**	Resultative	y	n	3	27

A7.2 Intonation Contour of putative SVCs in Elicitation Data

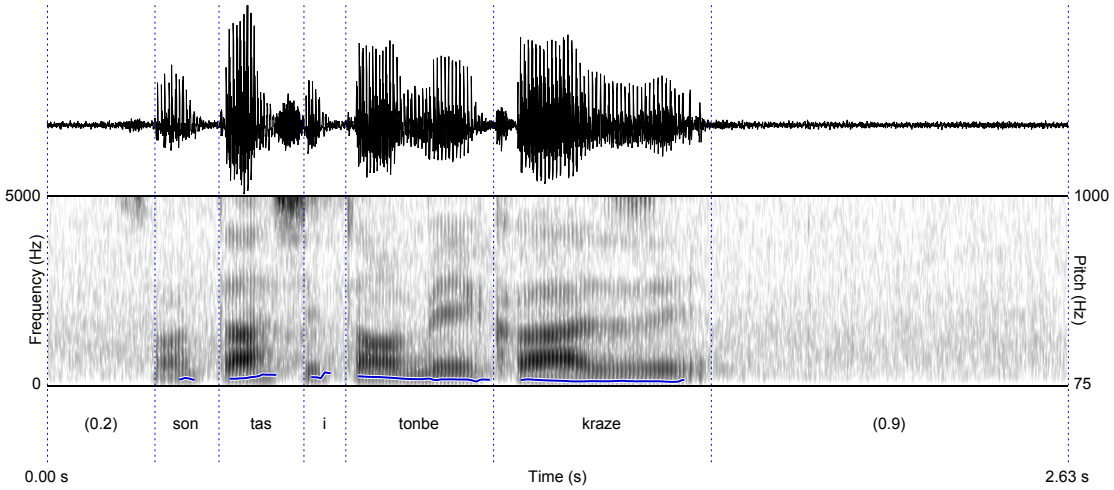


Figure 1.53: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (1)

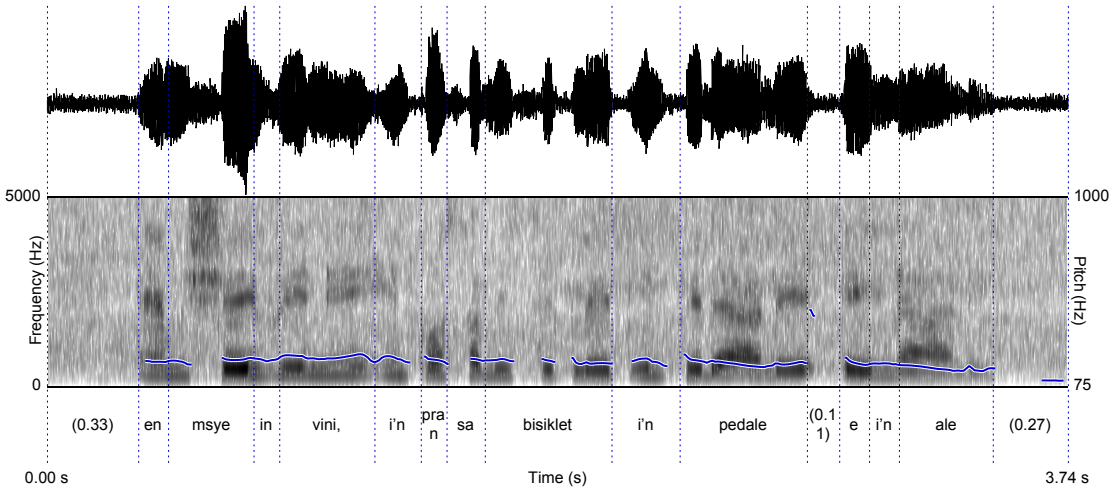


Figure 1.54: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (2)

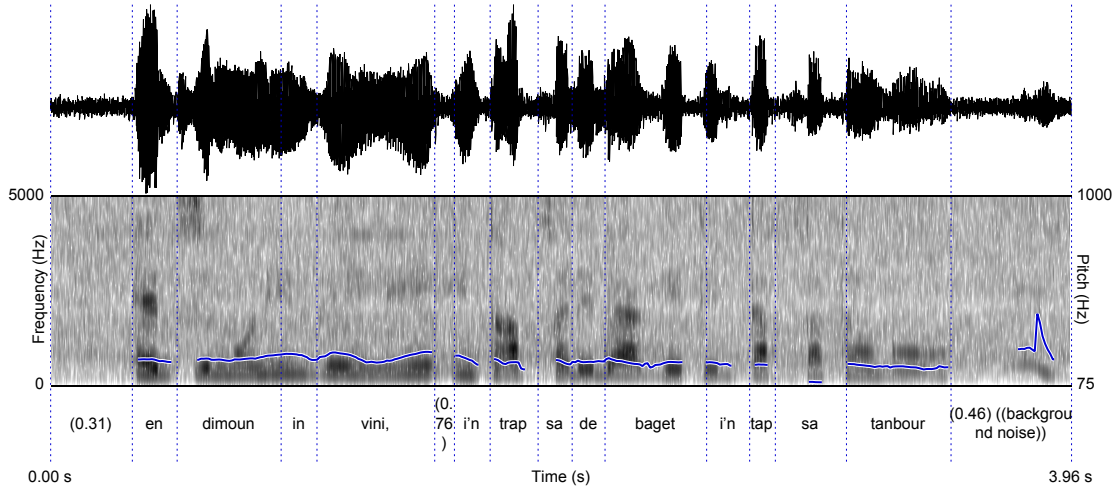


Figure 1.55: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (3)

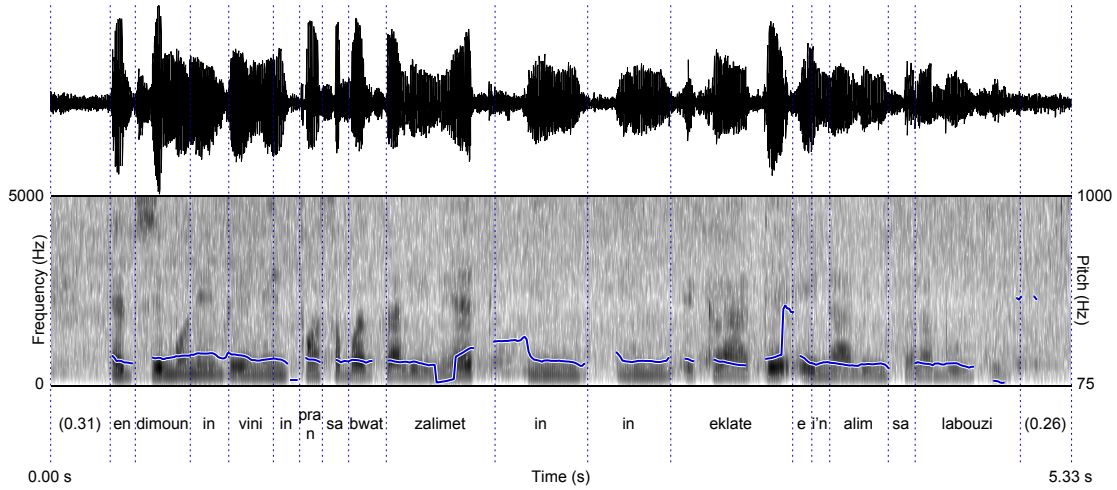


Figure 1.56: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (4)

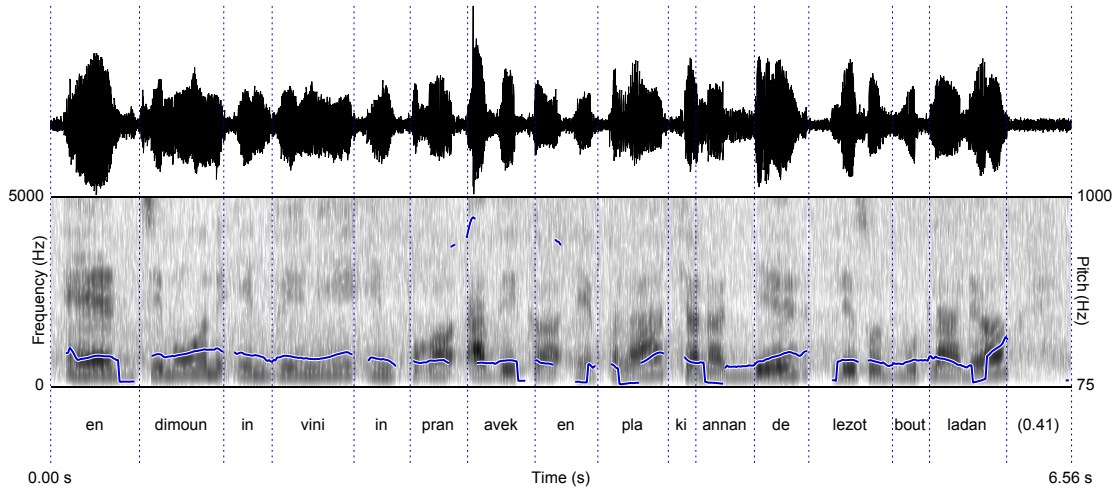


Figure 1.57: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (5)

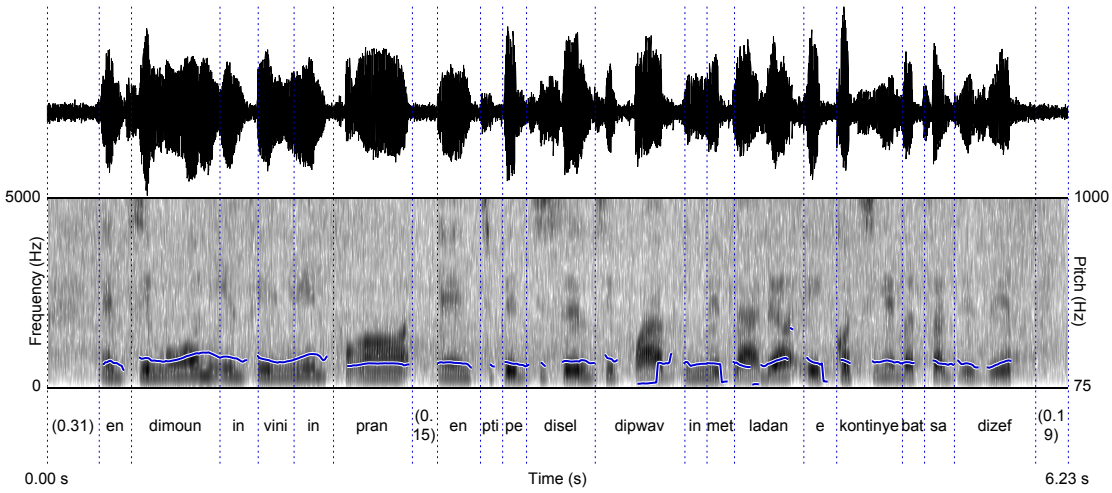


Figure 1.58: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (6)

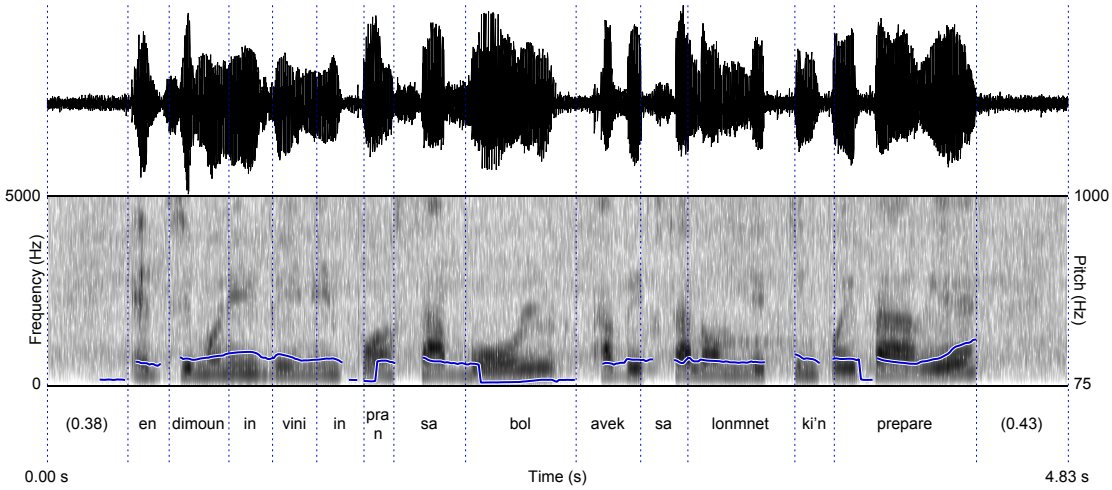


Figure 1.59: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (7)

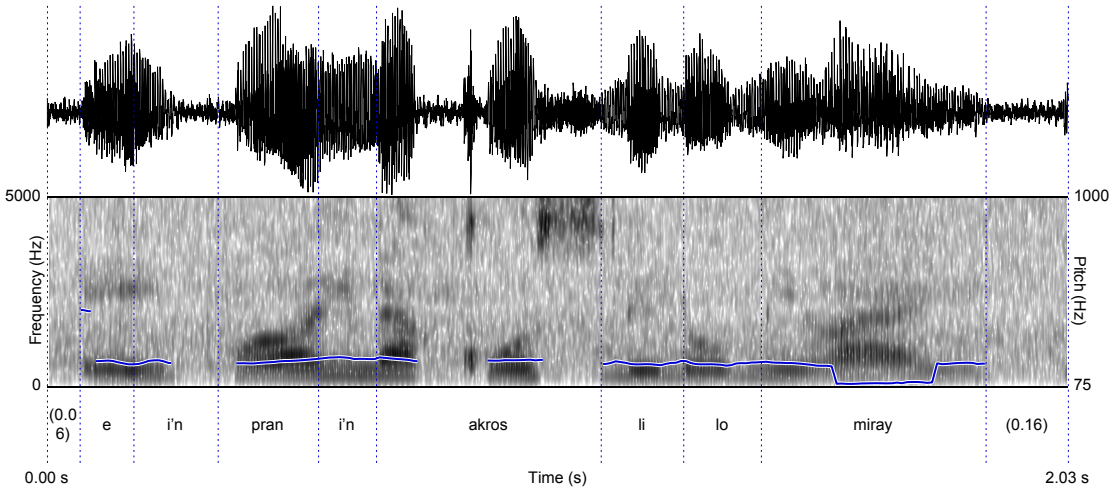


Figure 1.60: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (8)

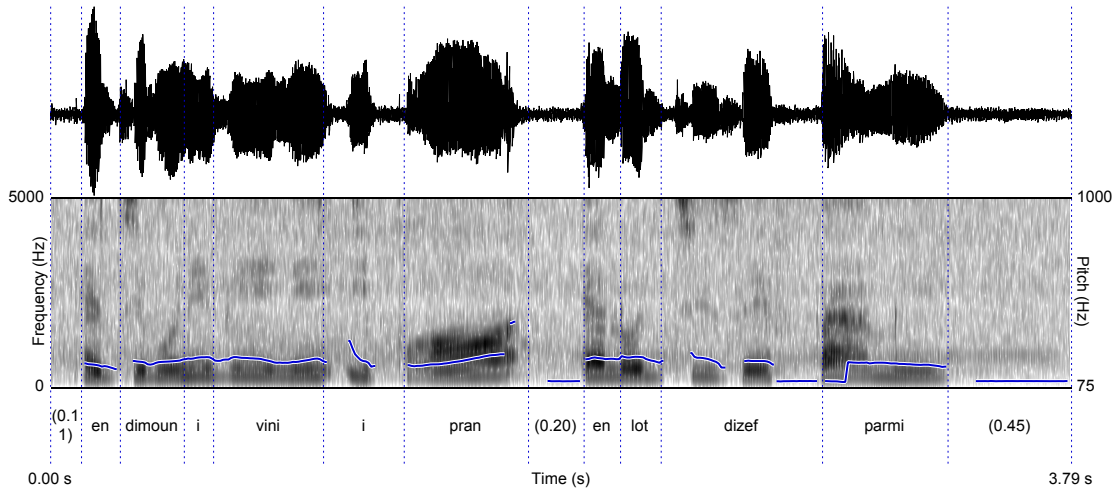


Figure 1.61: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (9)

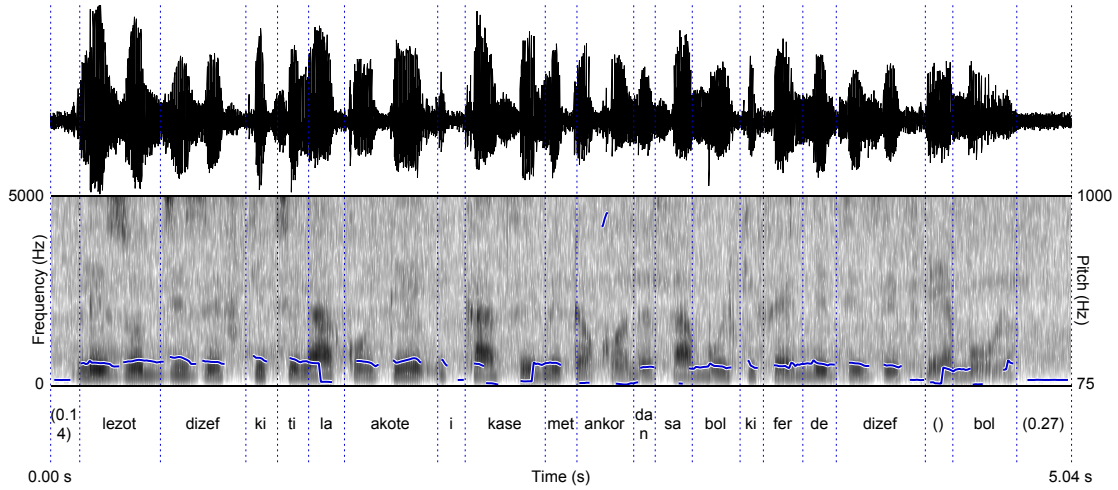


Figure 1.62: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (10)

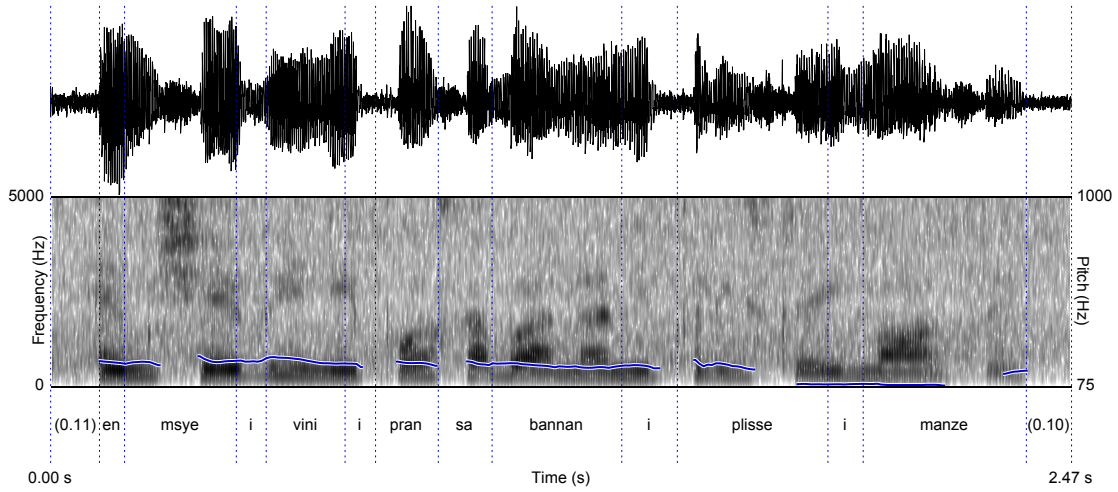


Figure 1.63: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (11)

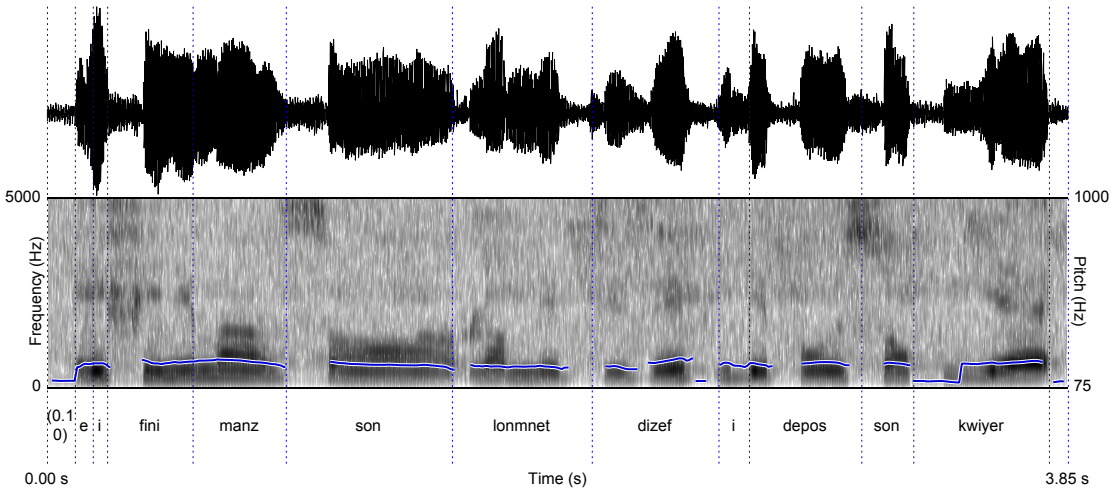


Figure 1.64: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (12)

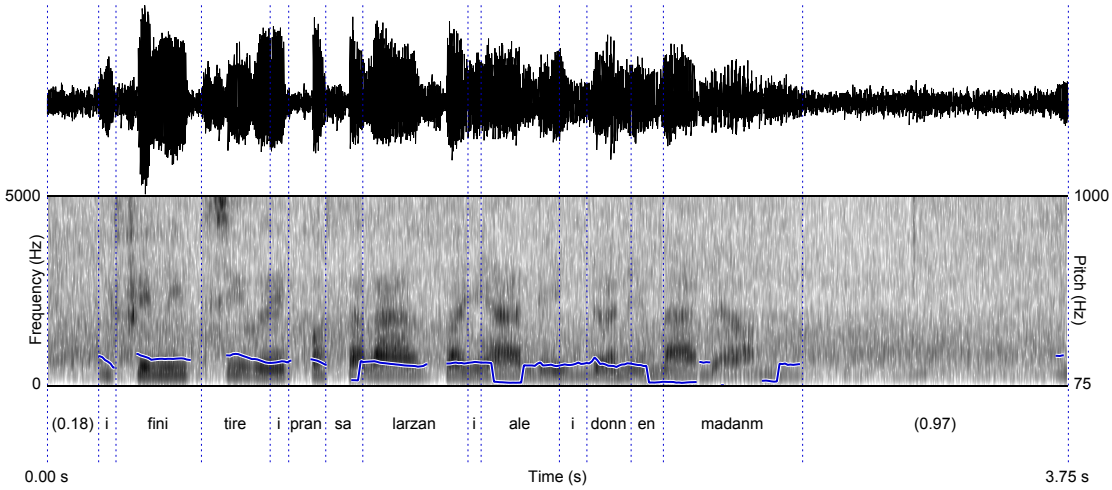


Figure 1.65: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (13)

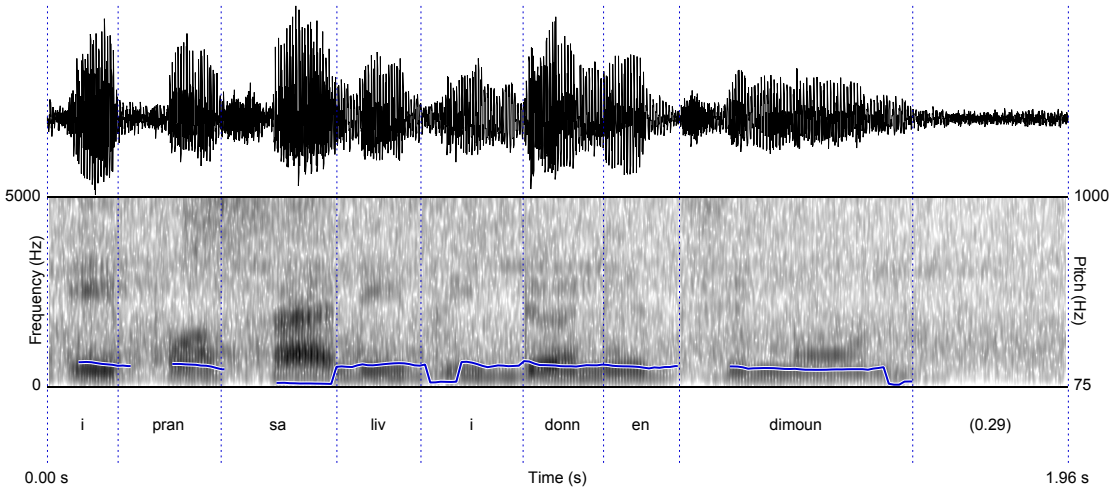


Figure 1.66: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (14)

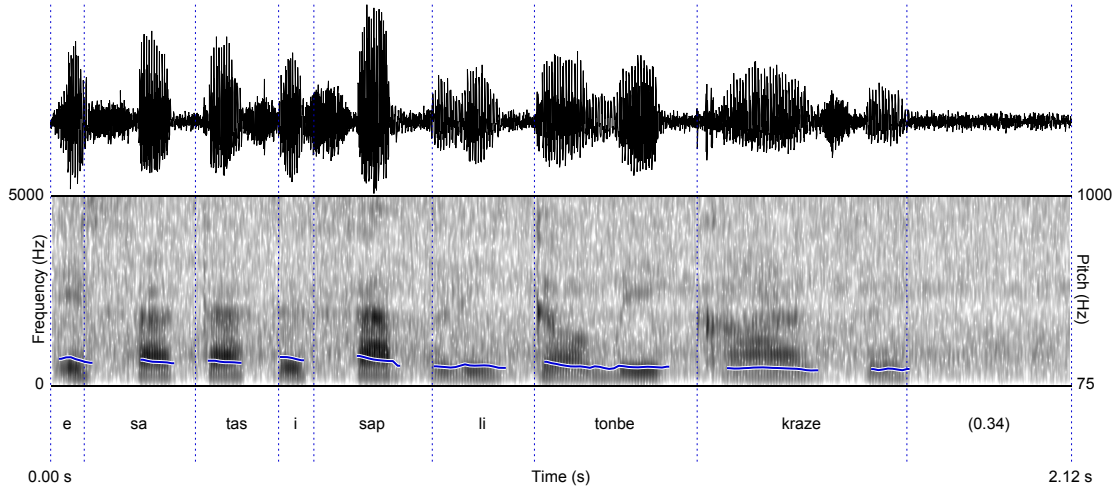


Figure 1.67: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (15)

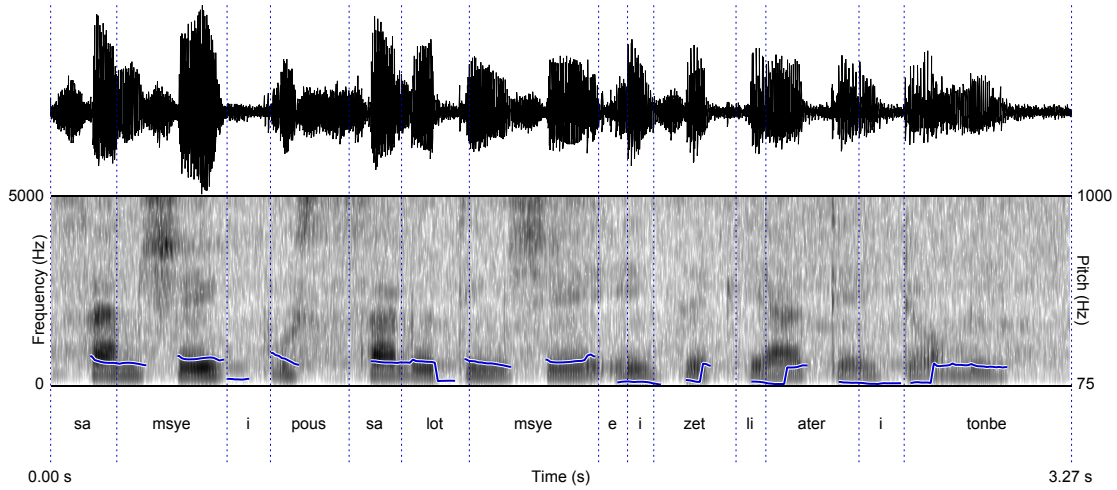


Figure 1.68: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (16)

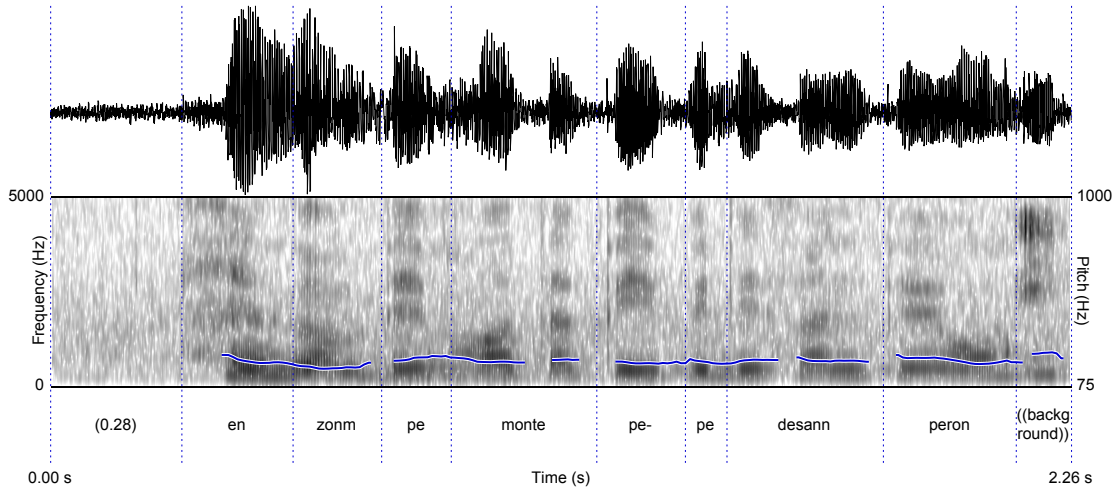


Figure 1.69: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (17)

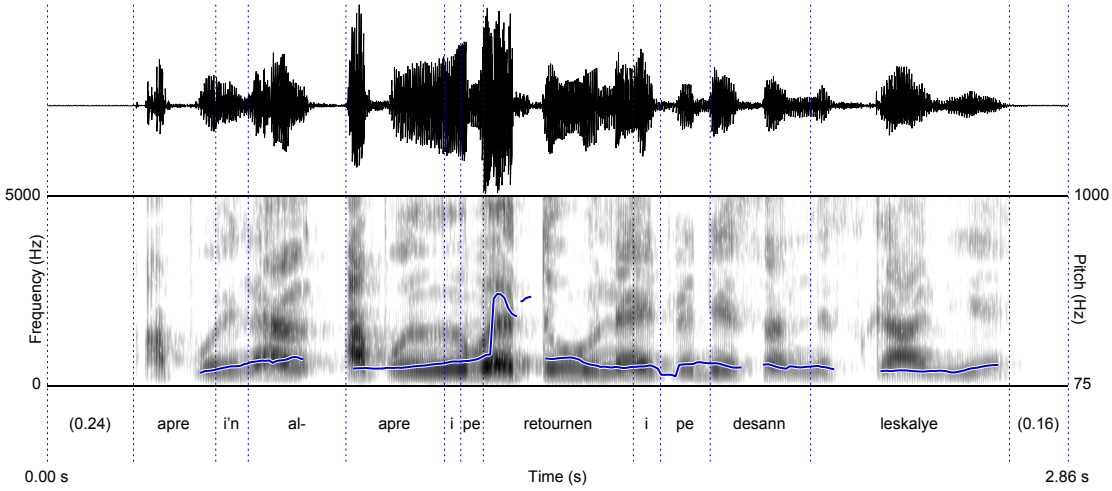


Figure 1.70: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (18)

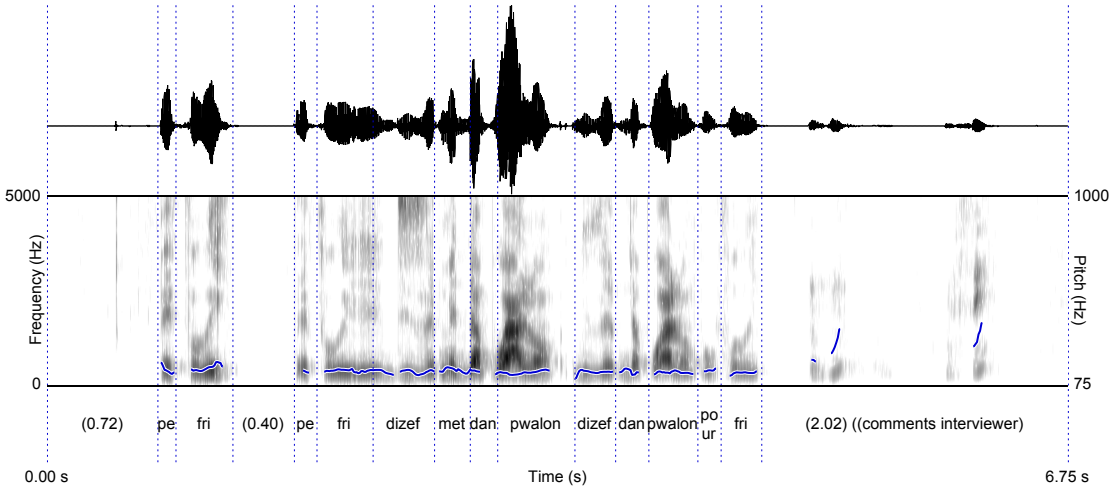


Figure 1.71: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (19)

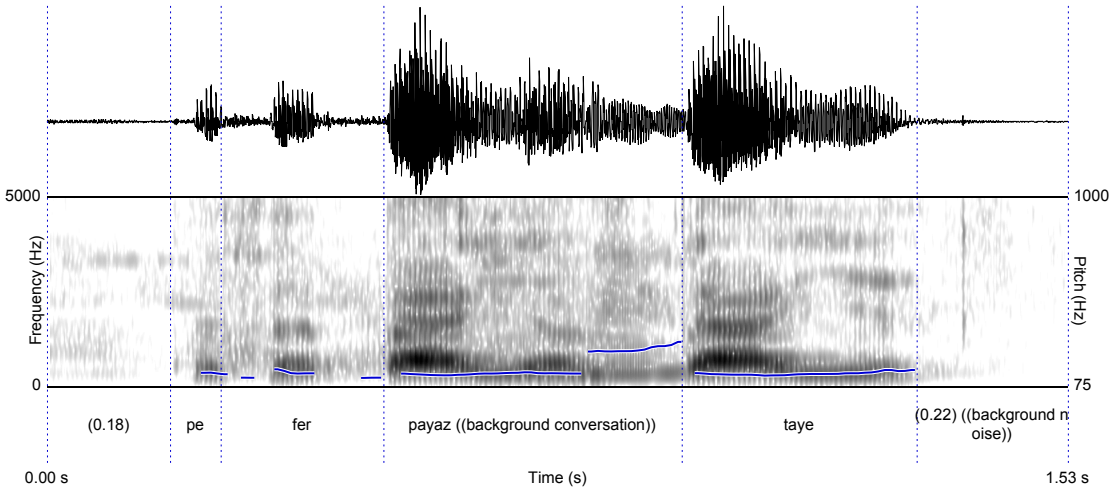


Figure 1.72: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (20)

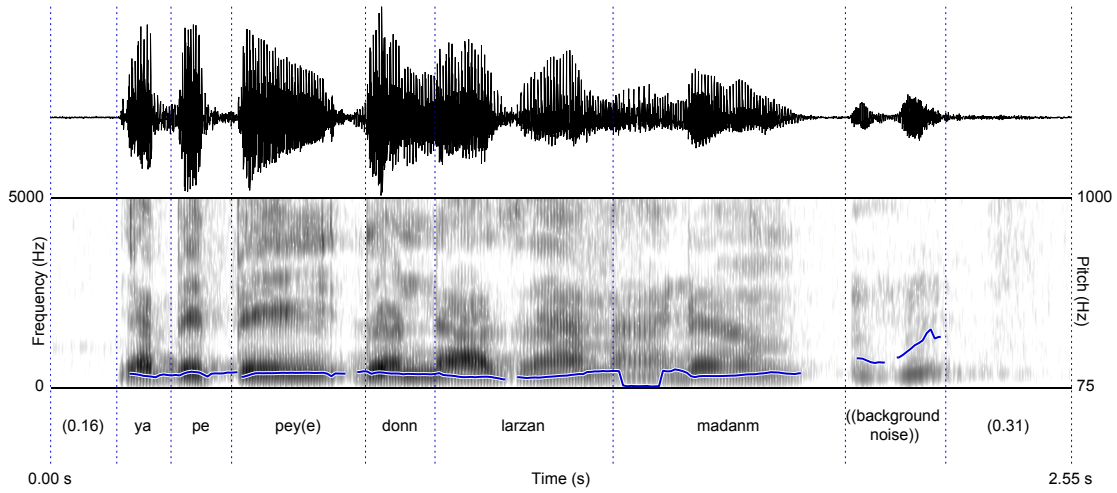


Figure 1.73: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (21)

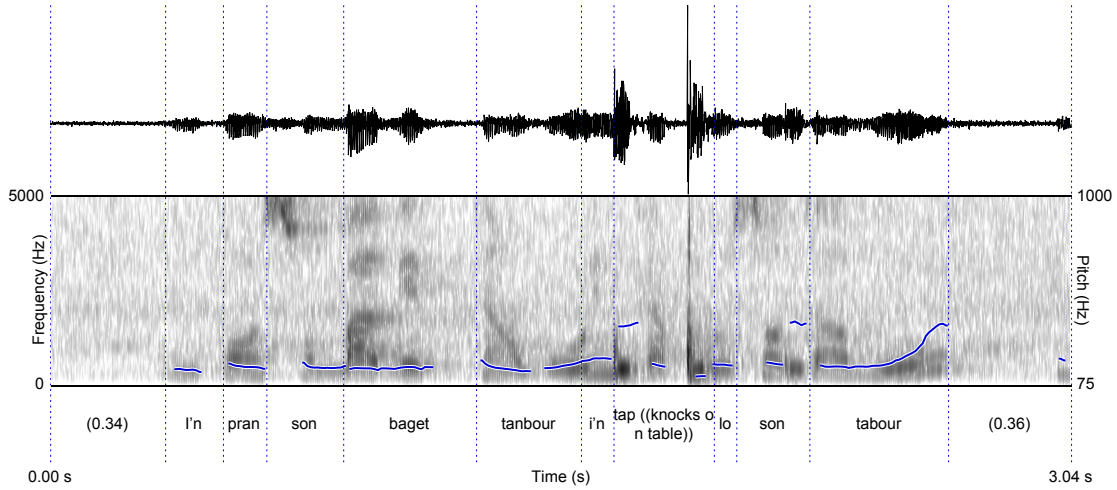


Figure 1.74: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (22)

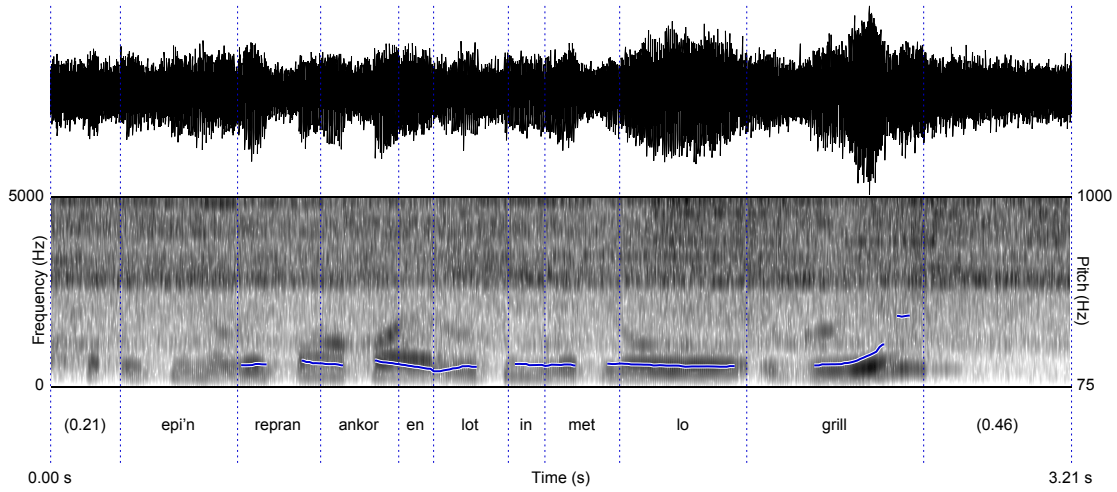


Figure 1.75: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (23)

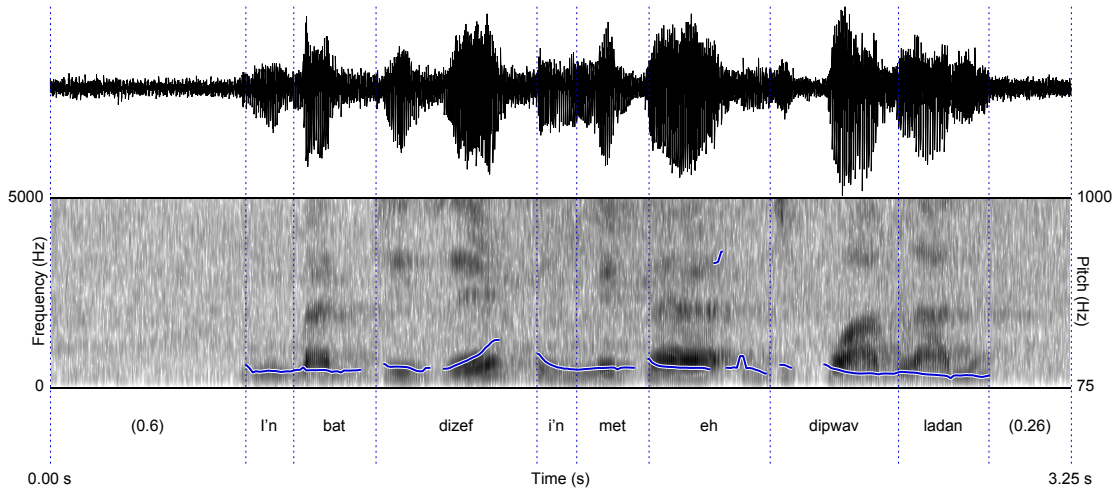


Figure 1.76: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (24)

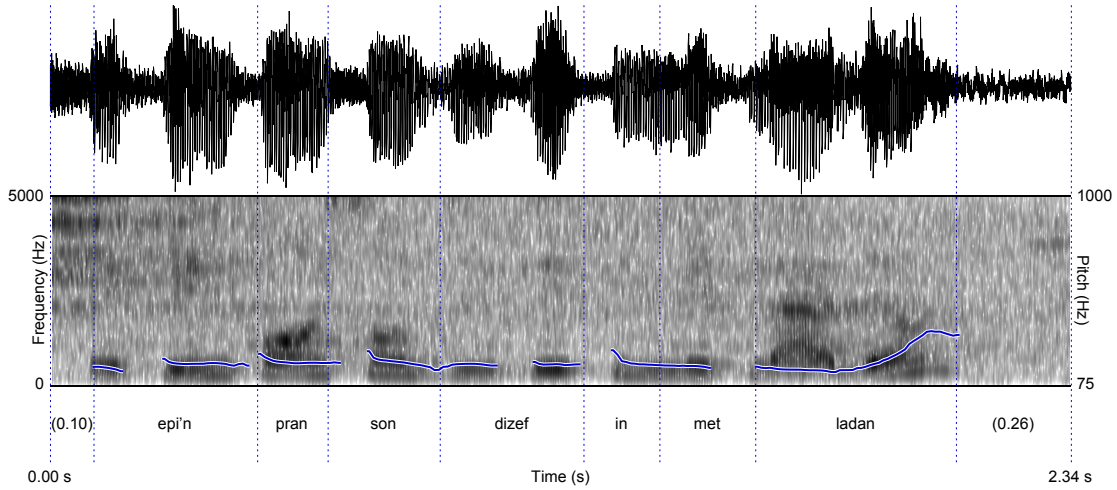


Figure 1.77: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (25)

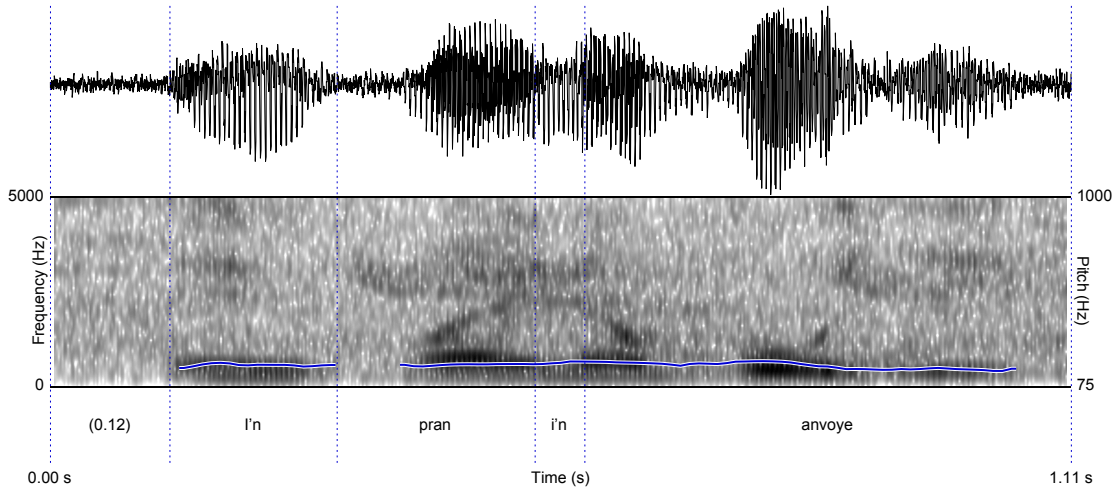


Figure 1.78: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (26)

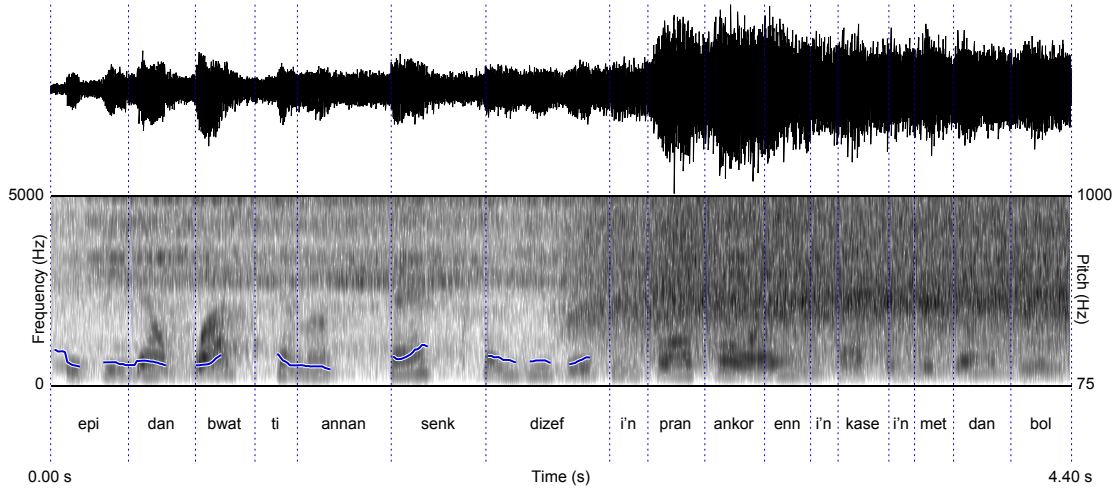


Figure 1.79: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (27)

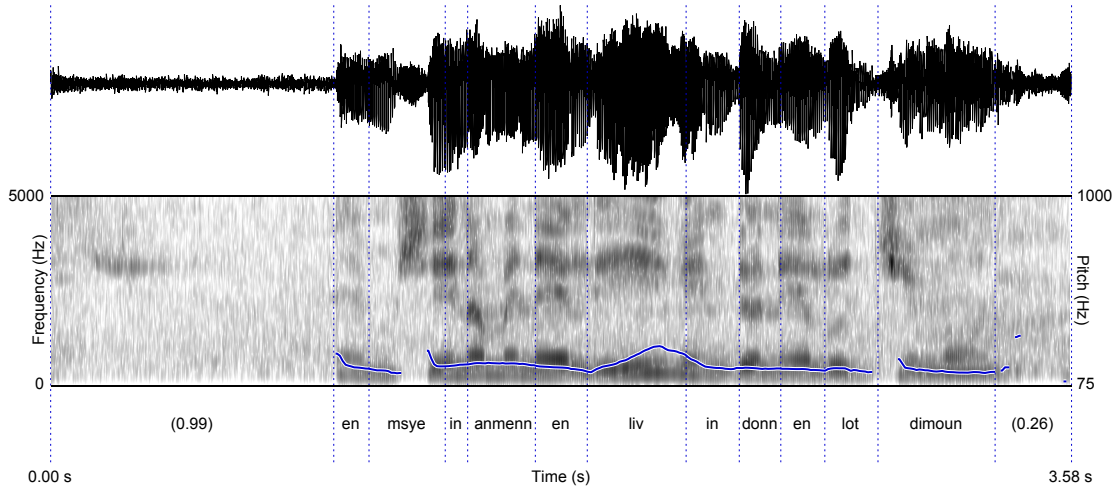


Figure 1.80: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (28)

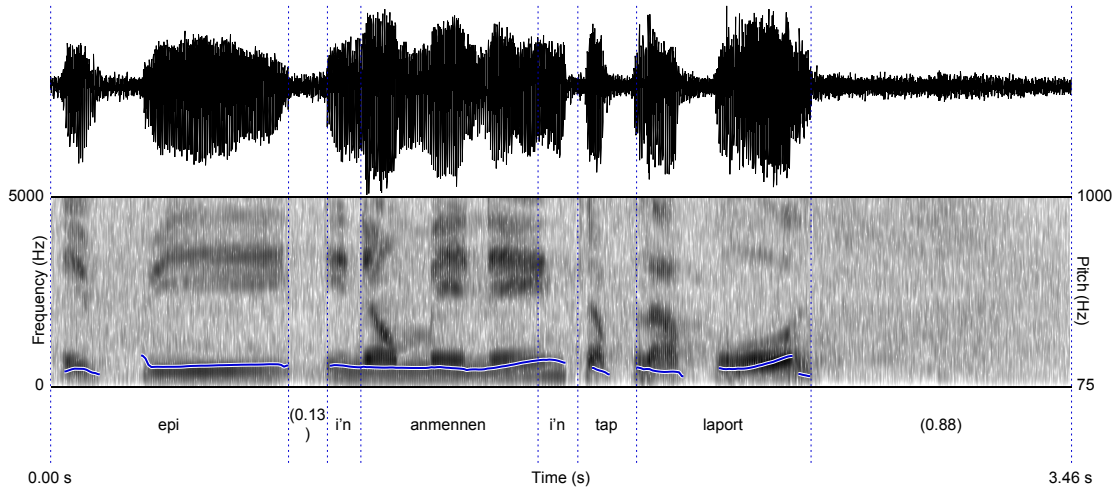


Figure 1.81: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (29)

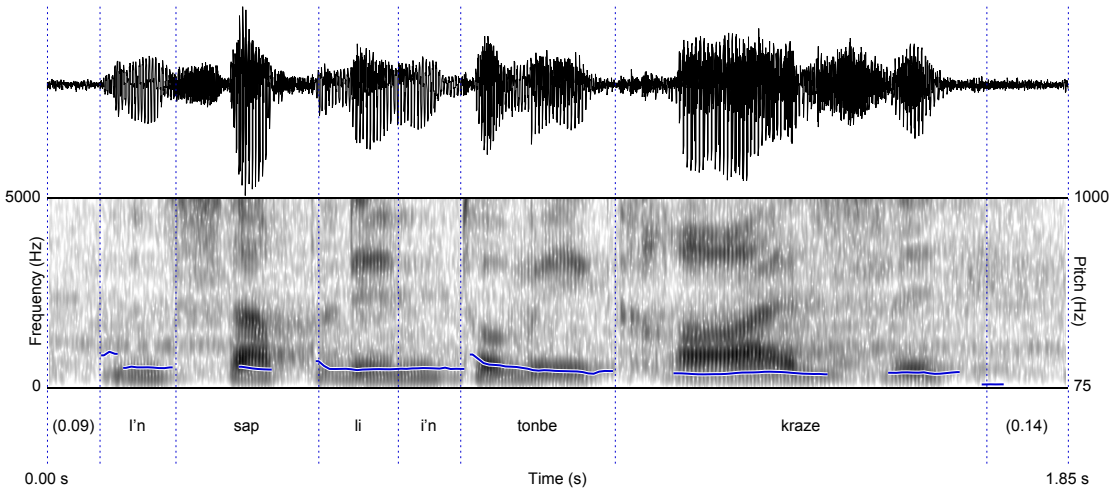


Figure 1.82: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (30)

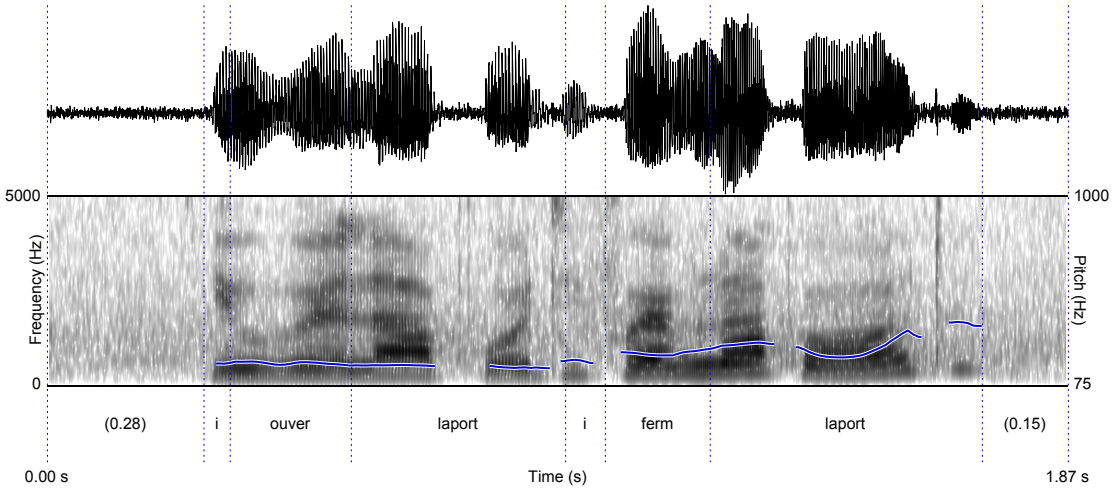


Figure 1.83: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (31)

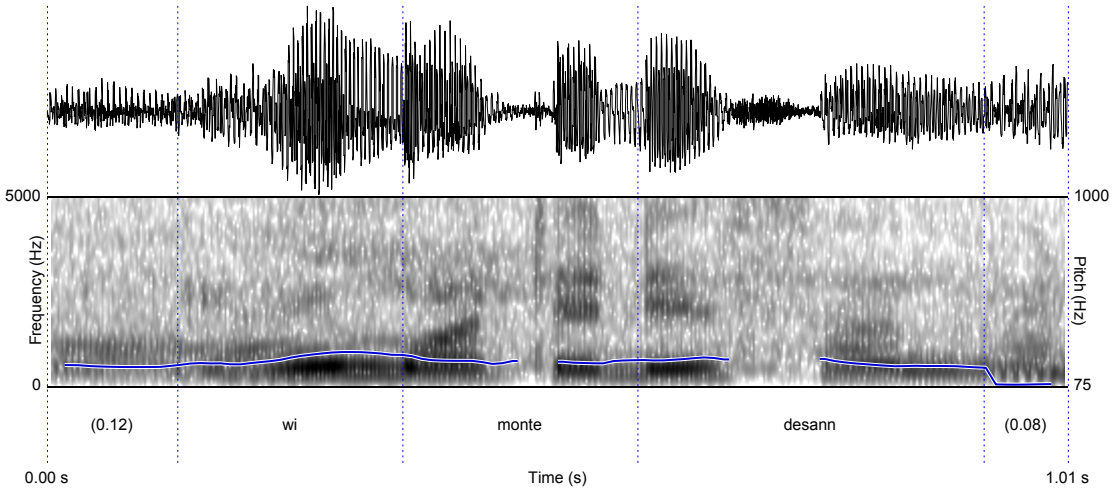


Figure 1.84: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (32)

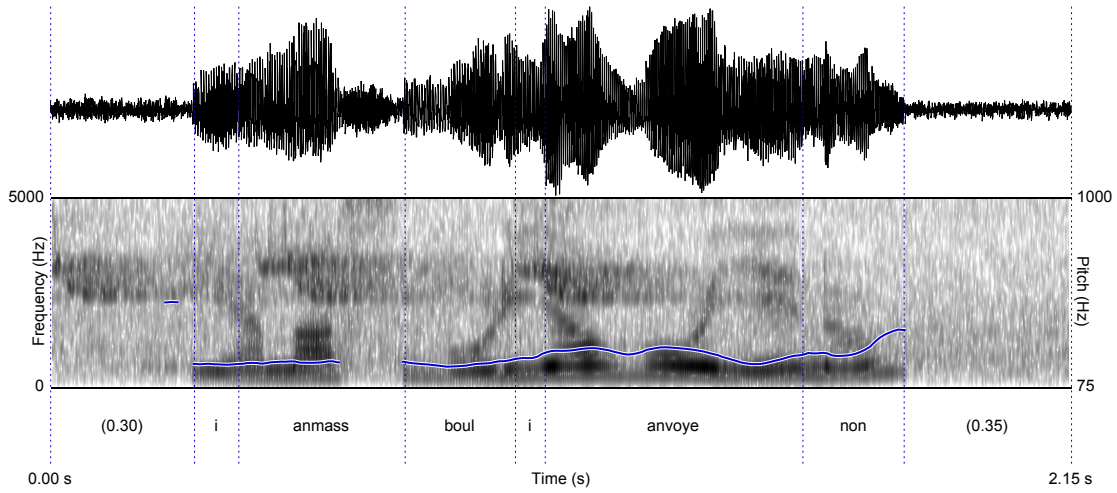


Figure 1.85: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (33)

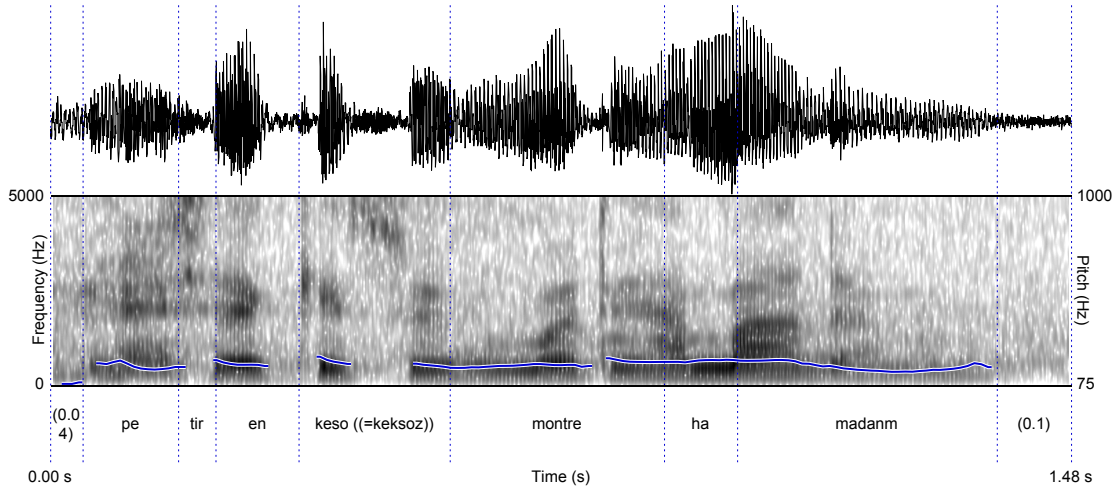


Figure 1.86: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (34)

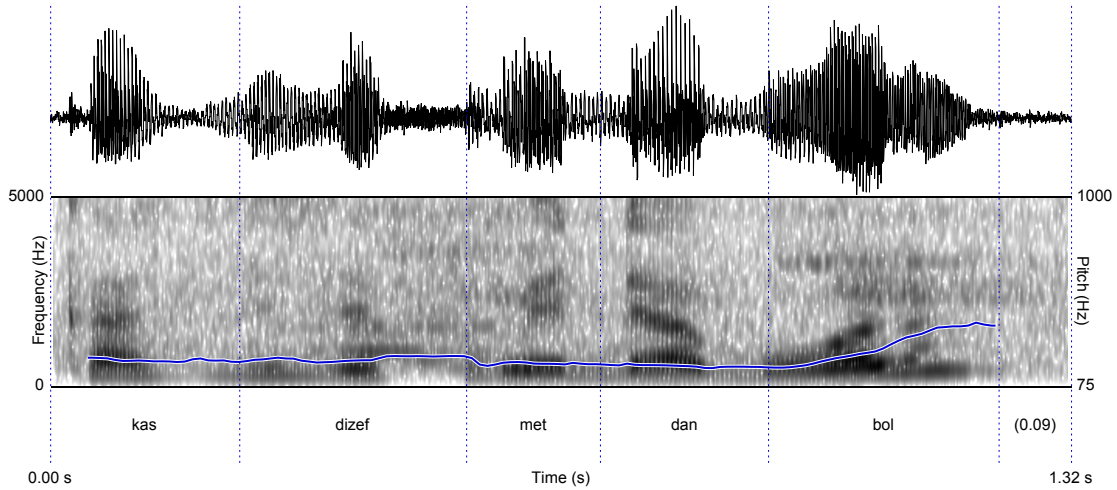


Figure 1.87: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (35)

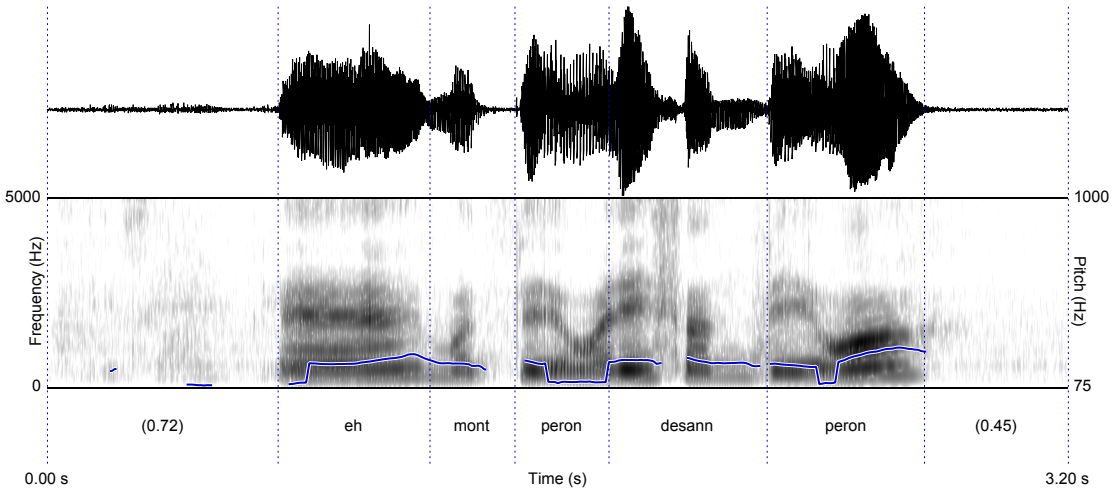


Figure 1.88: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (36)

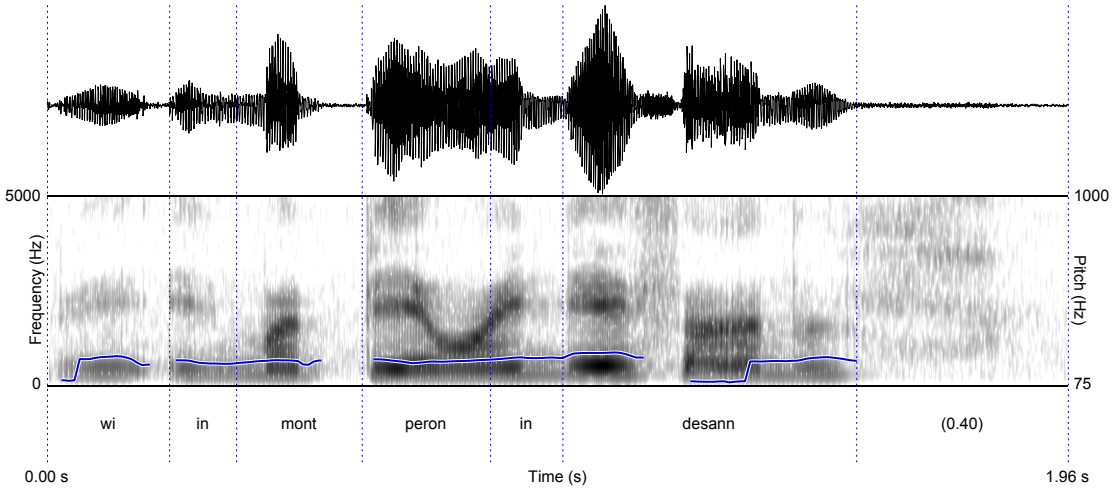


Figure 1.89: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (37)

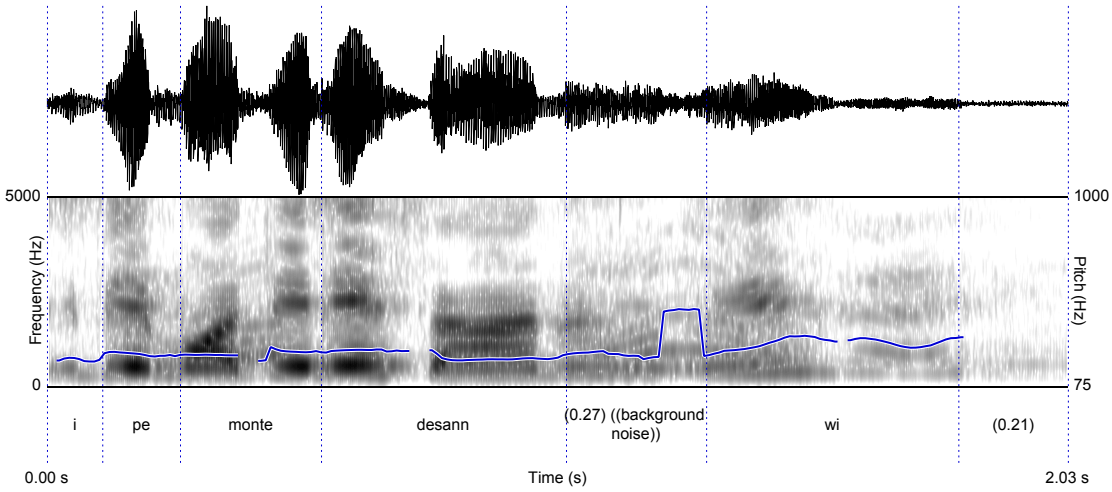


Figure 1.90: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (38)

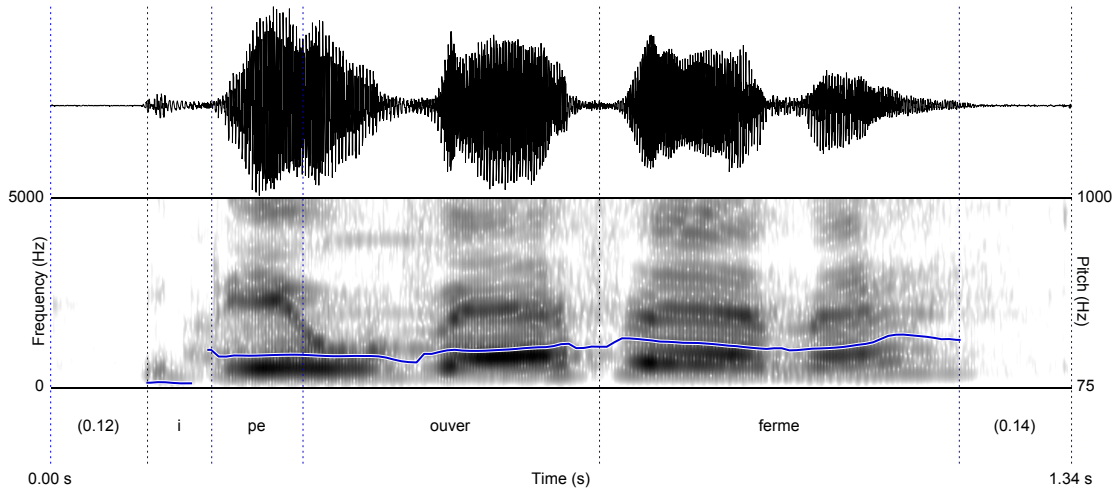


Figure 1.91: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (39)

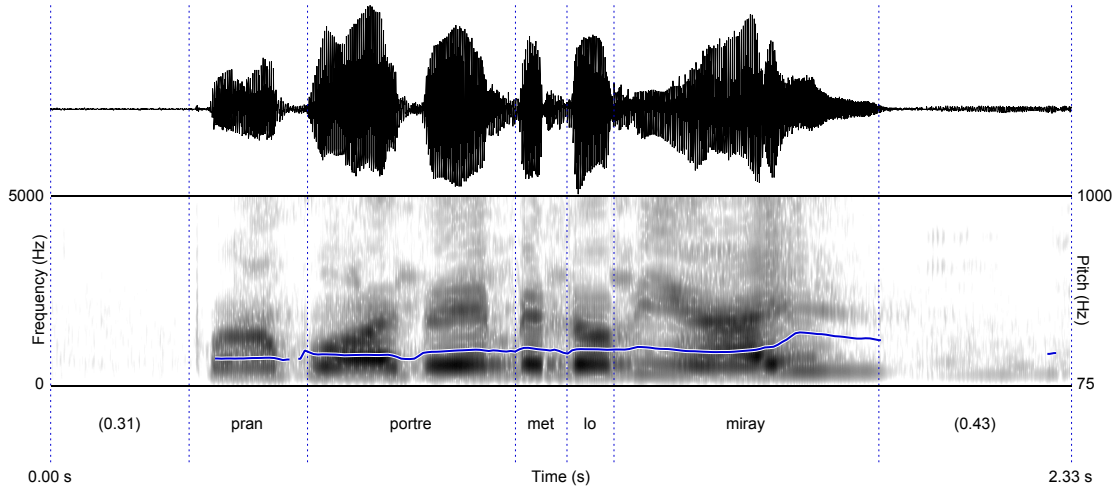


Figure 1.92: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (40)

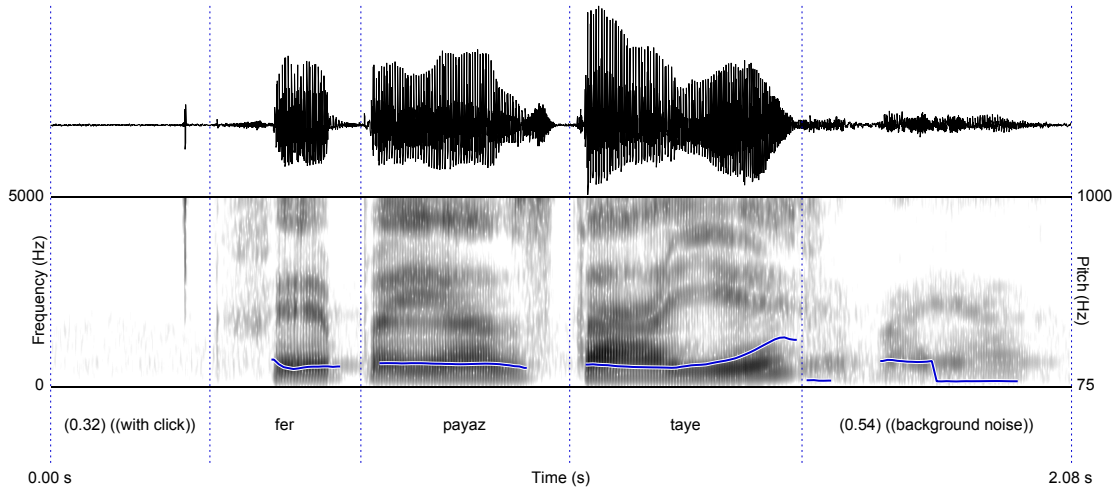


Figure 1.93: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (42)

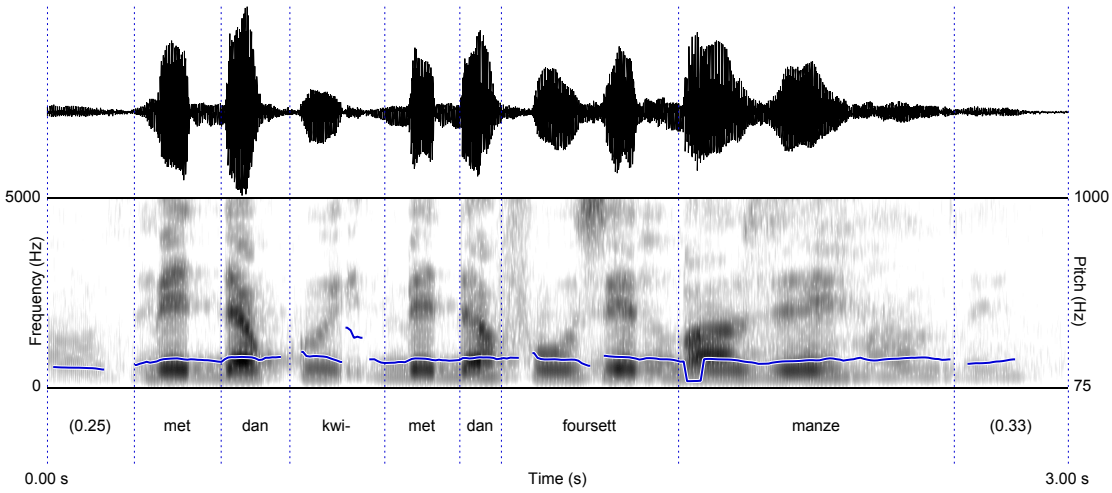


Figure 1.94: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (43)

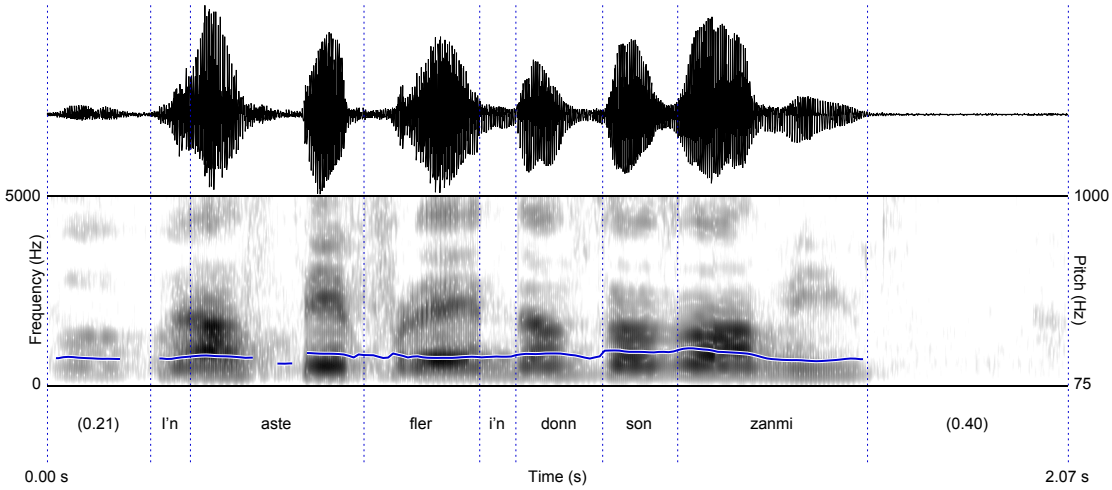


Figure 1.95: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (44)

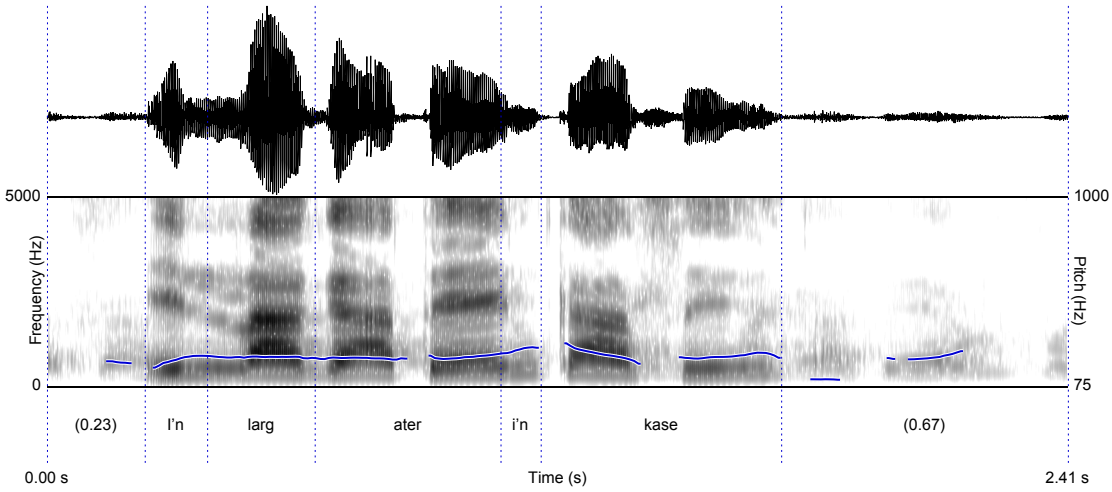


Figure 1.96: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (45)

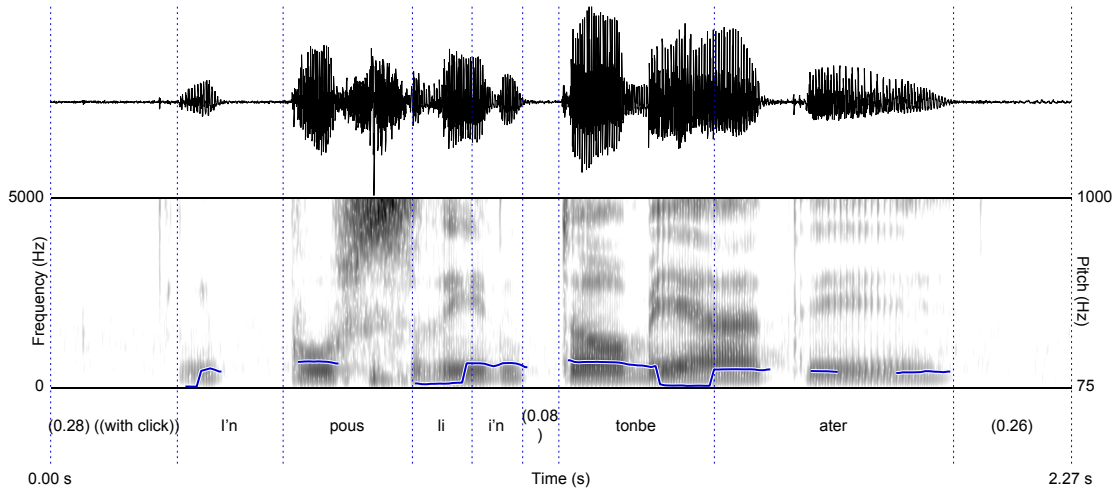


Figure 1.97: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (46)

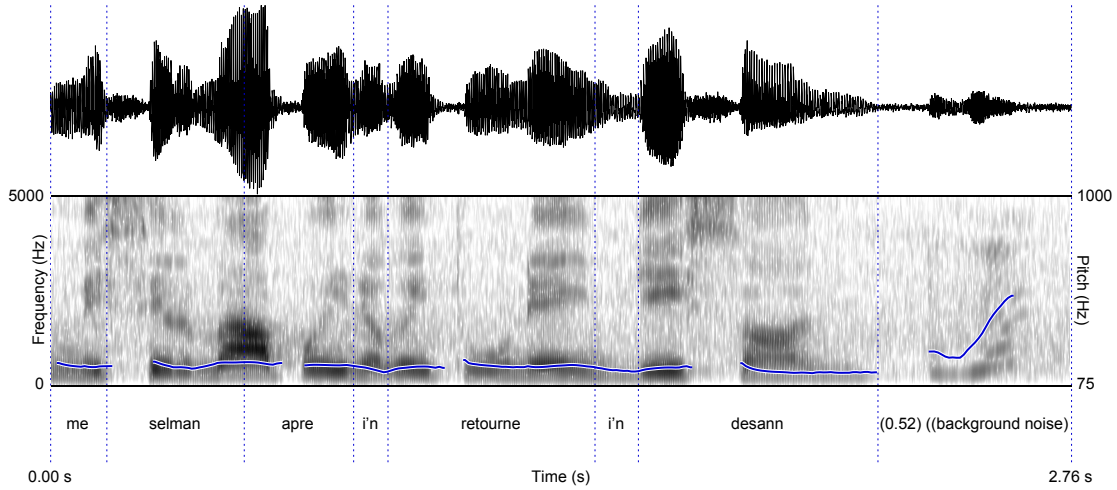


Figure 1.98: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (47)

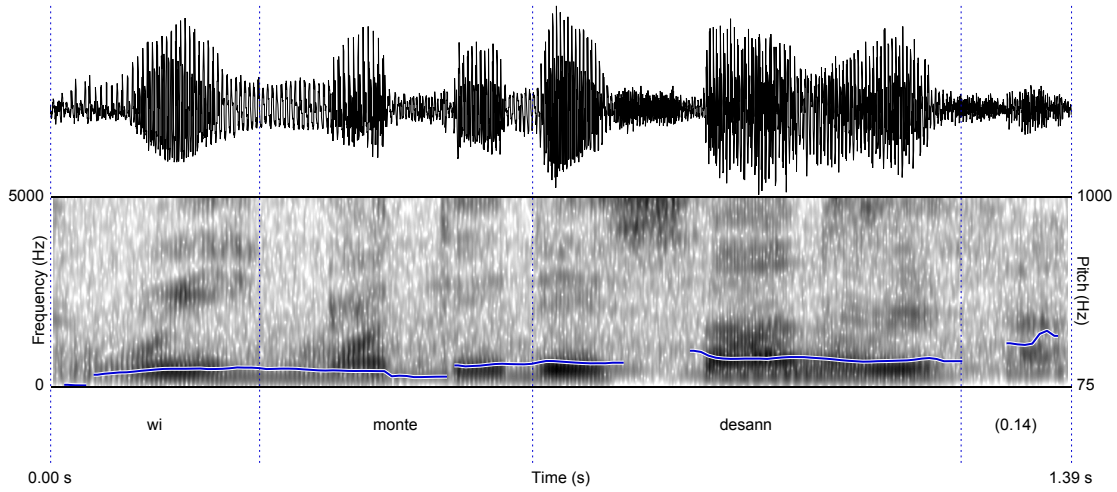


Figure 1.99: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (48)

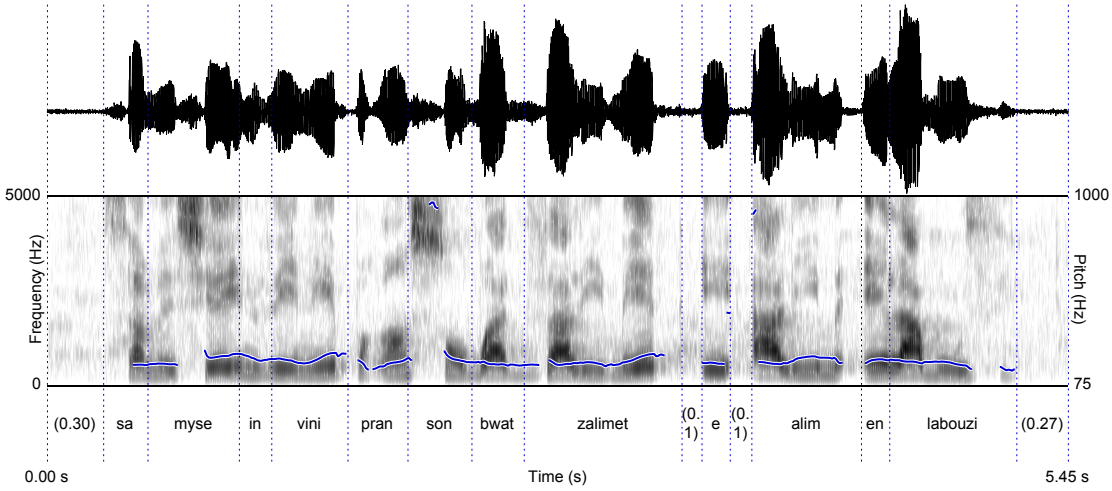


Figure 1.100: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (49)

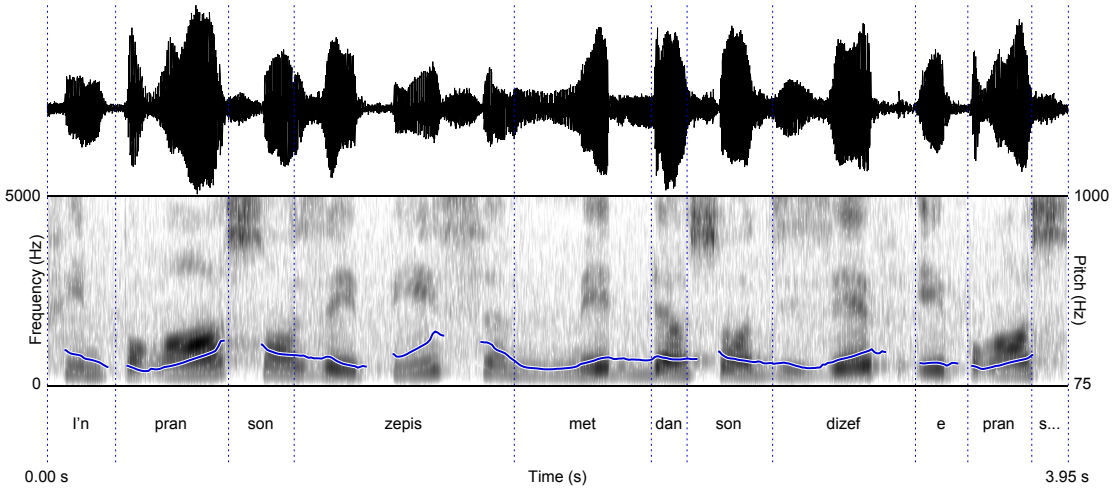


Figure 1.101: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (50)

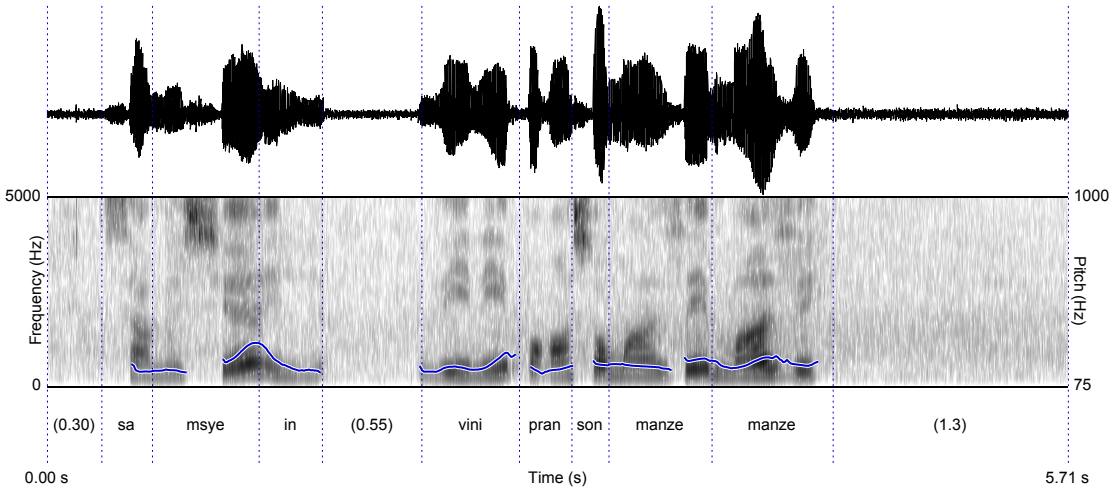


Figure 1.102: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (51)

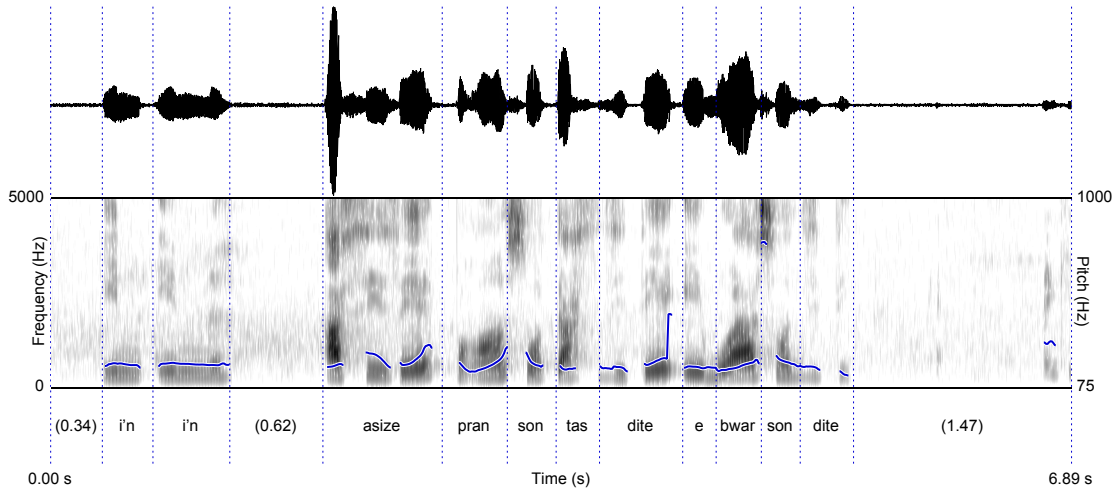


Figure 1.103: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (52)

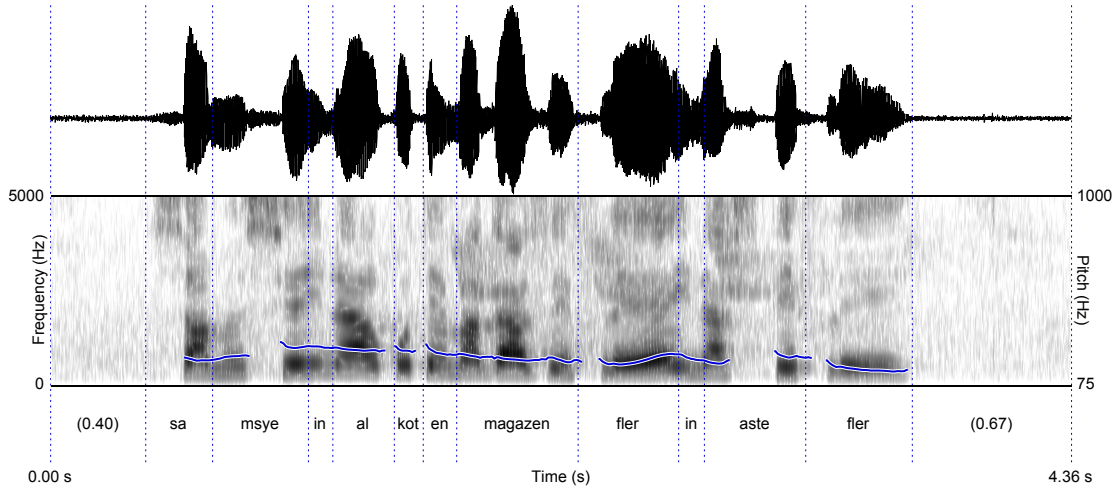


Figure 1.104: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (53)

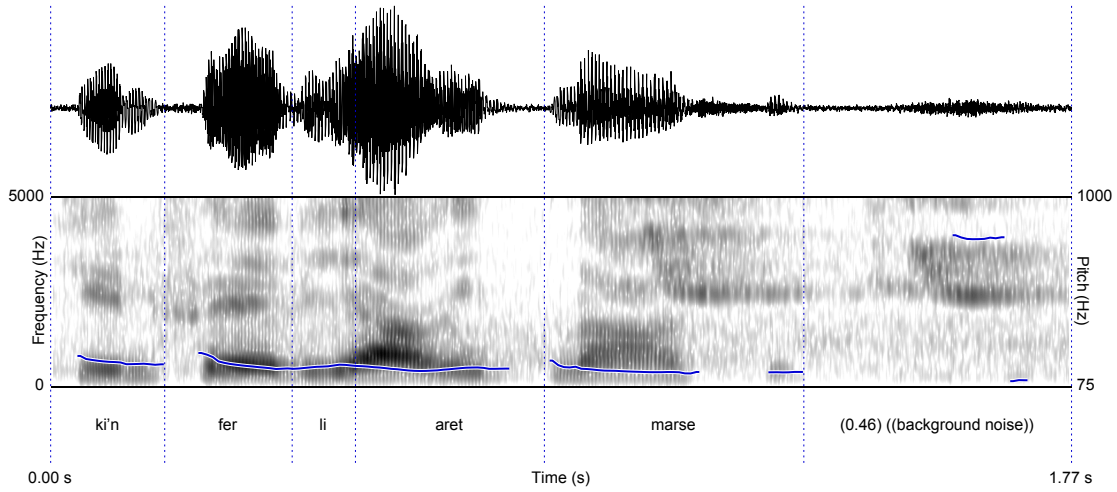


Figure 1.105: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (54)

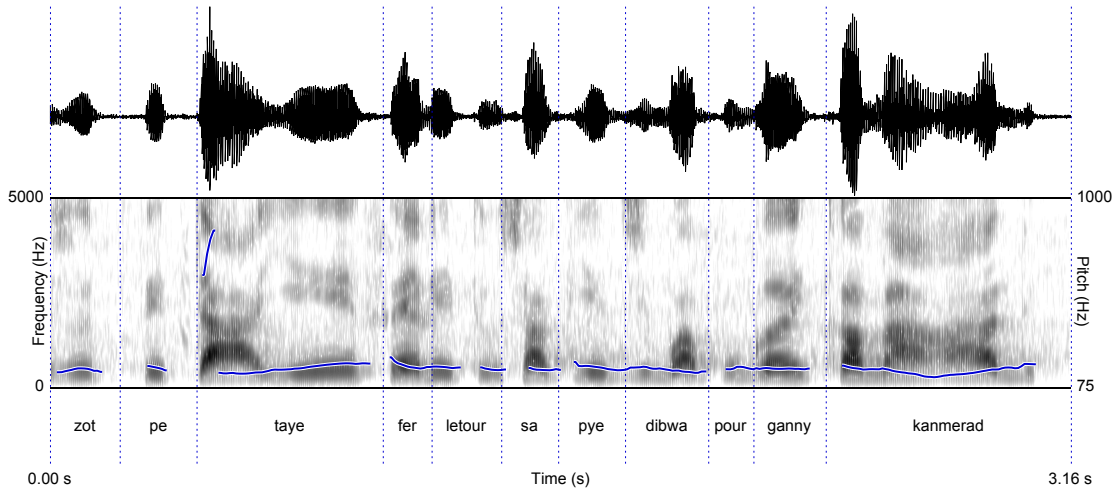


Figure 1.106: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (55)

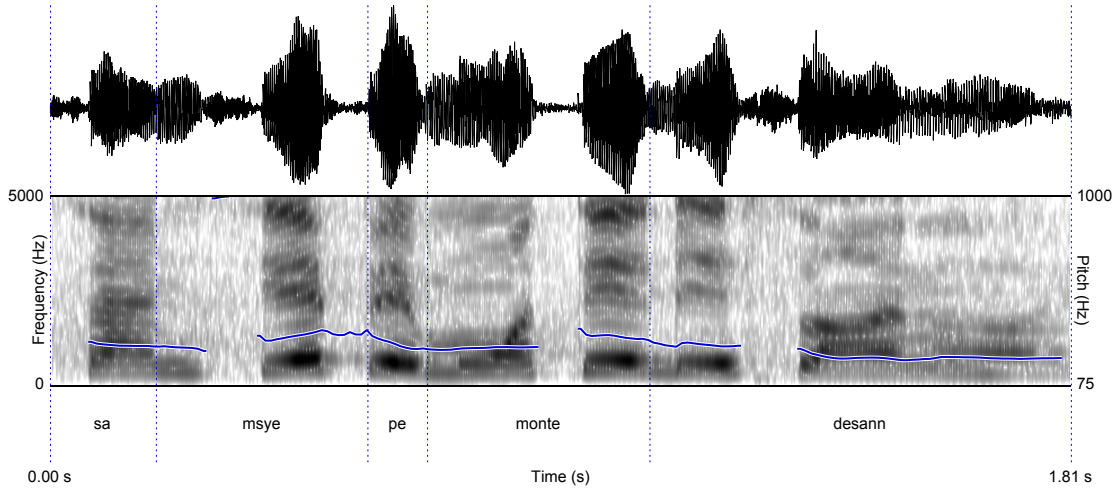


Figure 1.107: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (56)

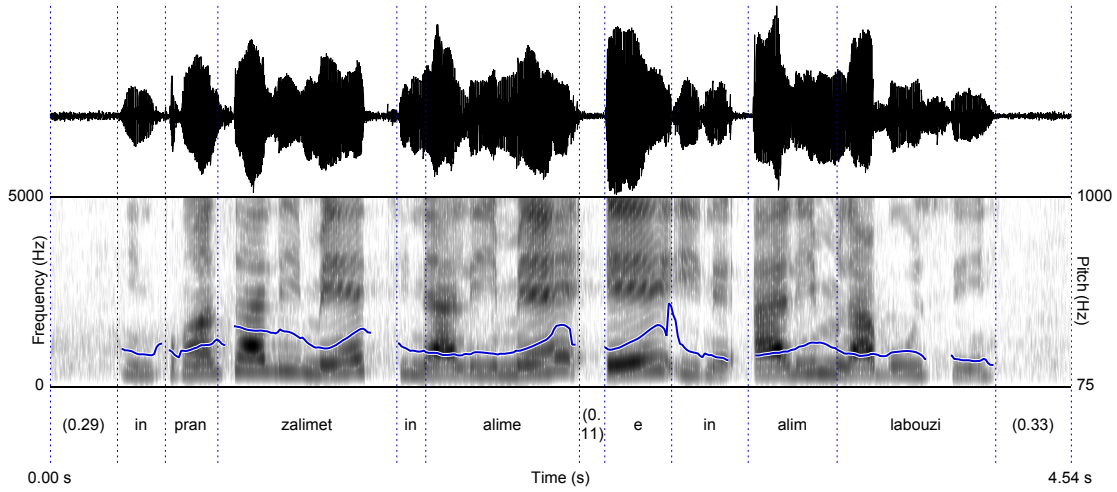


Figure 1.108: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (57)

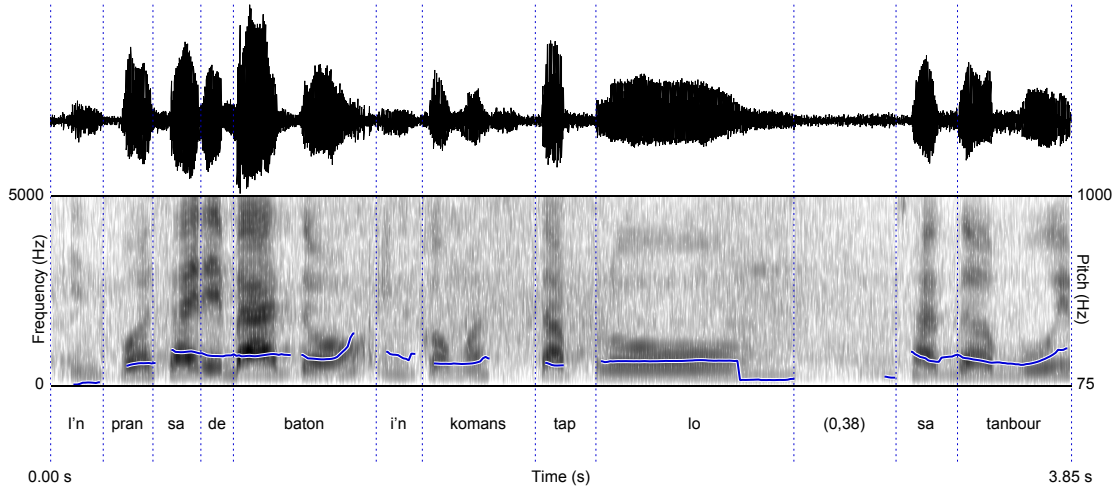


Figure 1.109: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (58)

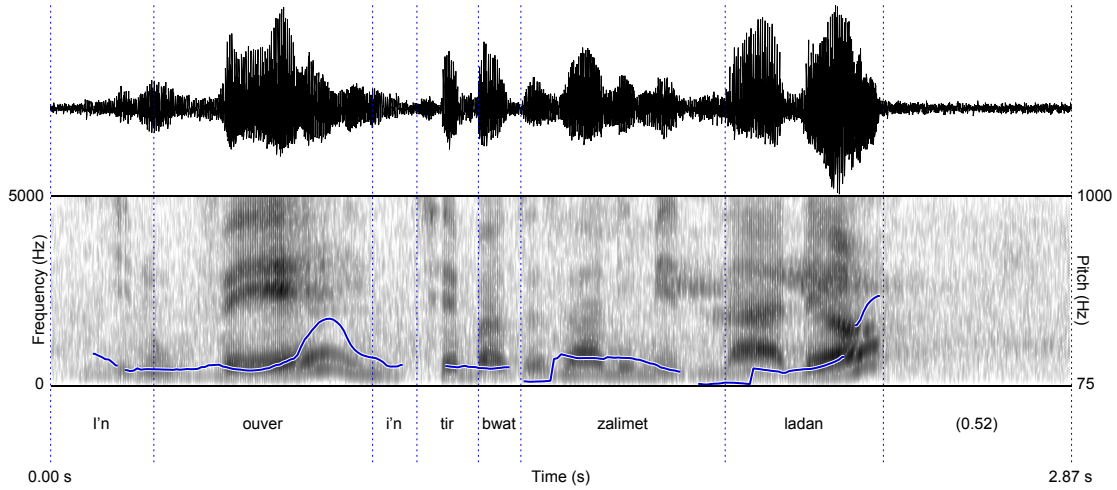


Figure 1.110: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (59)

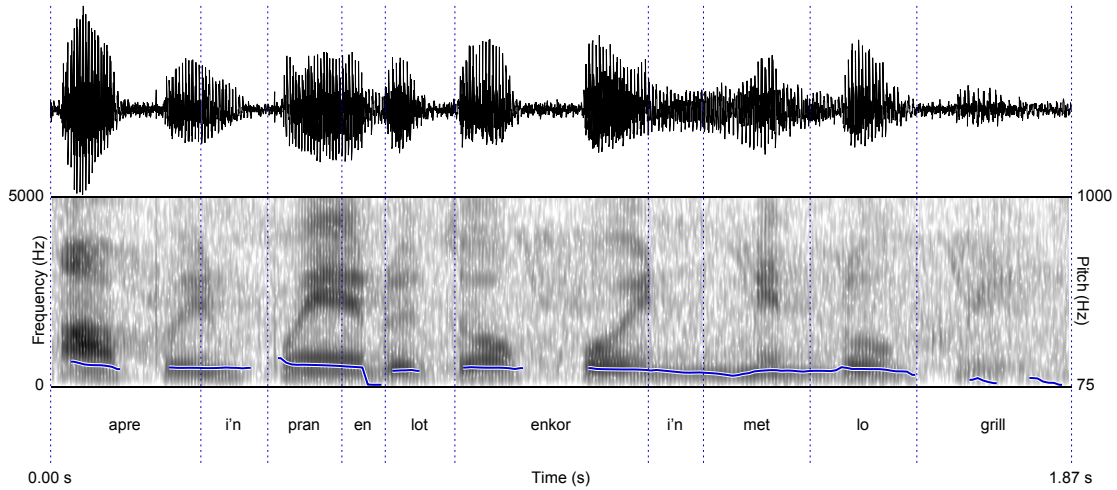


Figure 1.111: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (60)

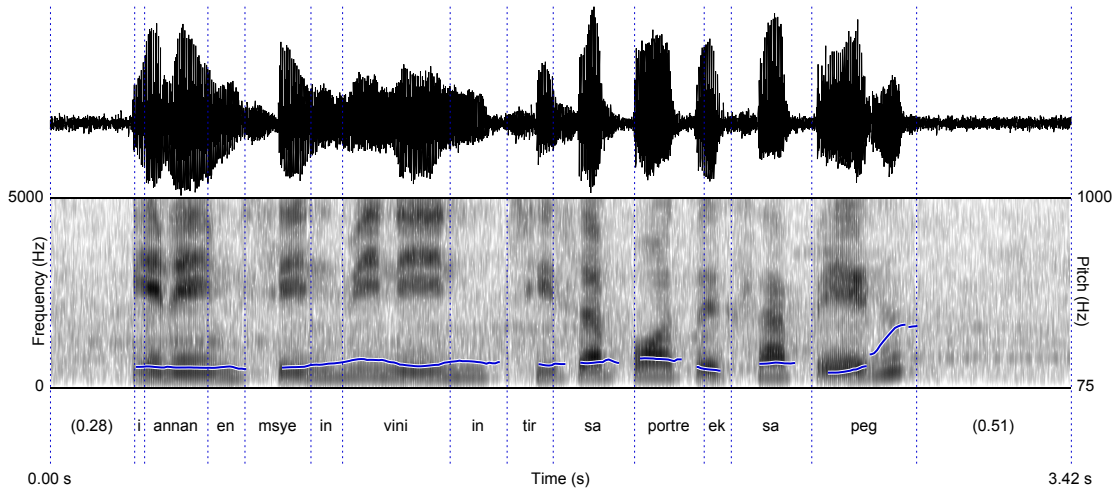


Figure 1.112: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (61)

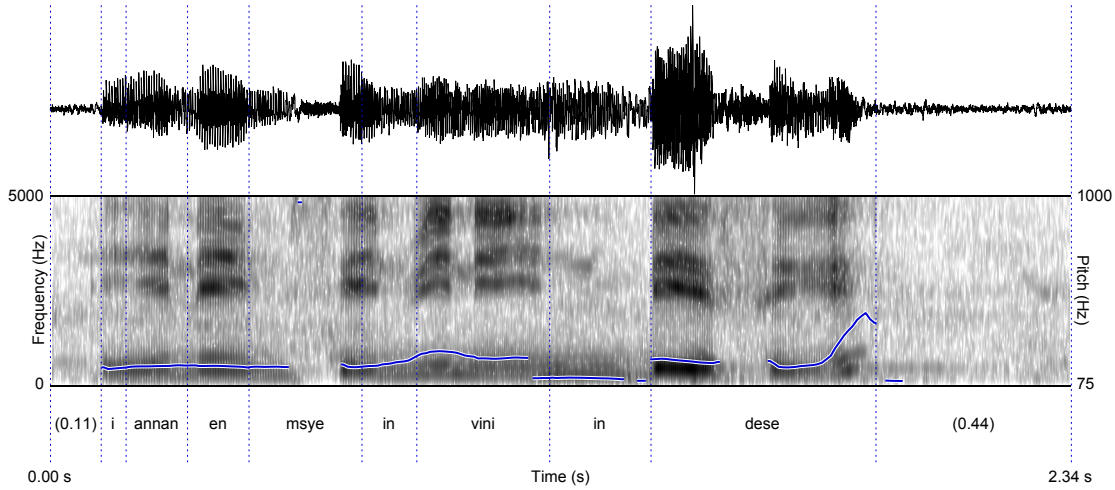


Figure 1.113: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (62)

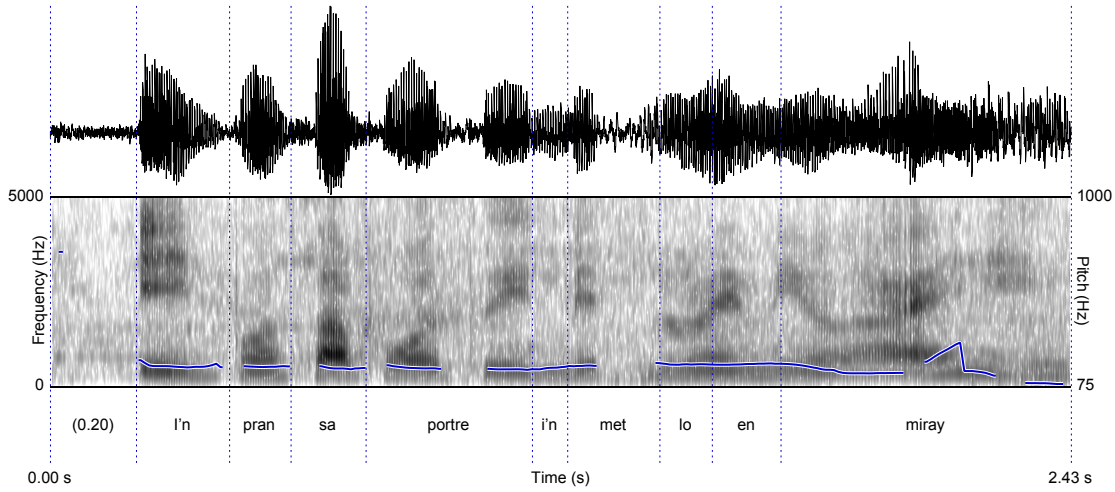


Figure 1.114: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (63)

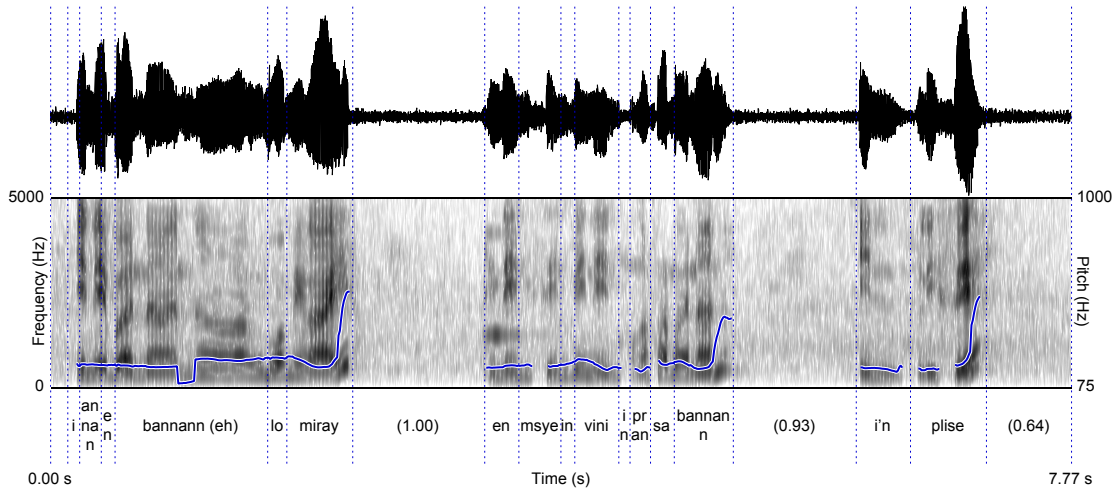


Figure 1.115: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (64)

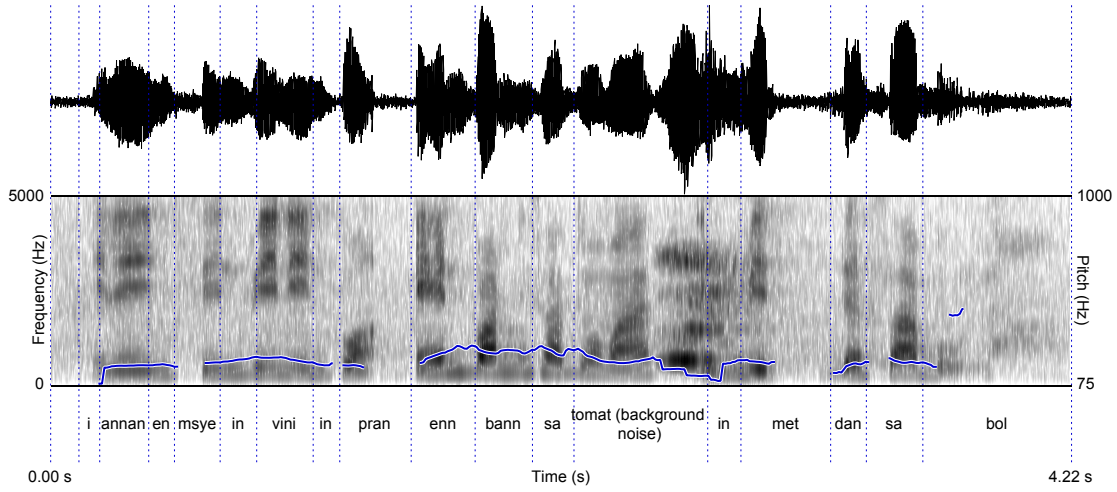


Figure 1.116: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (65)

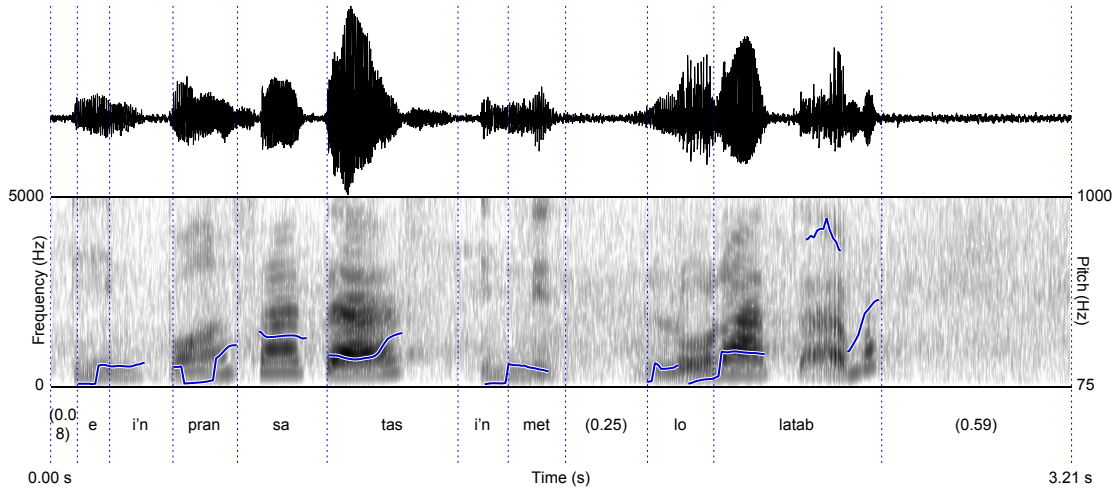


Figure 1.117: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (66)

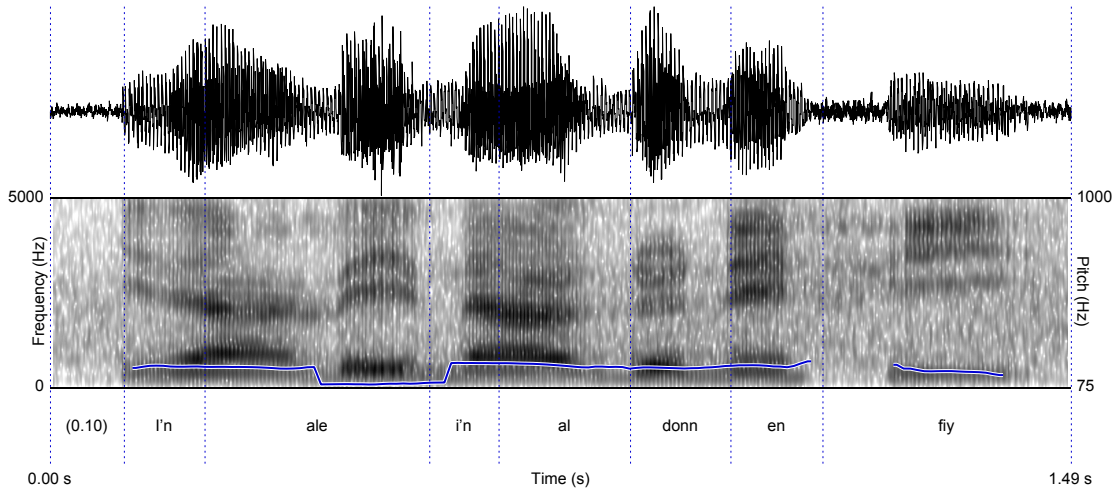


Figure 1.118: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (67)

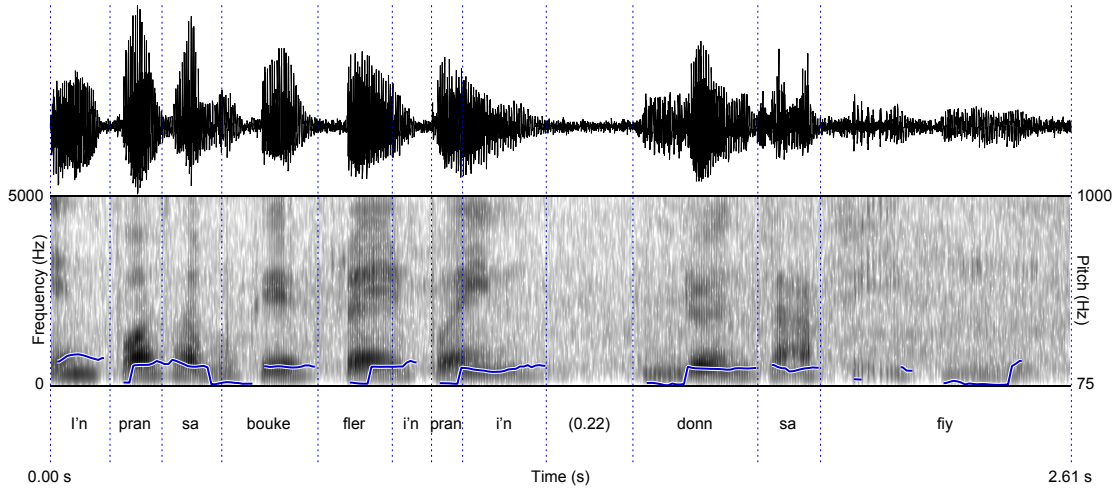


Figure 1.119: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (68)

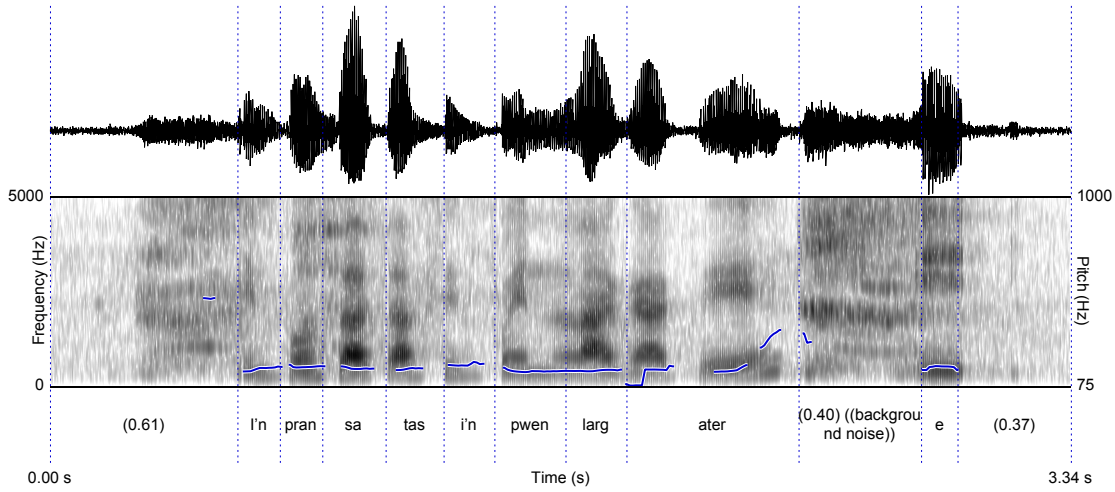


Figure 1.120: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (69)

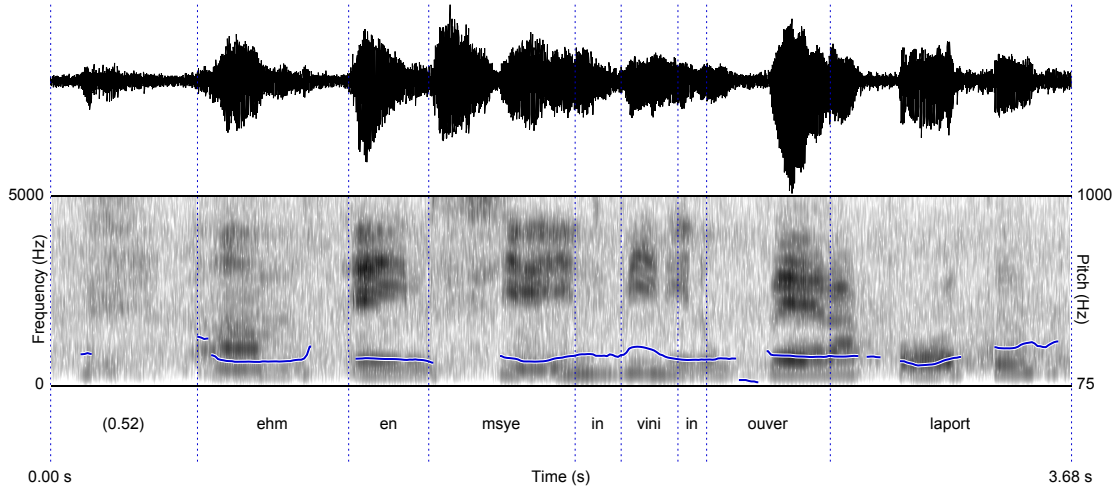


Figure 1.121: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (70)

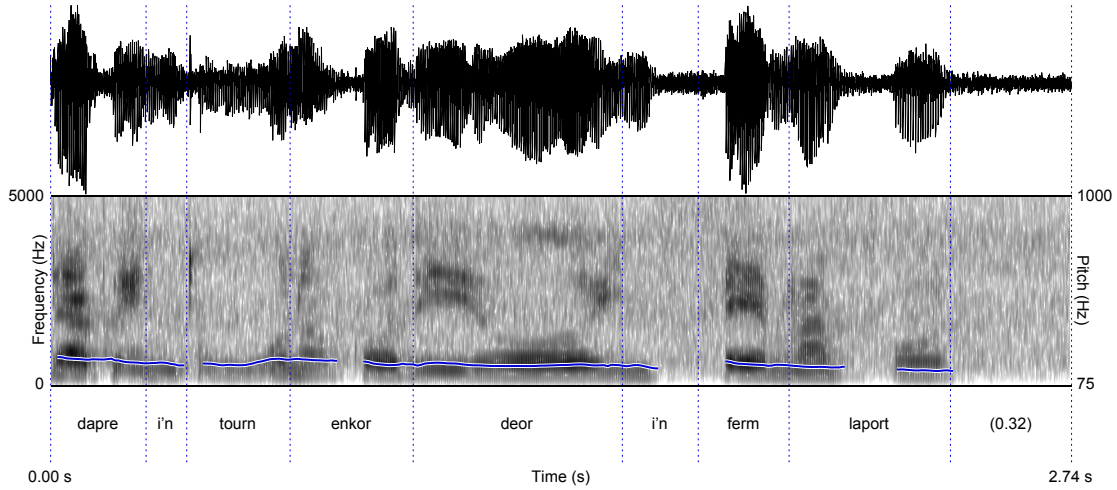


Figure 1.122: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (71)

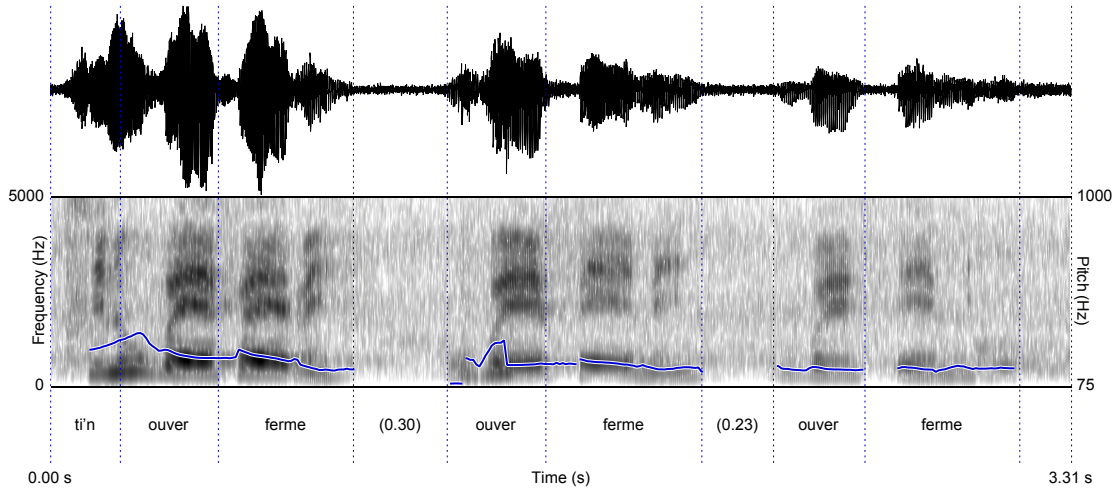


Figure 1.123: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (72)

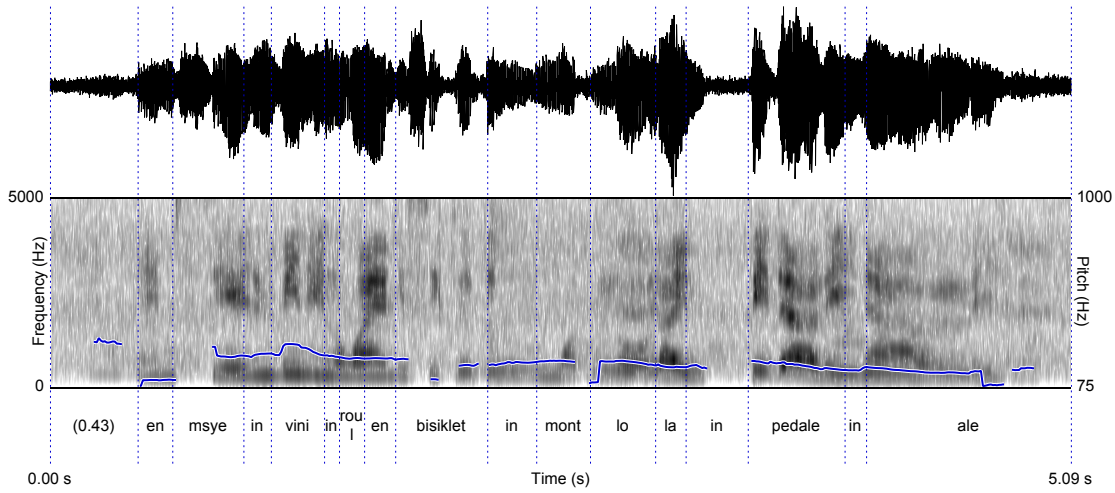


Figure 1.124: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (73)

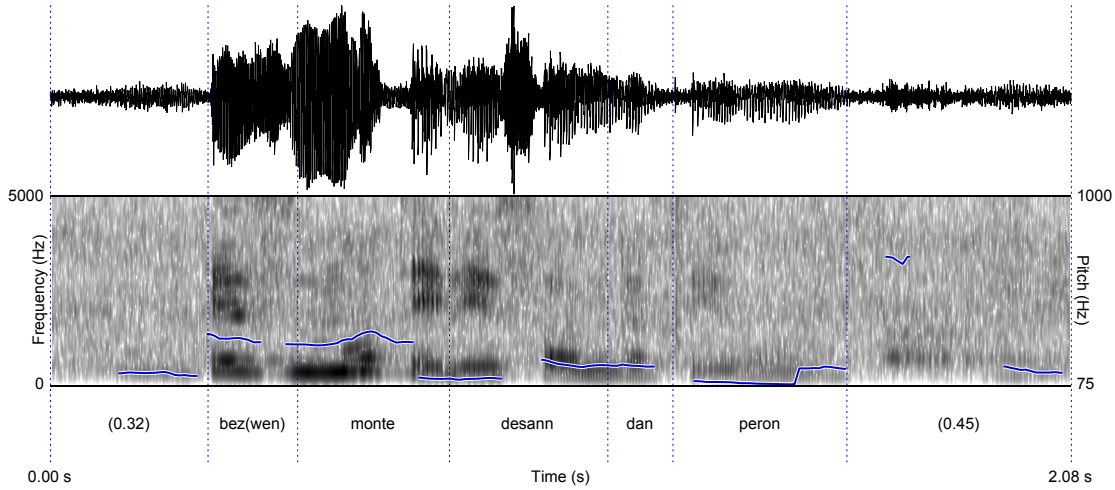


Figure 1.125: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (74)

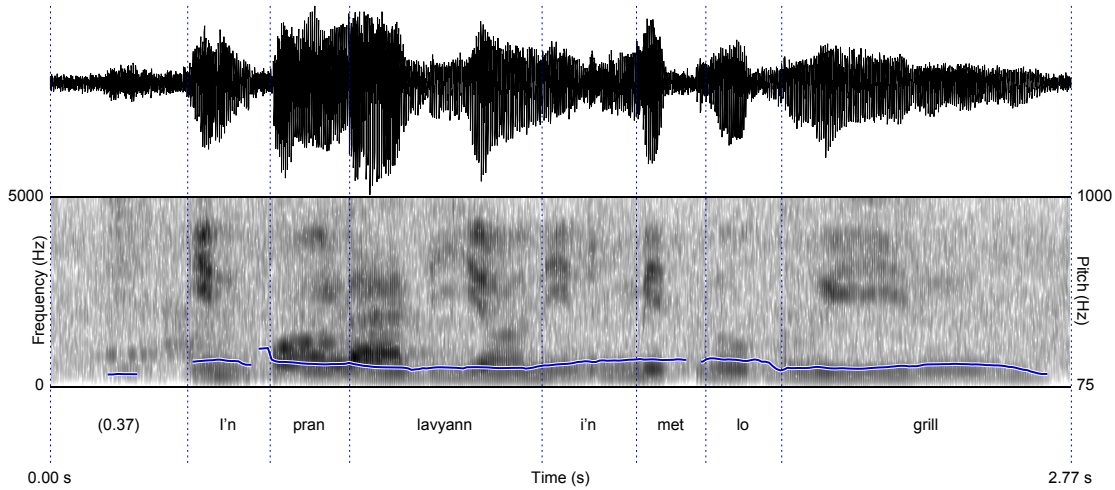


Figure 1.126: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (75)

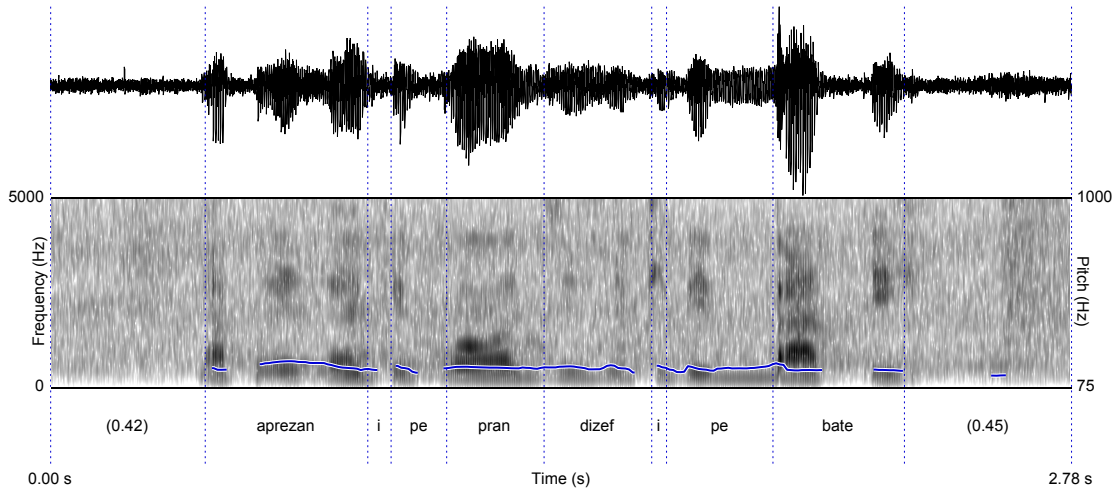


Figure 1.127: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (76)

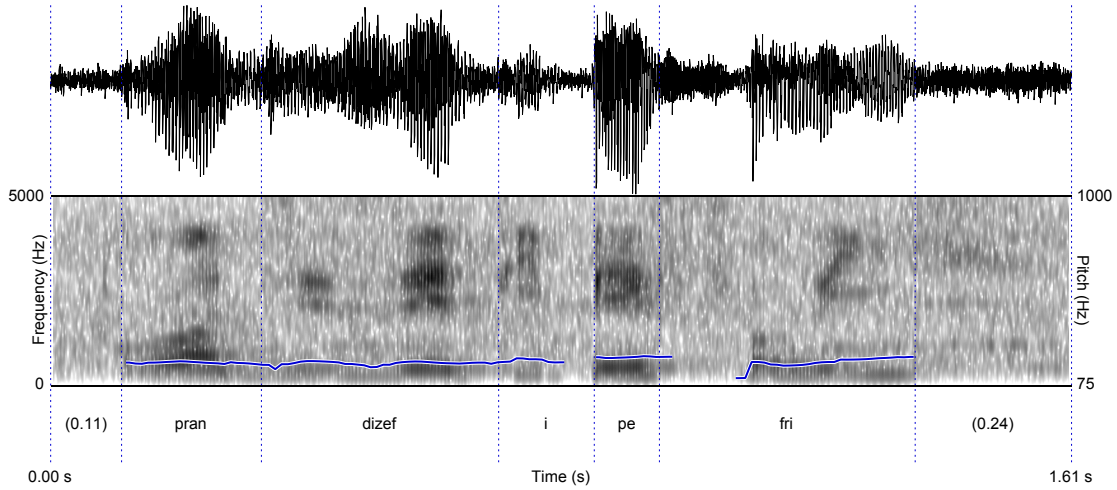


Figure 1.128: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (77)

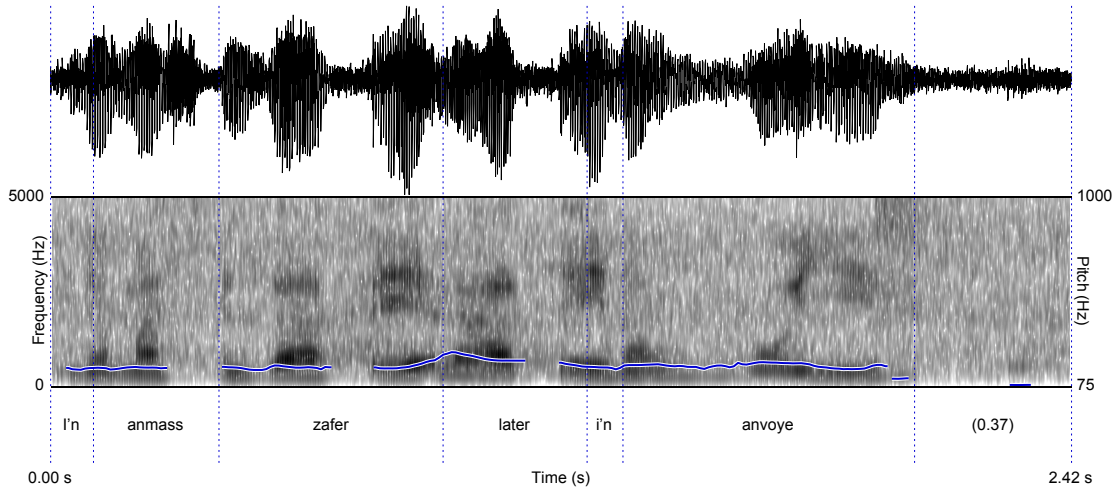


Figure 1.129: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (78)

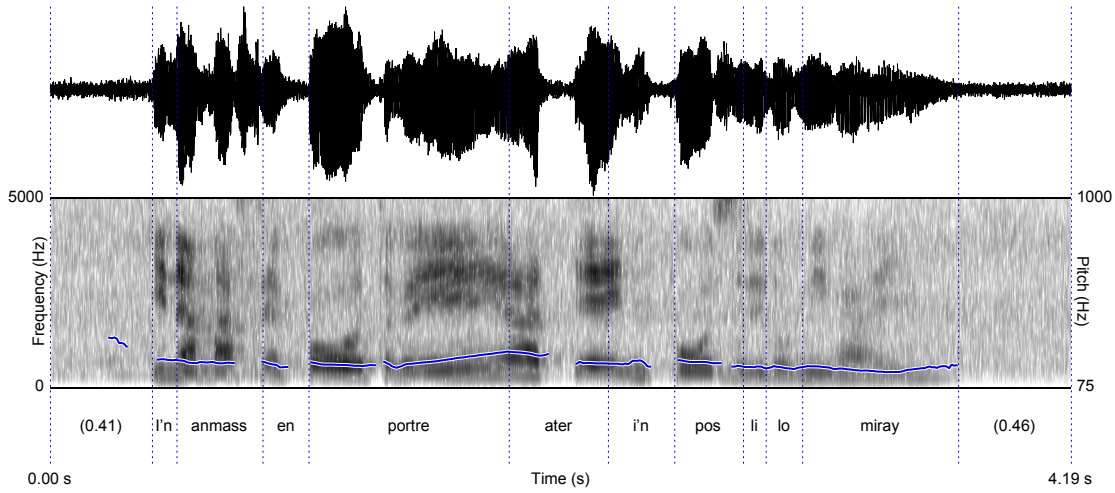


Figure 1.130: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (79)

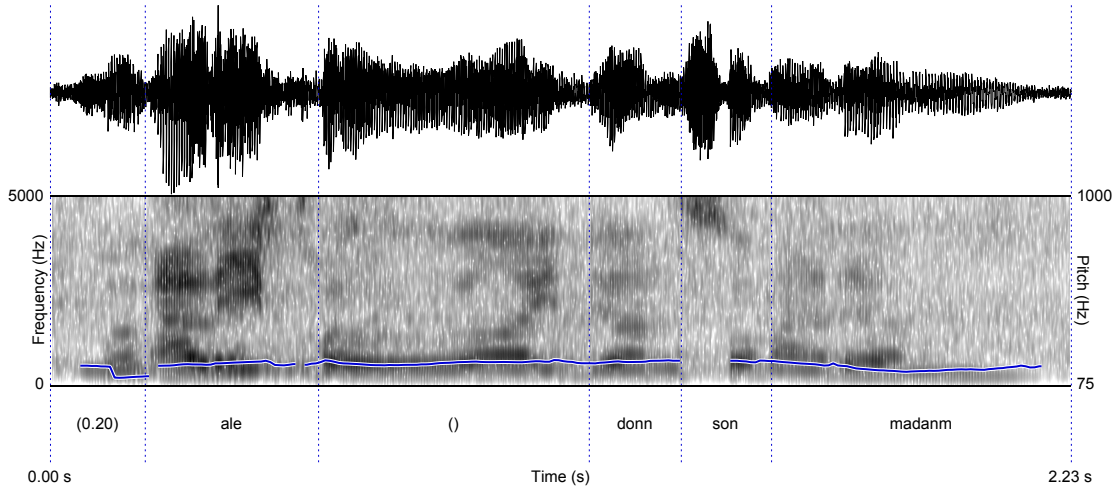


Figure 1.131: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (80)

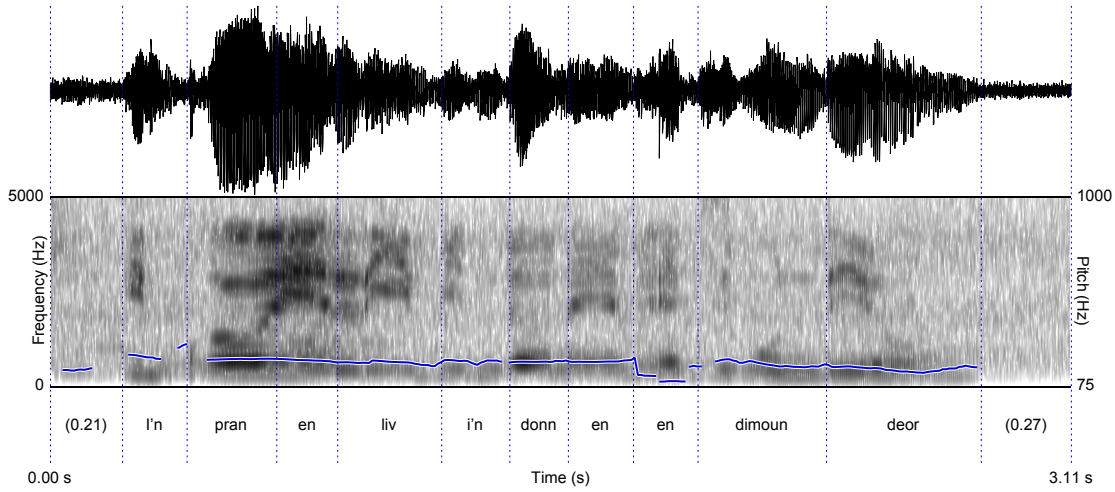


Figure 1.132: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (81)

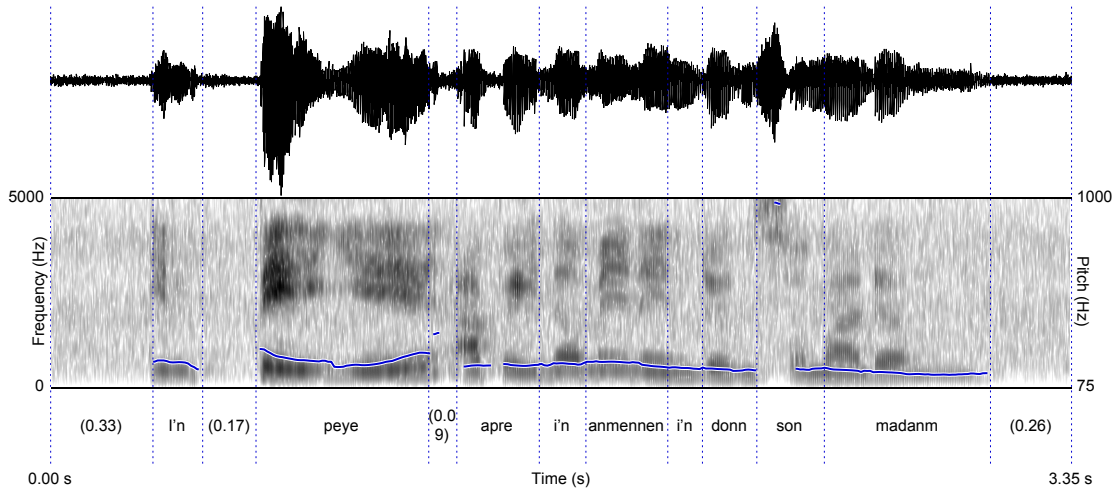


Figure 1.133: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (82)

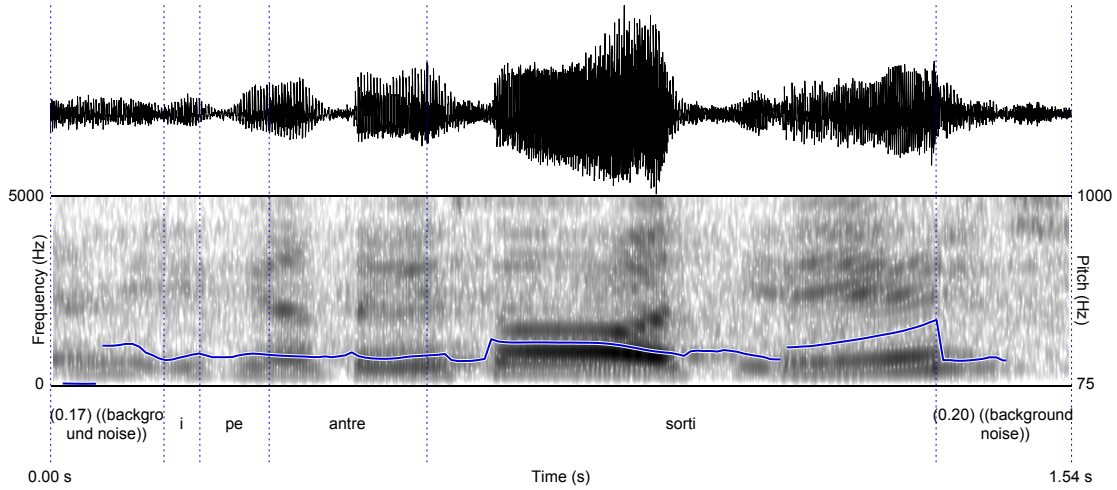


Figure 1.134: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (83)

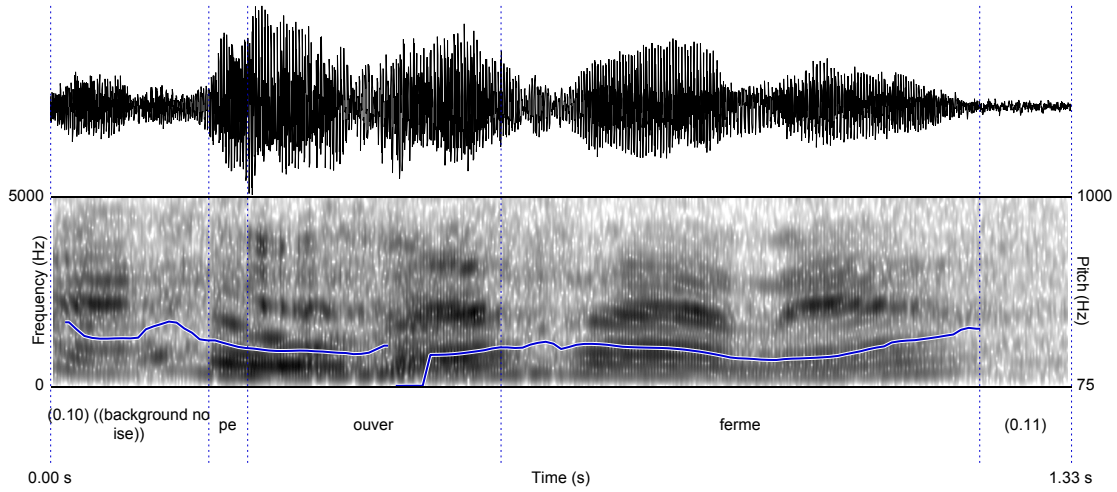


Figure 1.135: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (84)

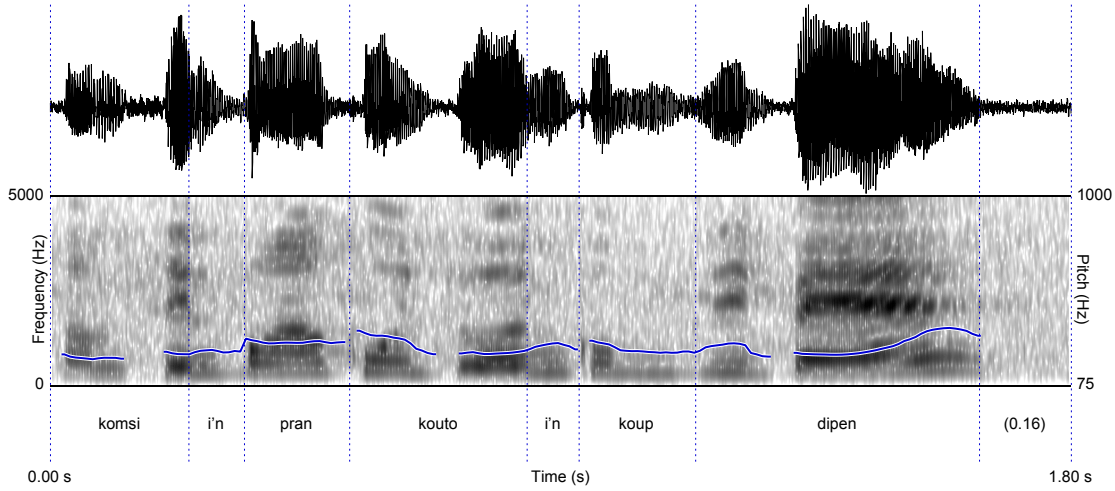


Figure 1.136: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (85)

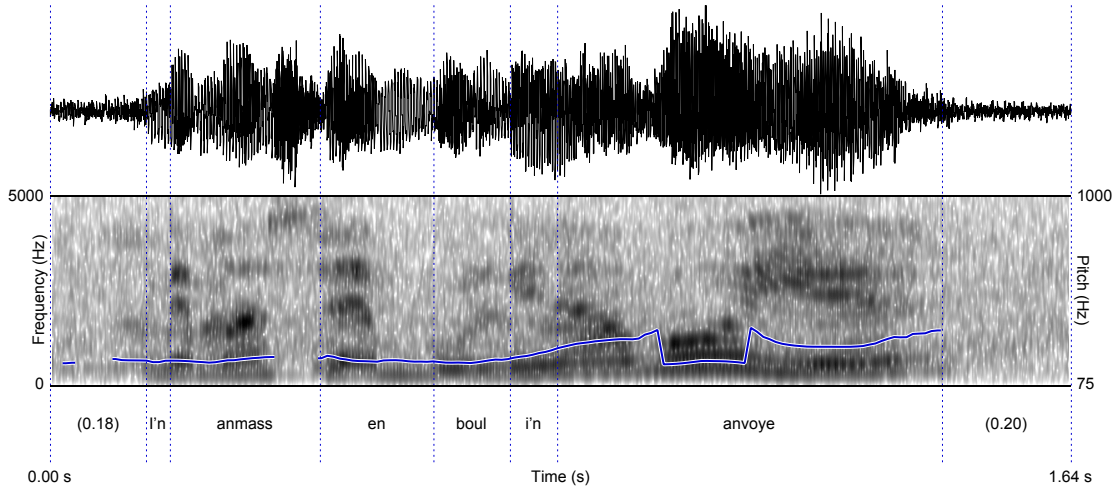


Figure 1.137: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (86)

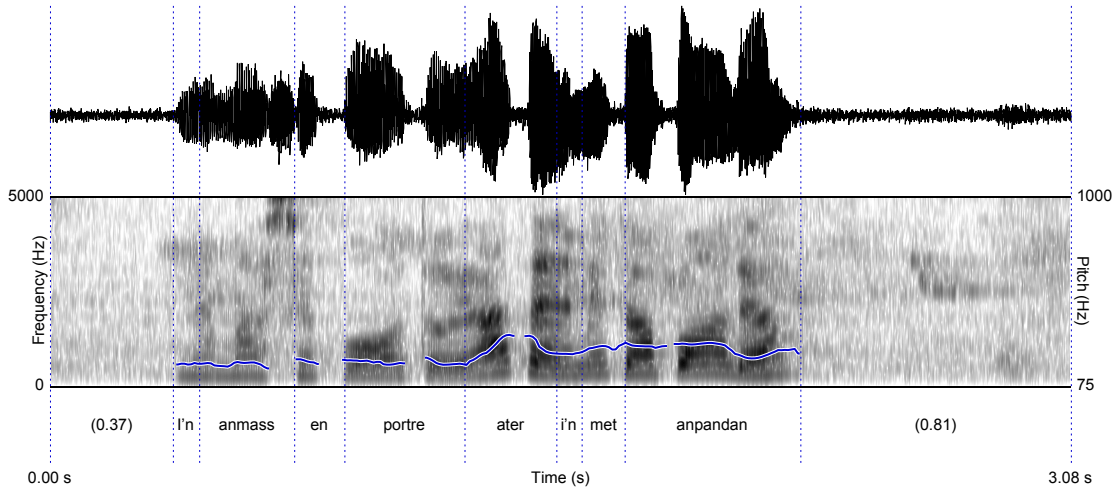


Figure 1.138: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (87)

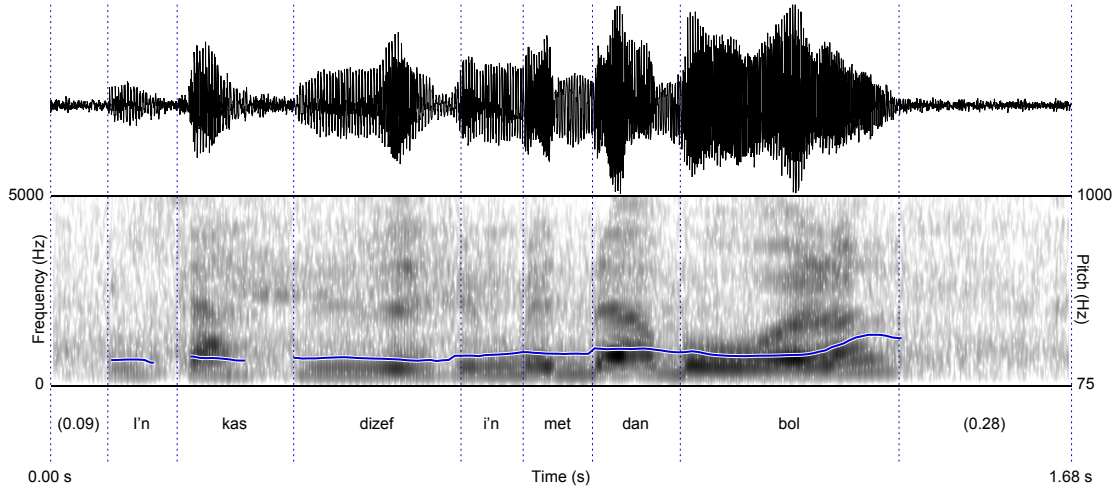


Figure 1.139: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (88)

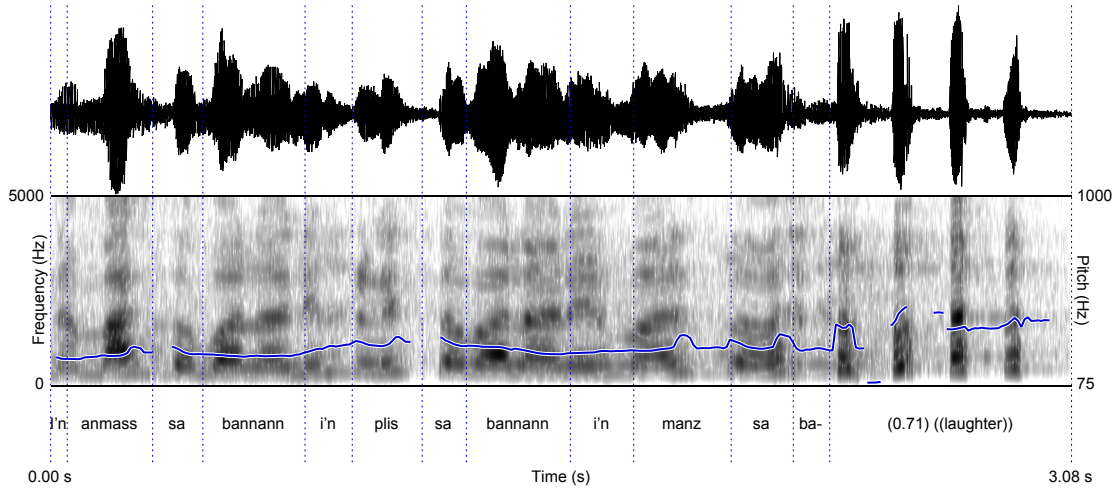


Figure 1.140: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (89)

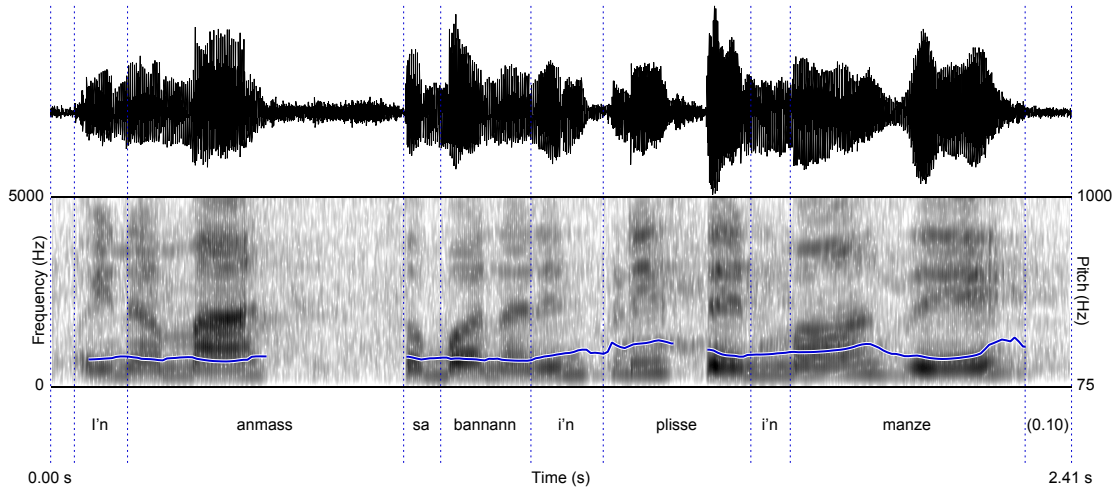


Figure 1.141: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (90)

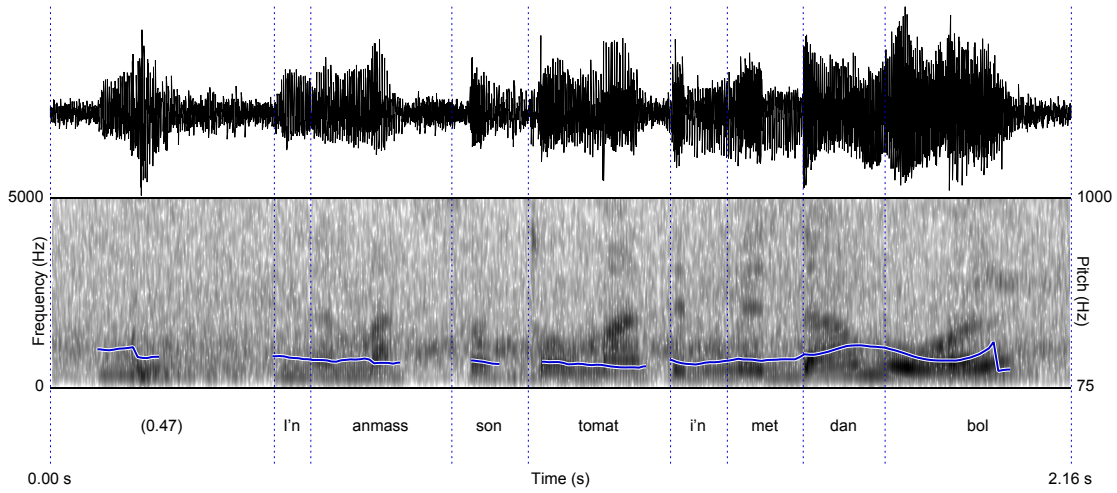


Figure 1.142: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (91)

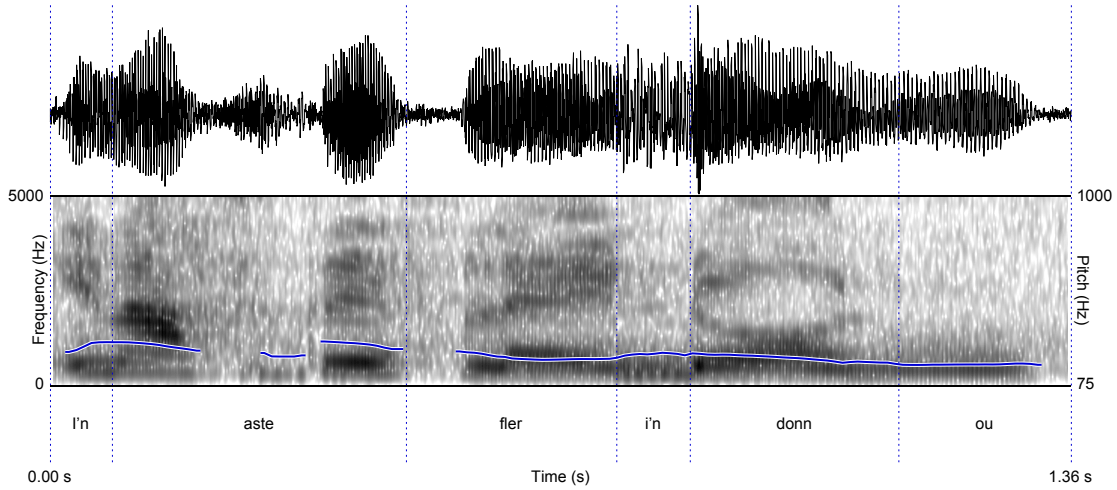


Figure 1.143: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (92)

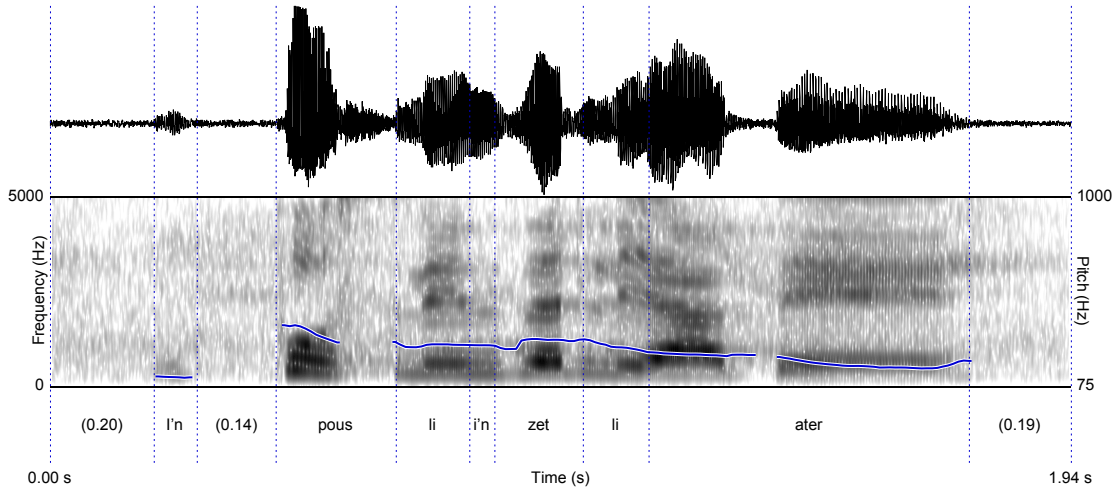


Figure 1.144: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (93)

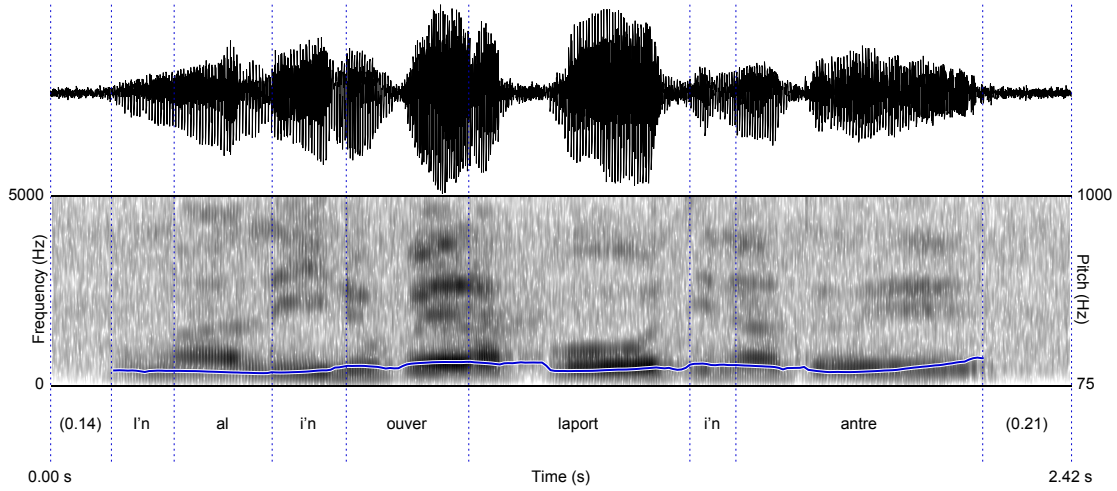


Figure 1.145: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (94)

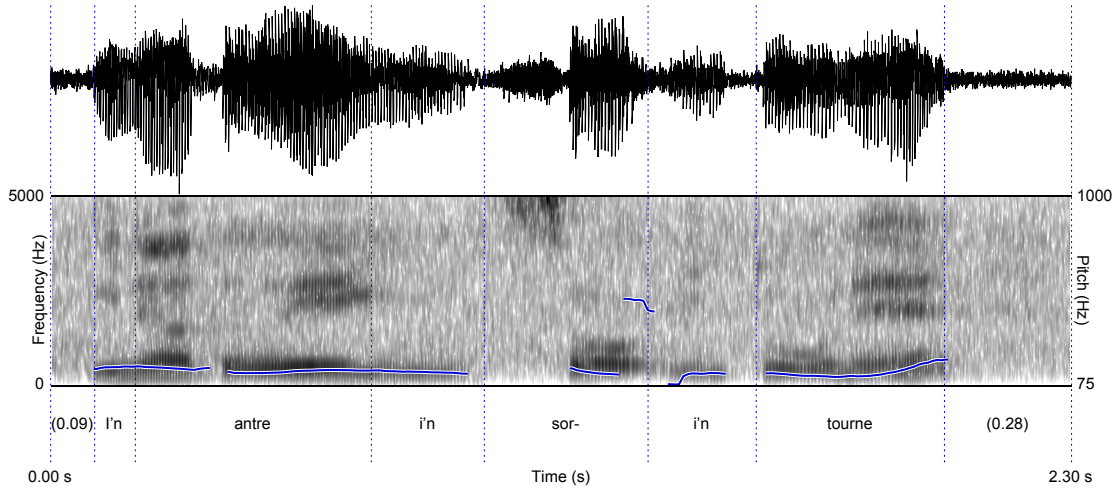


Figure 1.146: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (95)

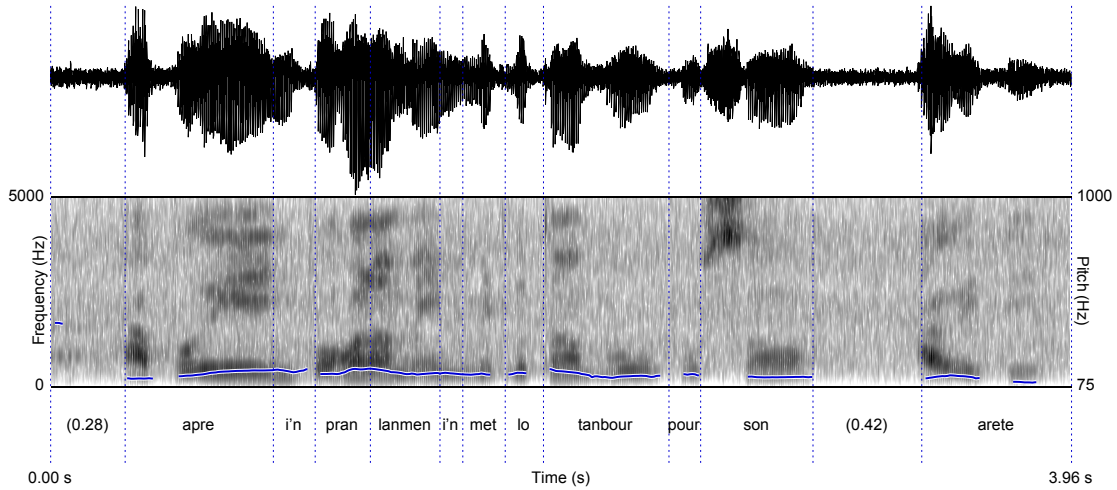


Figure 1.147: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (96)

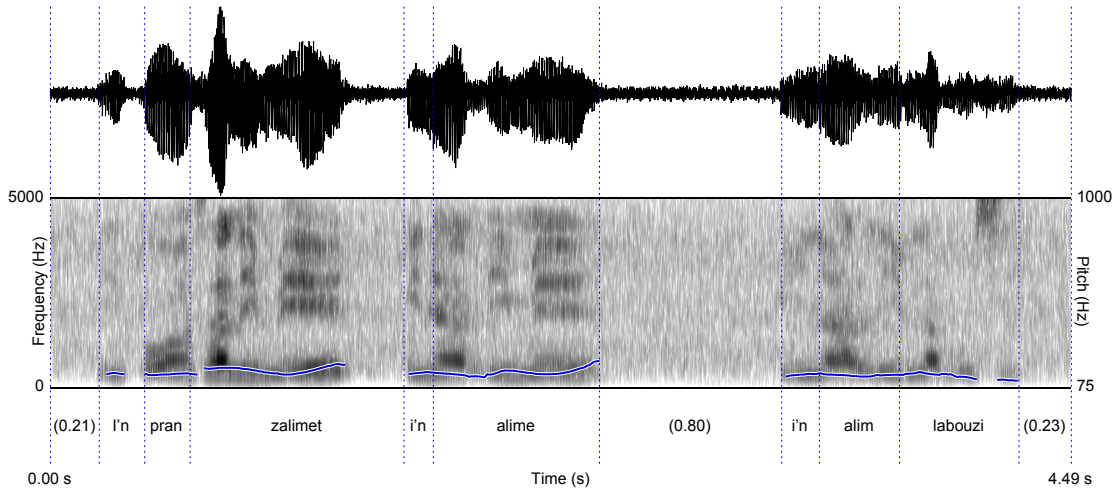


Figure 1.148: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (97)

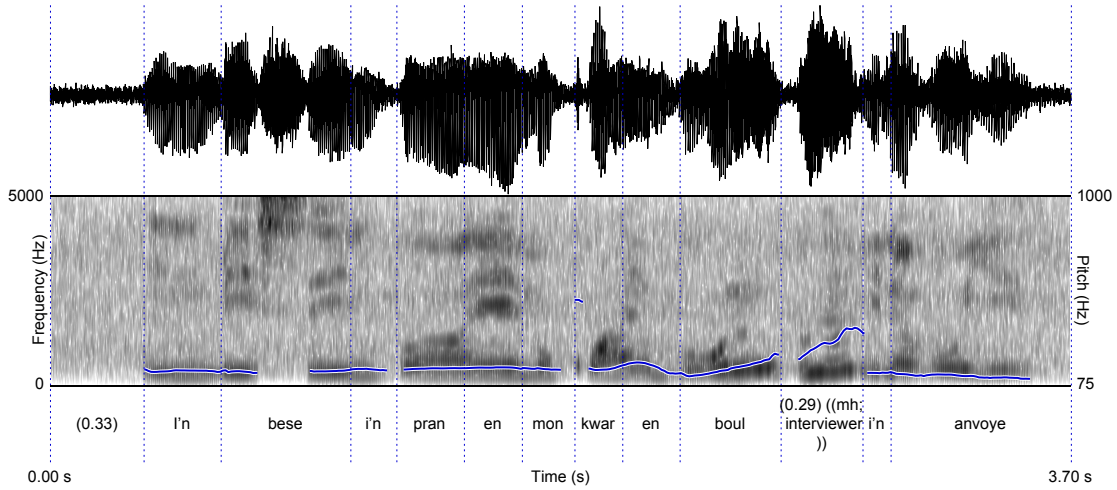


Figure 1.149: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (98)

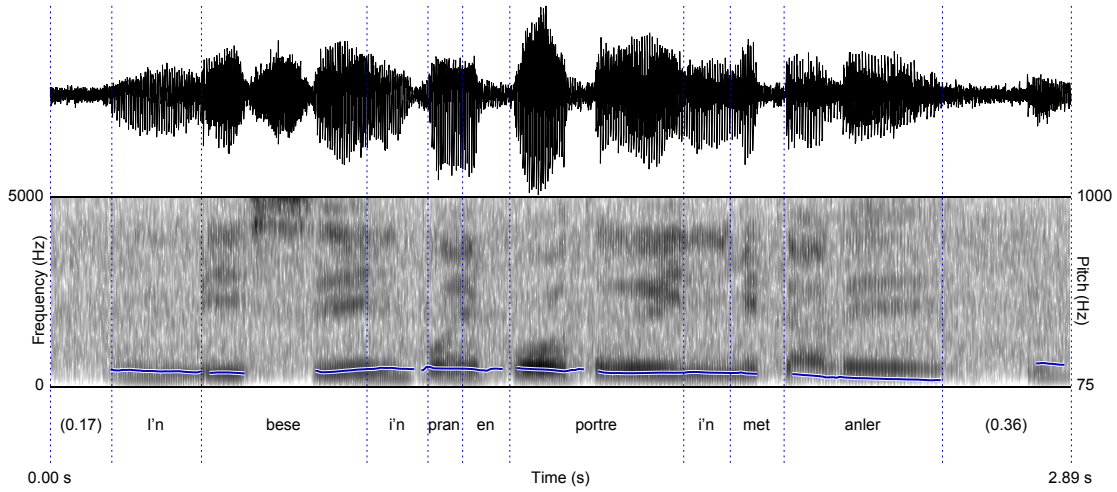


Figure 1.150: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (99)

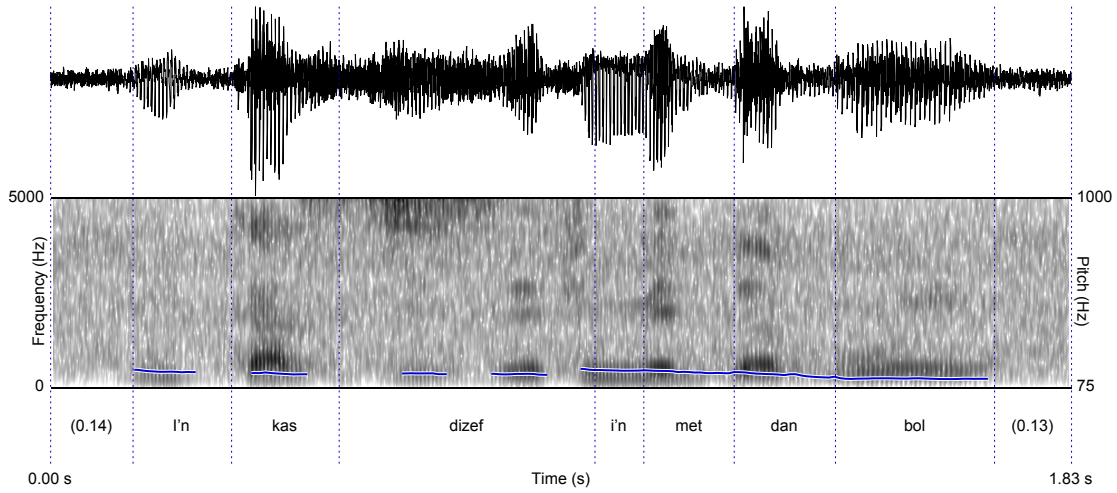


Figure 1.151: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (100)

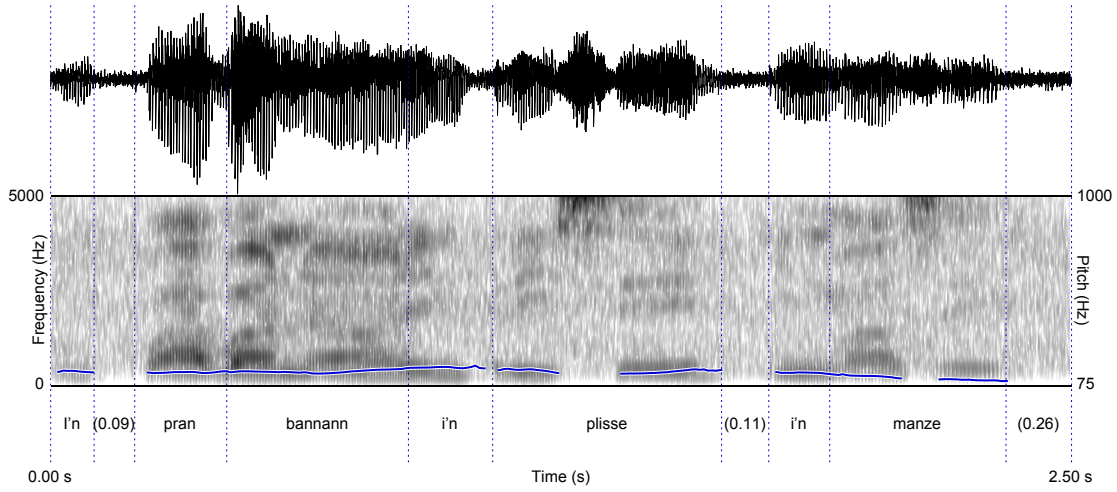


Figure 1.152: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (101)

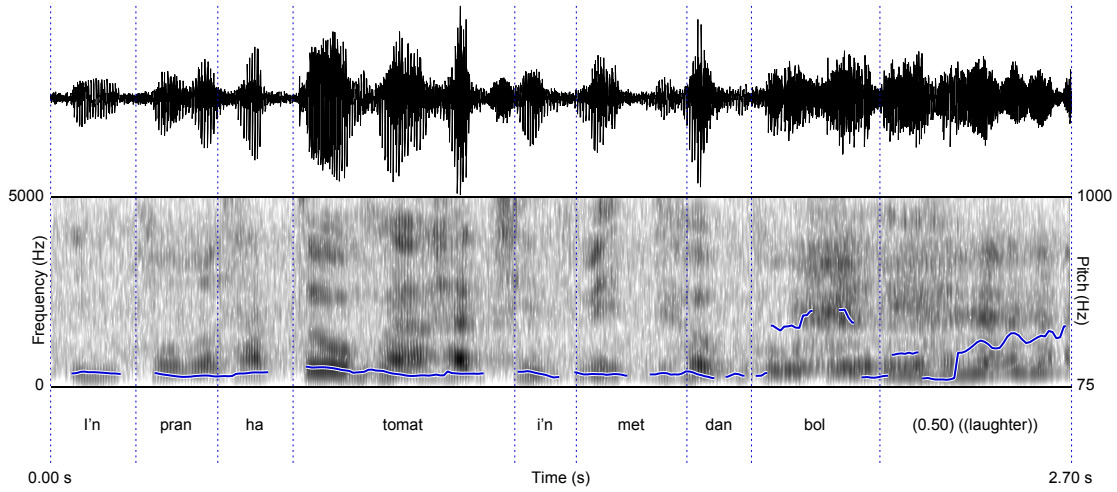


Figure 1.153: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (102)

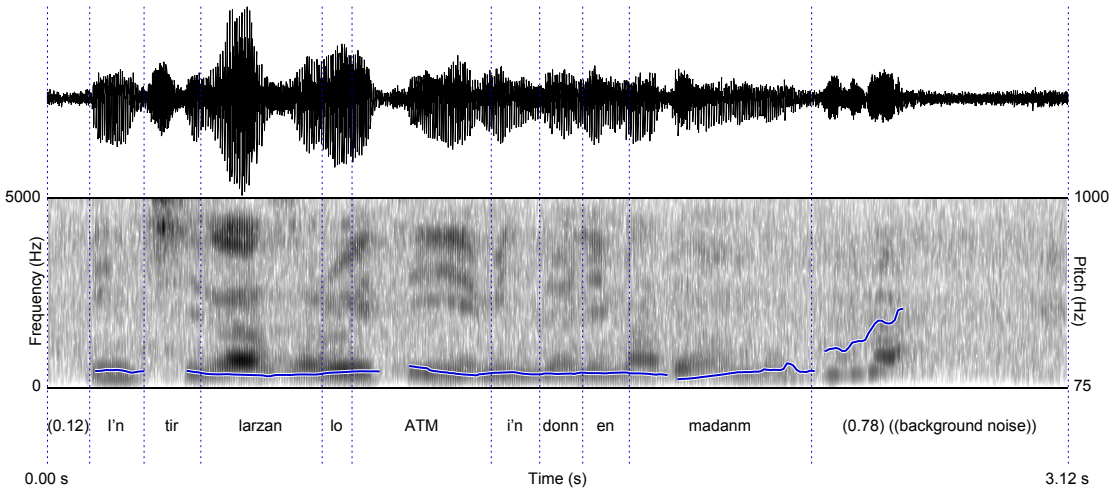


Figure 1.154: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (103)

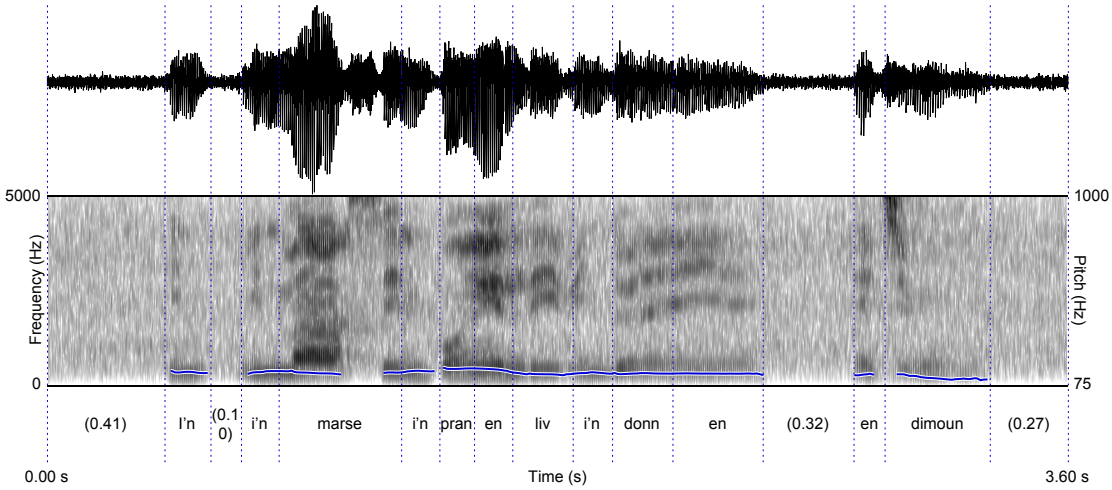


Figure 1.155: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (104)

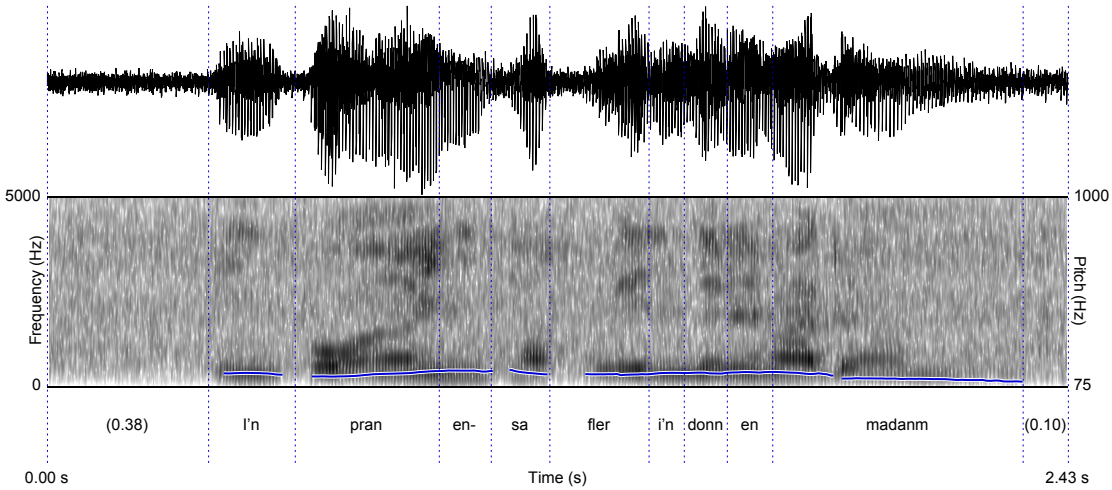


Figure 1.156: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (105)

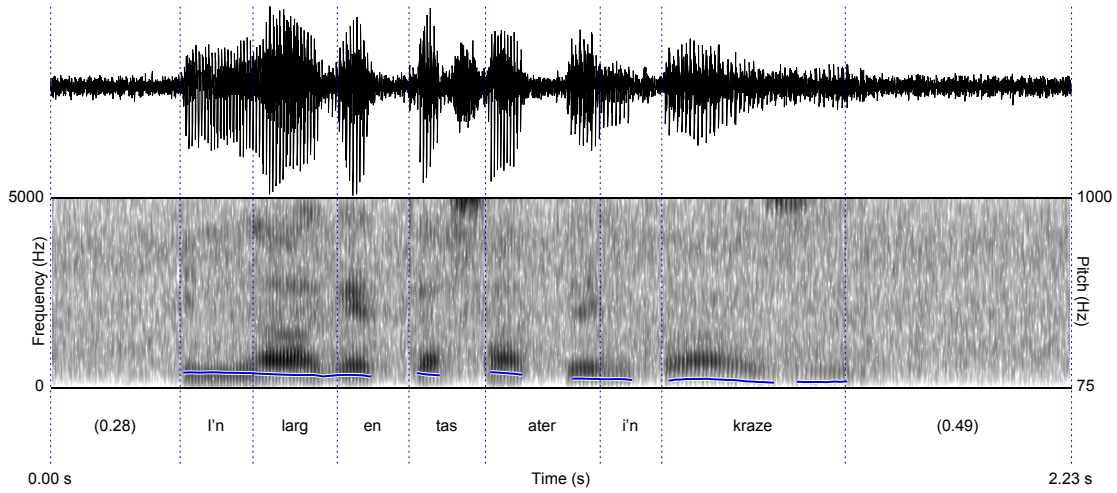


Figure 1.157: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (106)

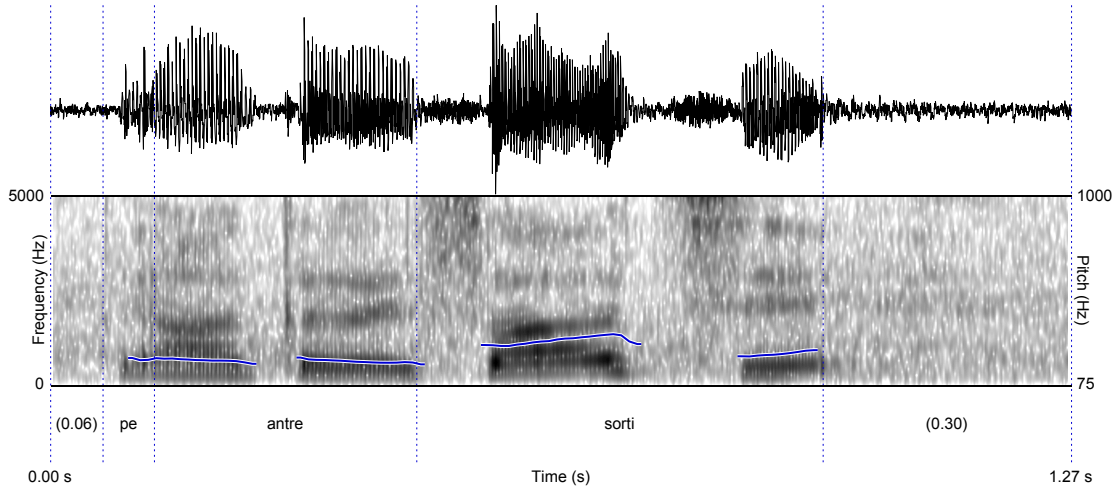


Figure 1.158: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (107)

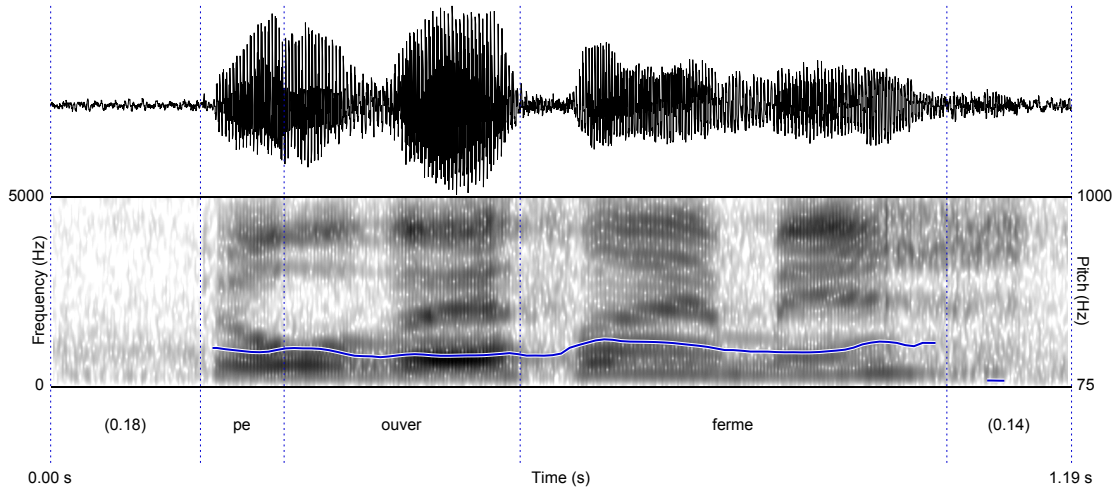


Figure 1.159: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (108)

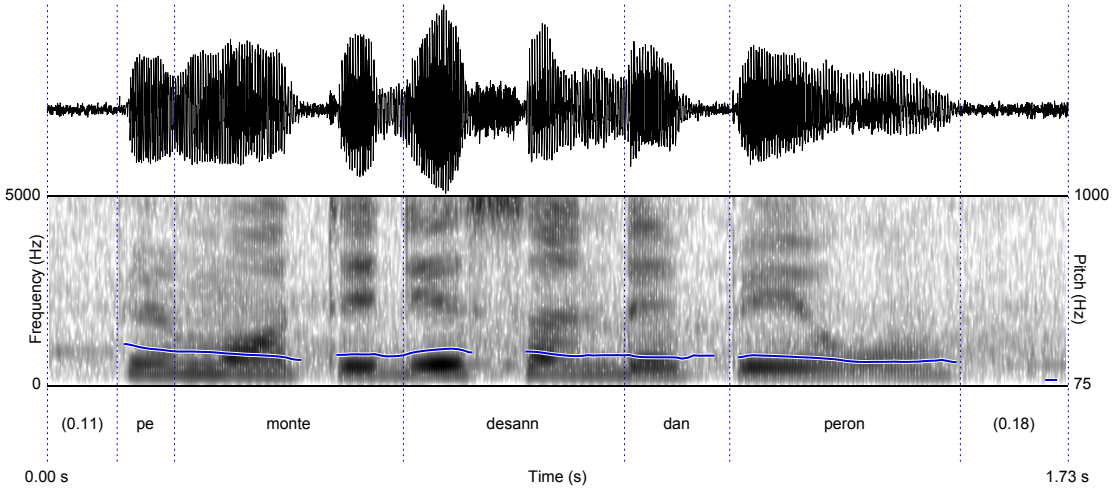


Figure 1.160: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (109)

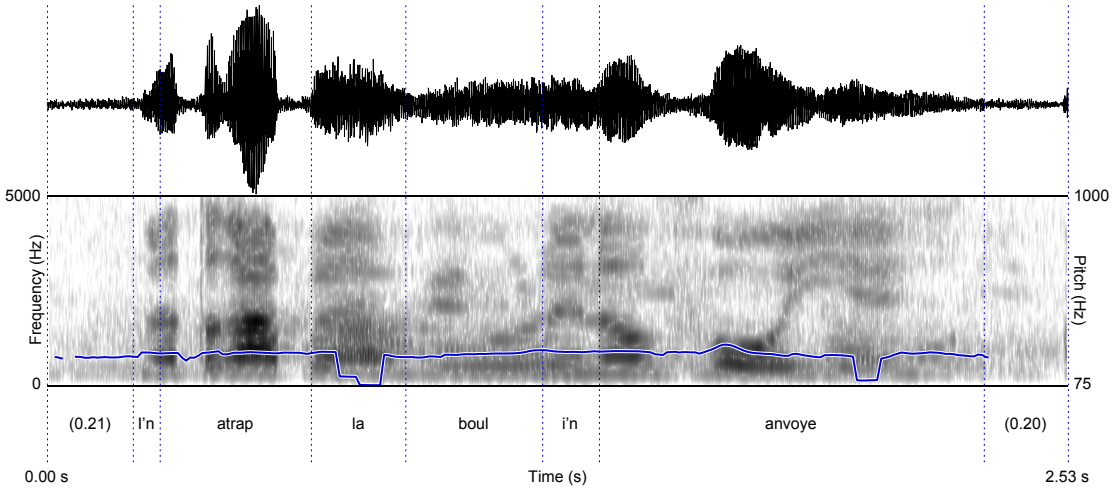


Figure 1.161: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (110)

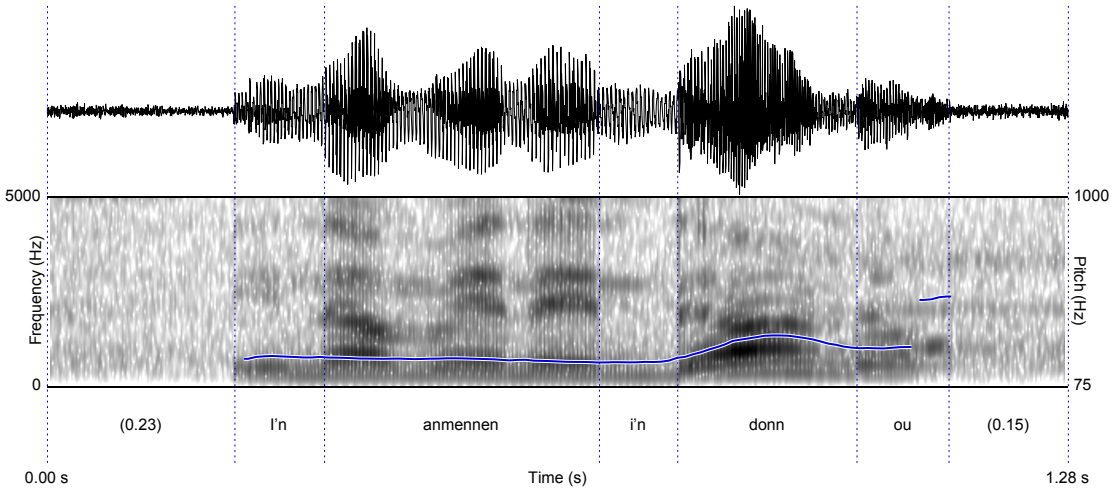


Figure 1.162: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (111)

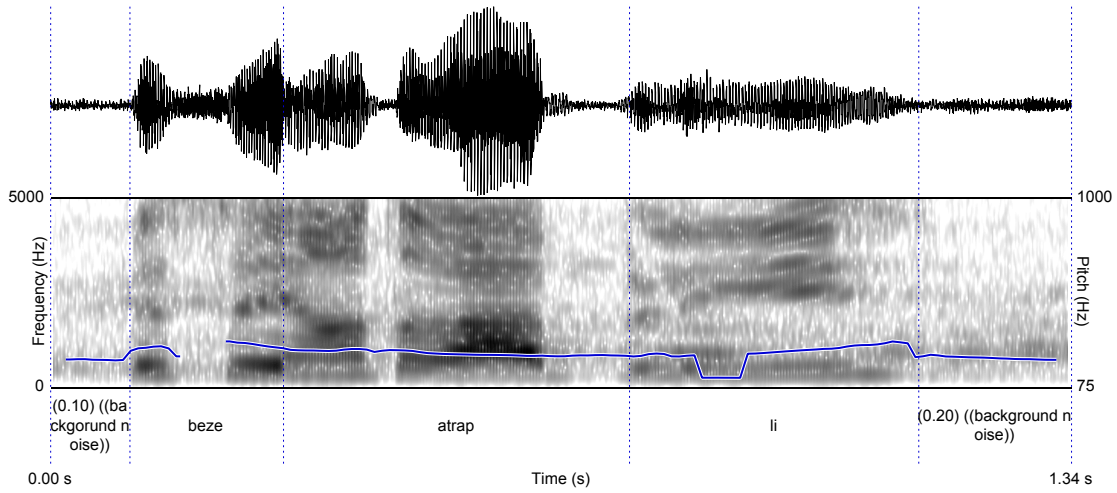


Figure 1.163: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (112)

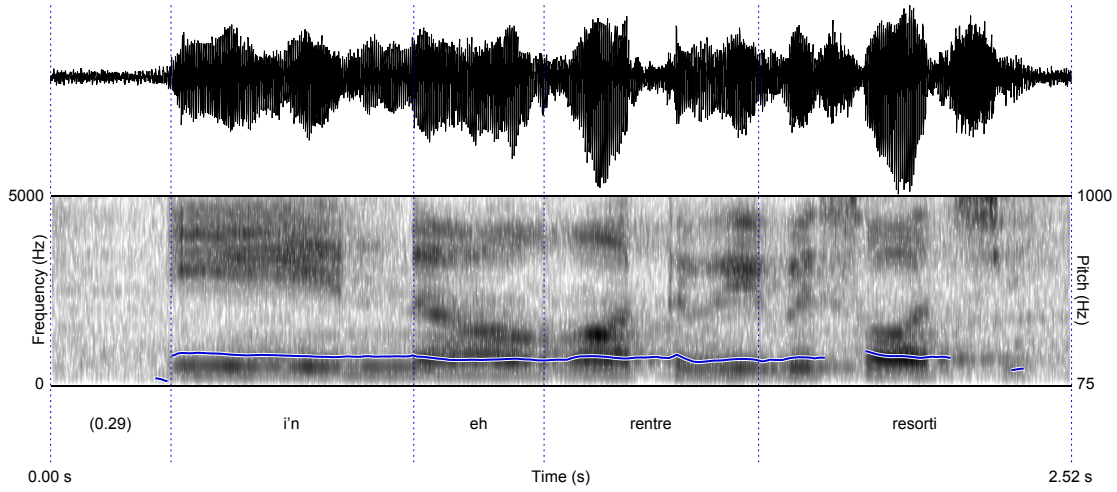


Figure 1.164: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (113)

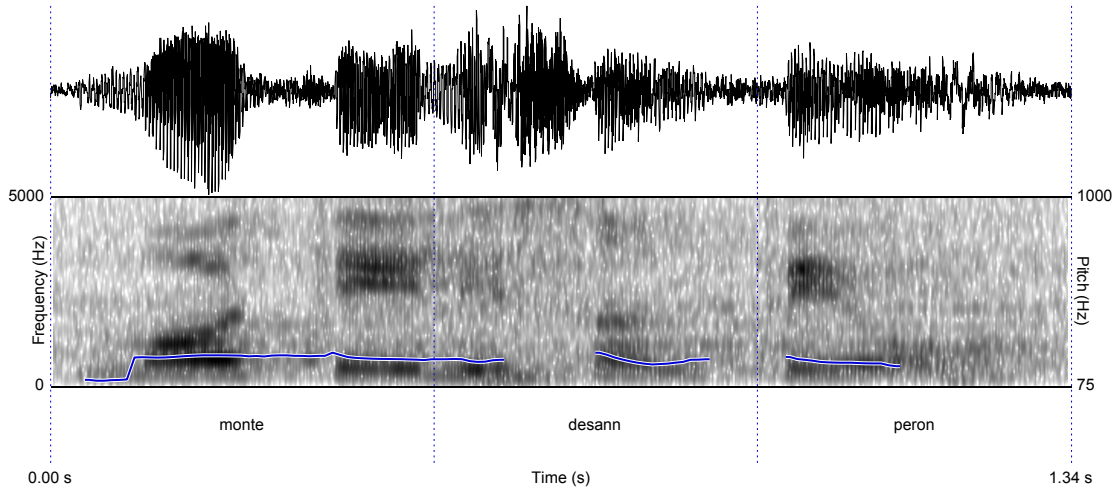


Figure 1.165: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (114)

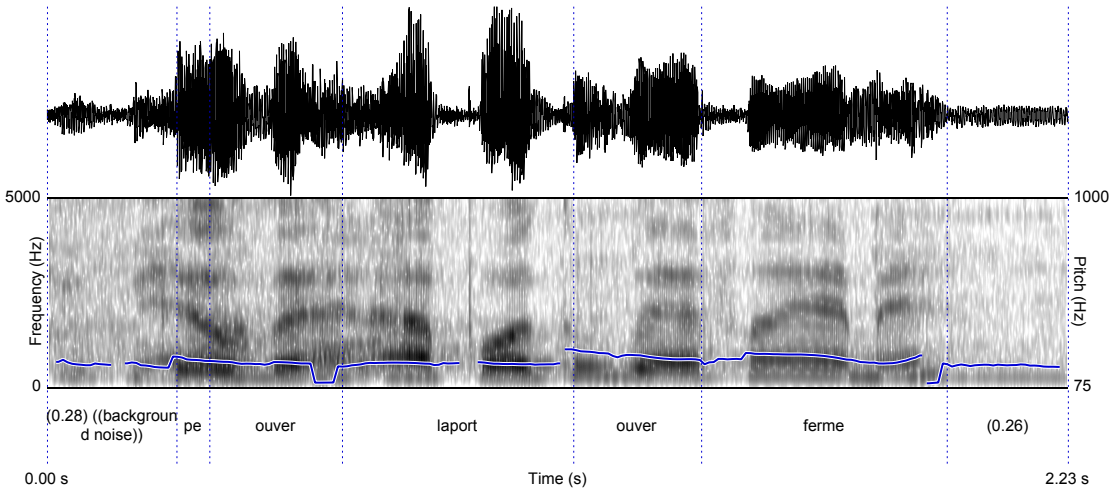


Figure 1.166: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (115)

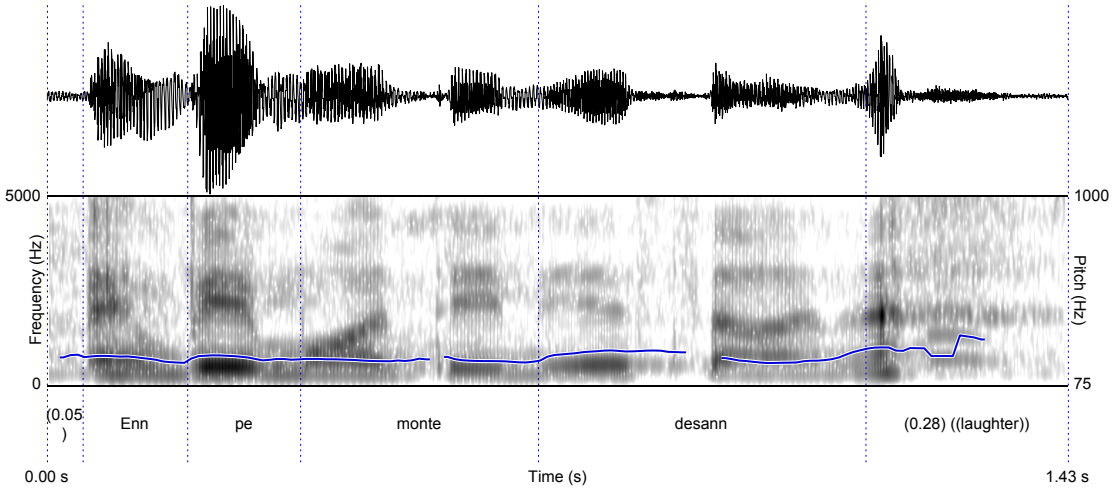


Figure 1.167: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (116)

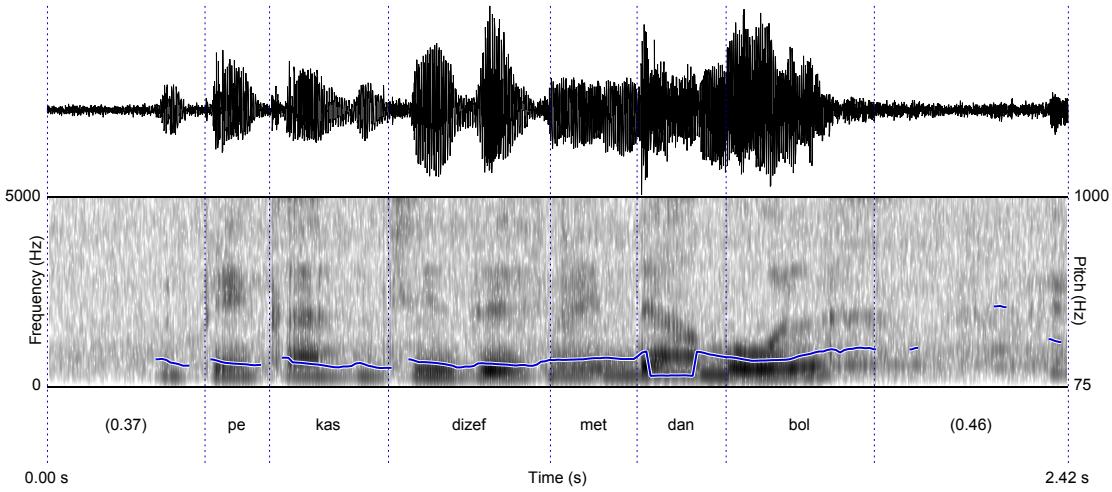


Figure 1.168: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (117)

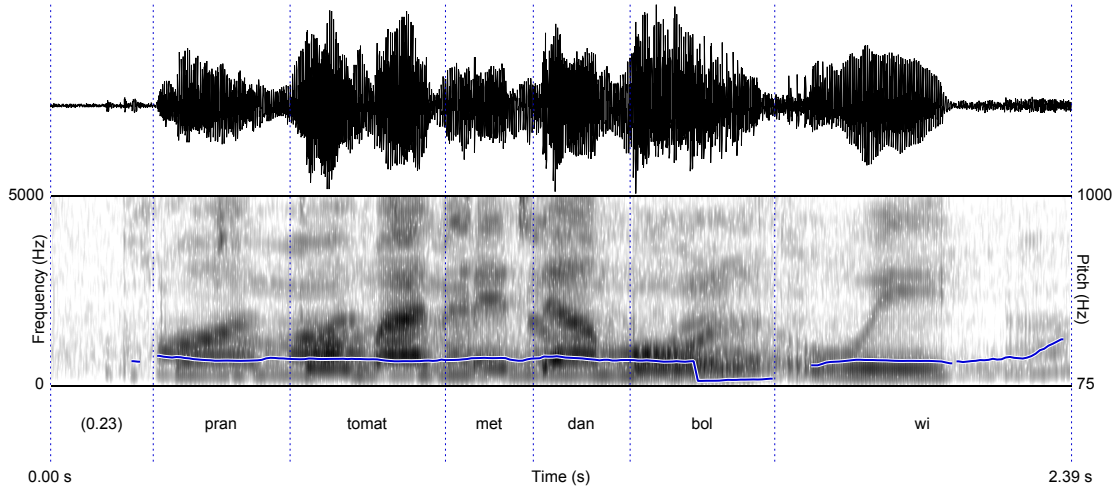


Figure 1.169: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (118)

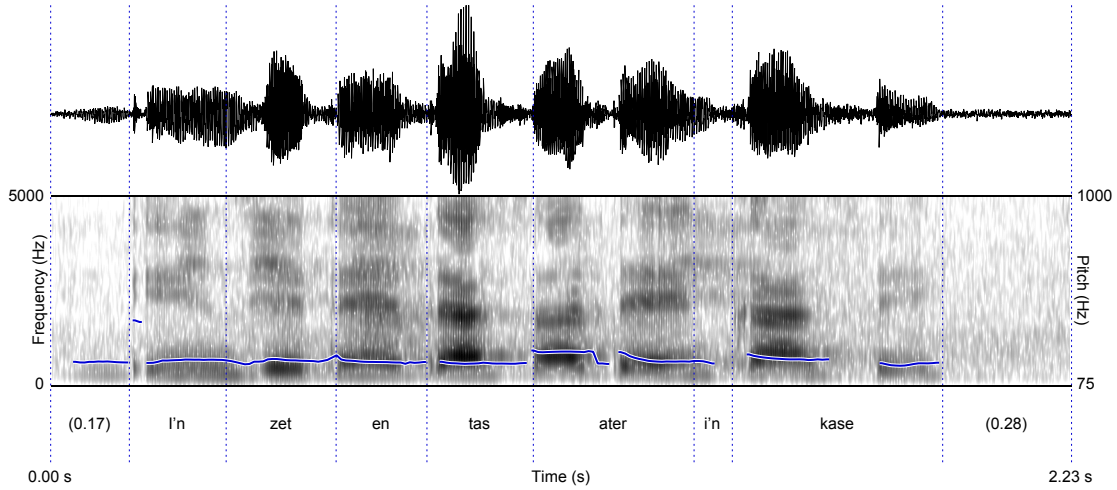


Figure 1.170: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (119)

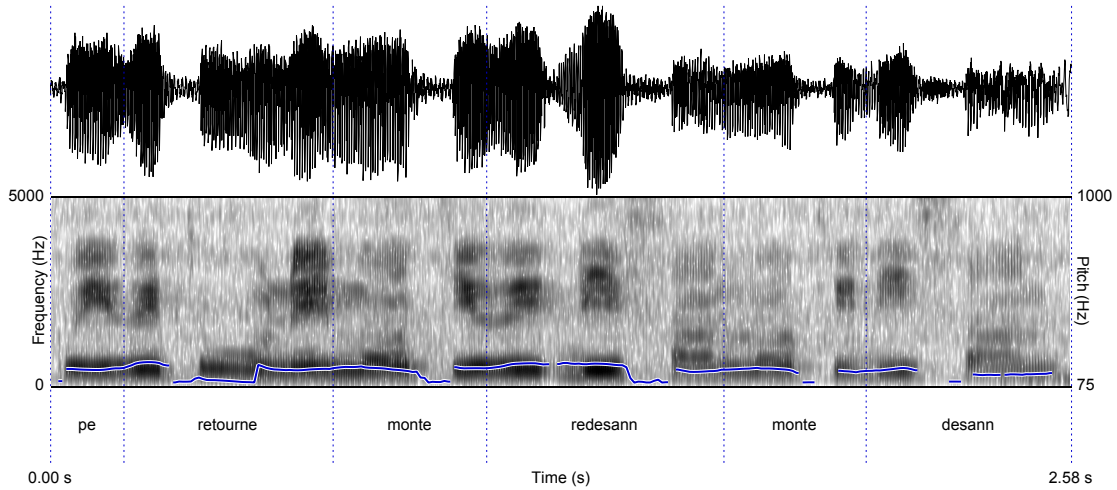


Figure 1.171: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (120)

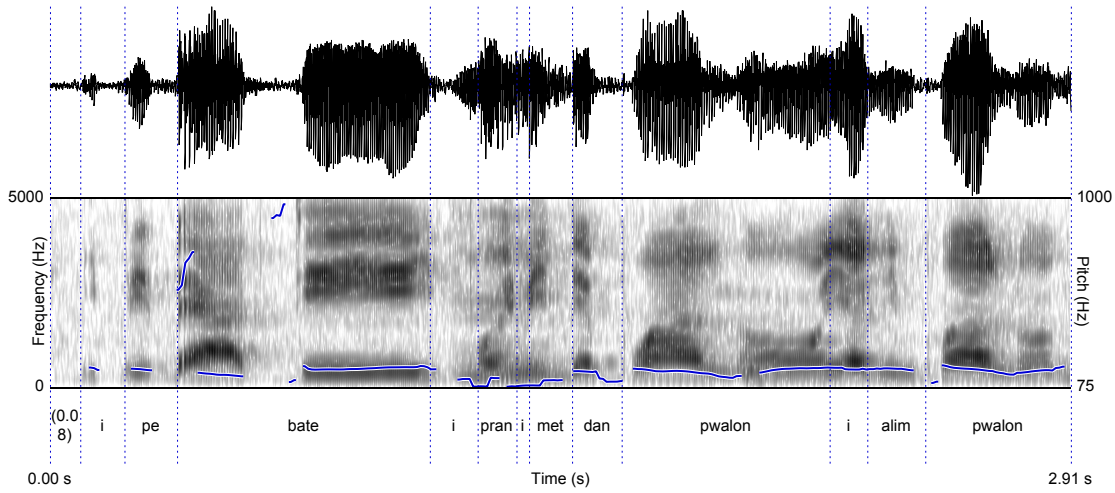


Figure 1.172: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (121)

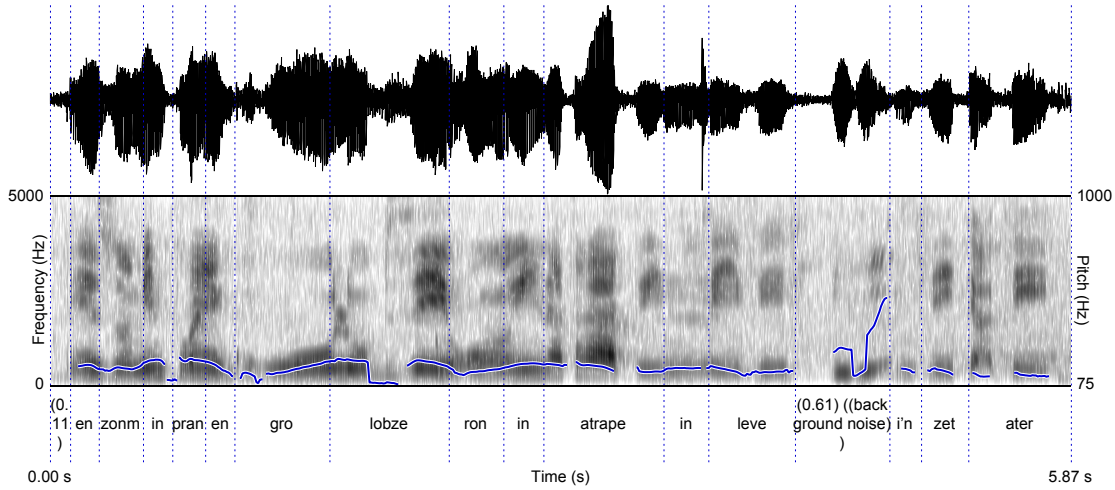


Figure 1.173: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (122)

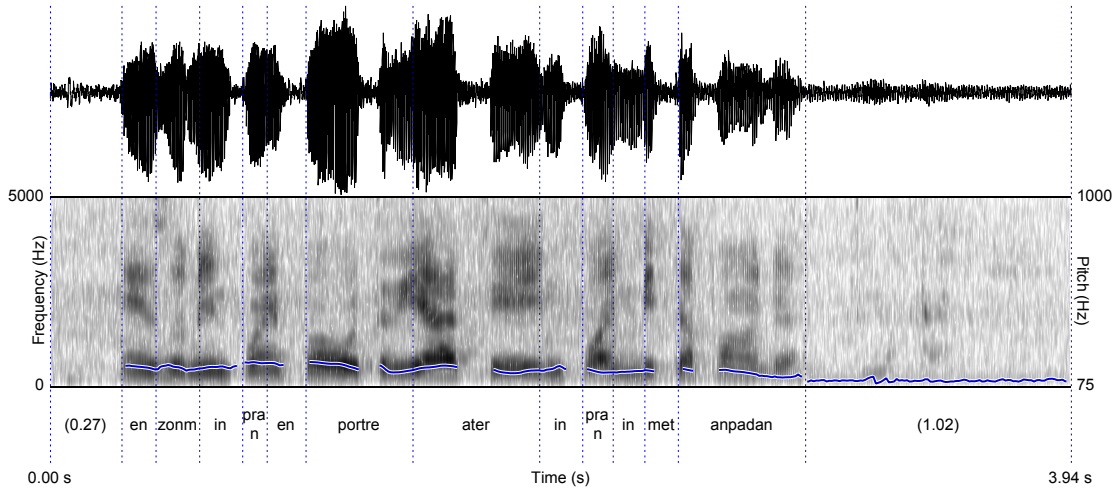


Figure 1.174: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (123)

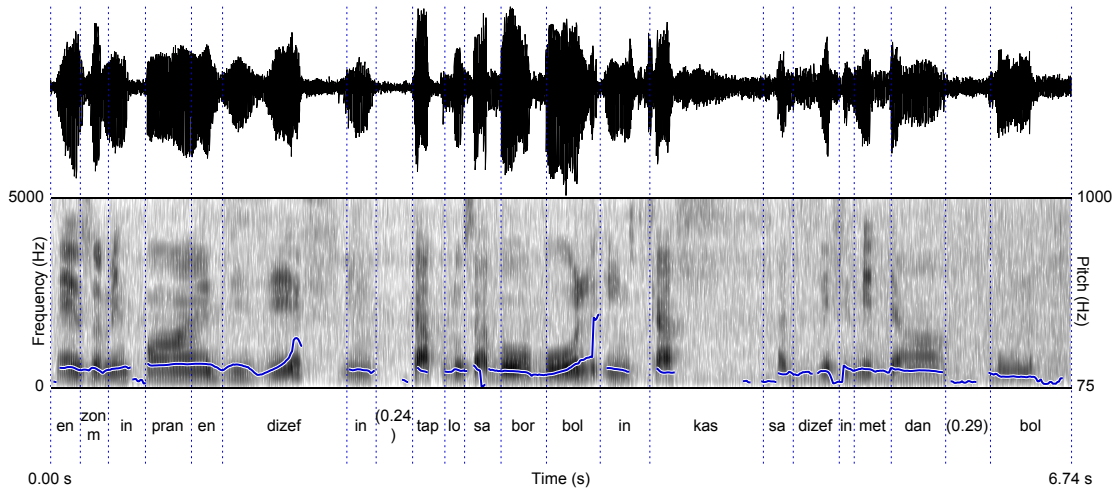


Figure 1.175: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (124)

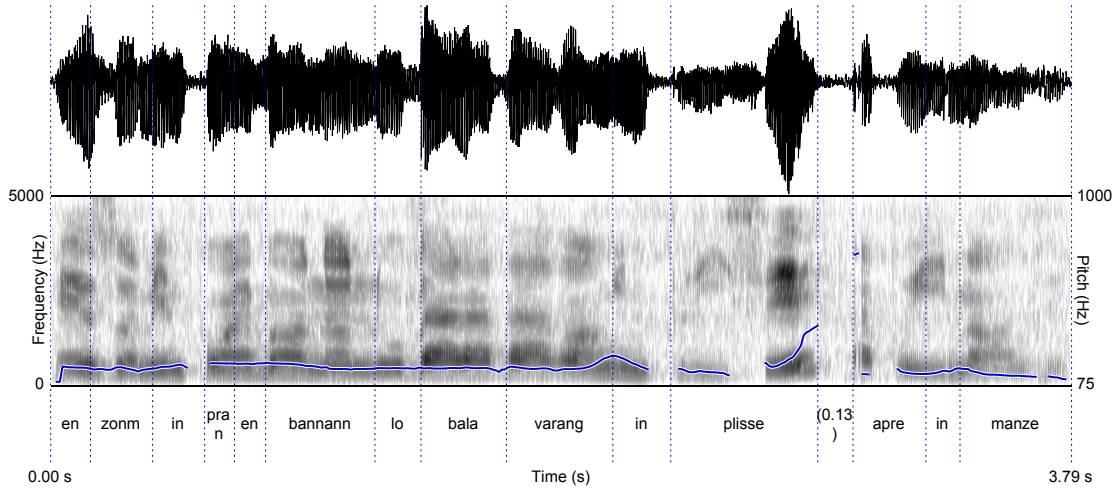


Figure 1.176: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (125)

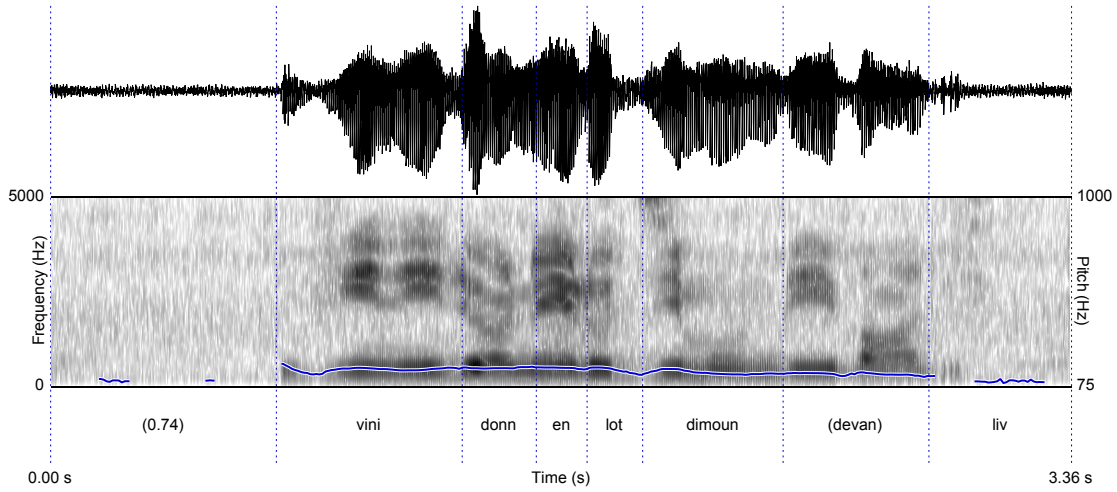


Figure 1.177: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (126)

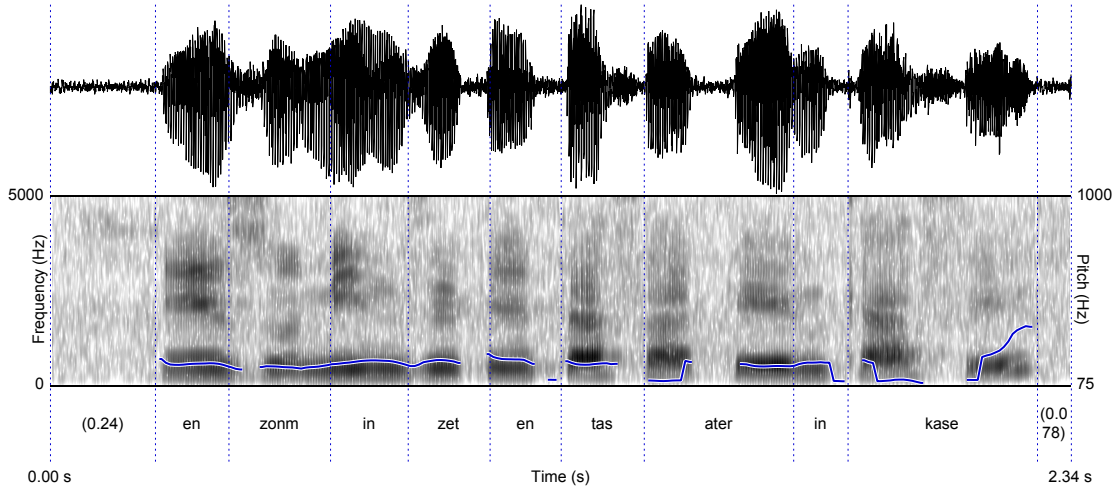


Figure 1.178: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (127)

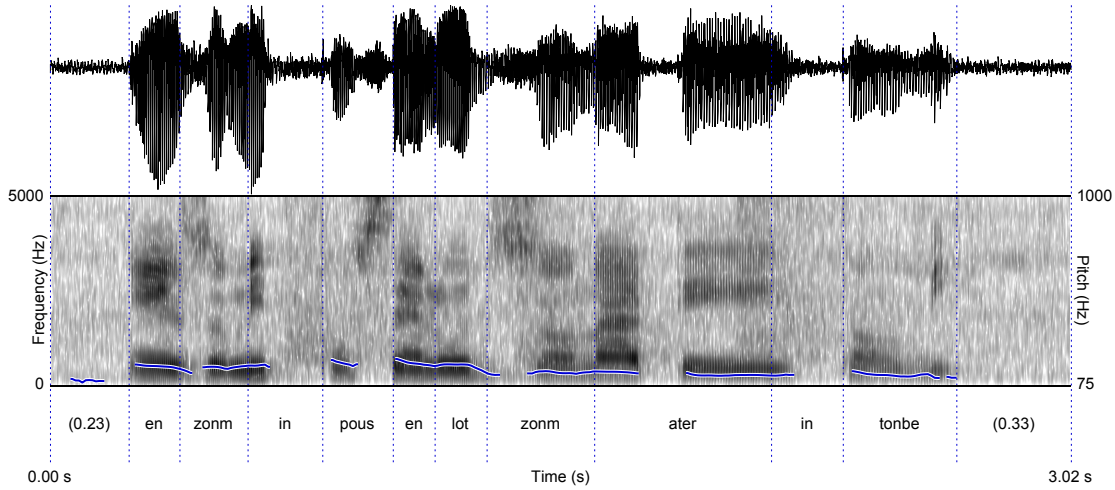


Figure 1.179: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (128)

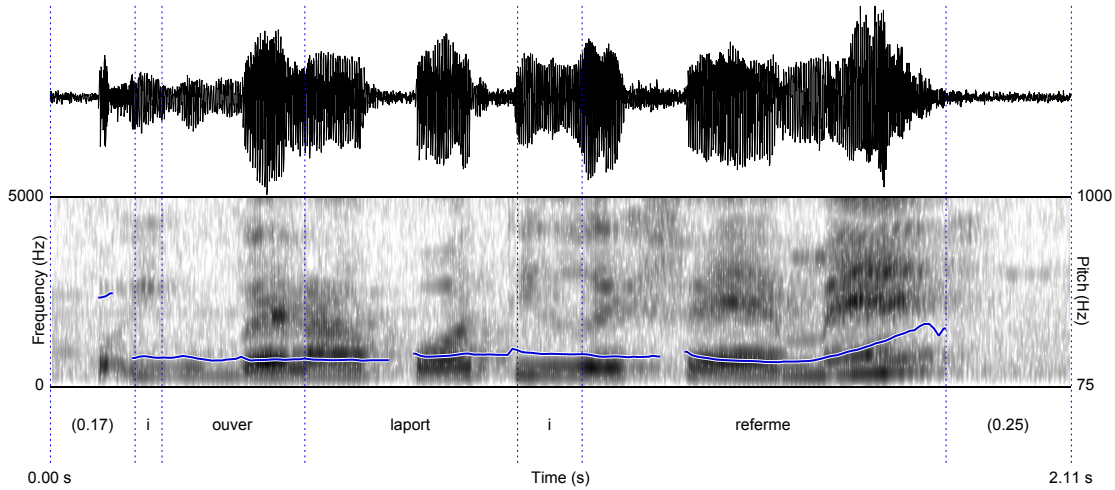


Figure 1.180: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (129)

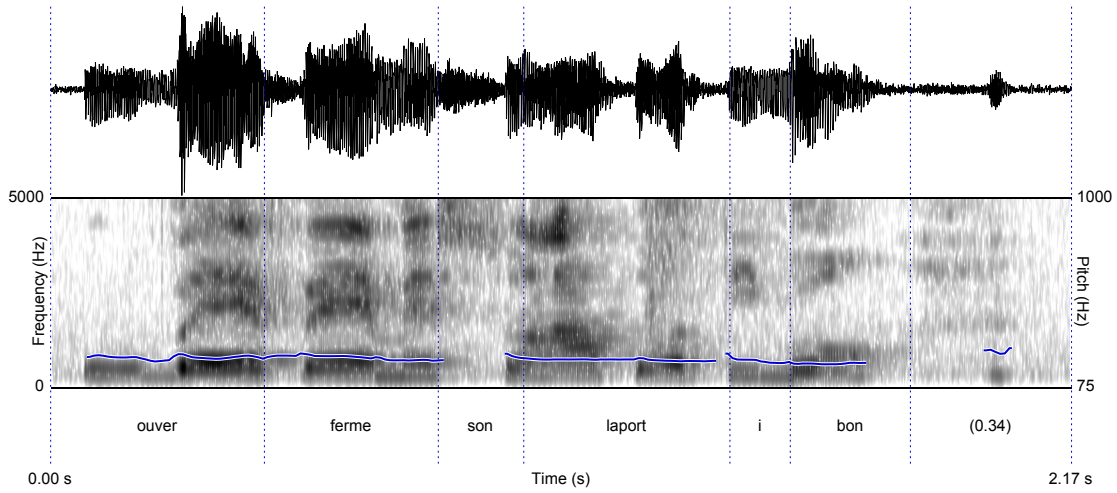


Figure 1.181: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (130)

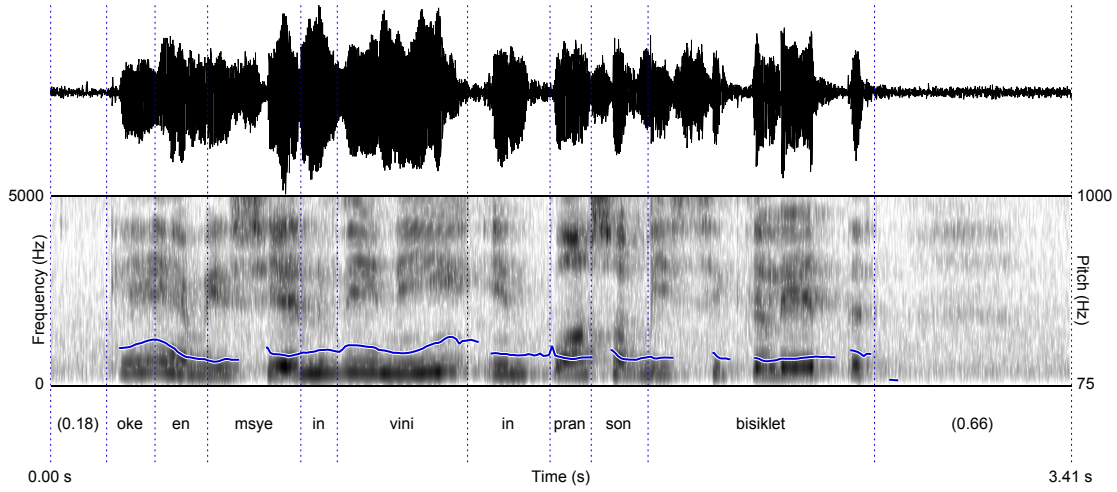


Figure 1.182: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (131)

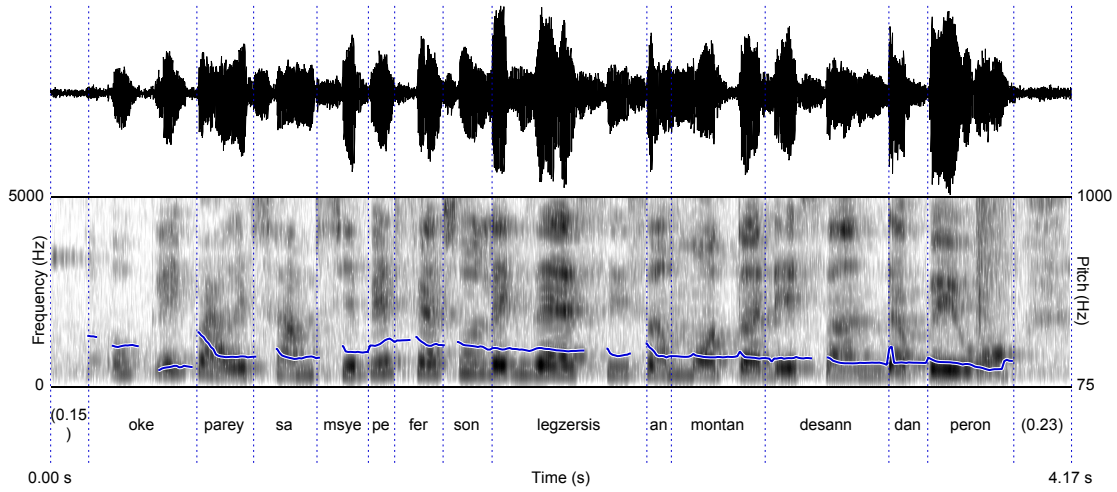


Figure 1.183: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (132)

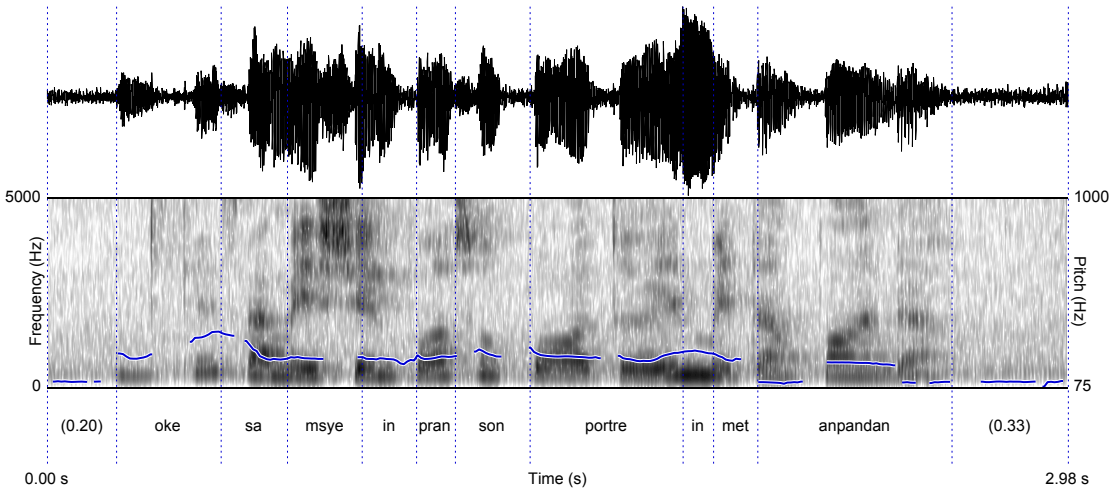


Figure 1.184: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (133)

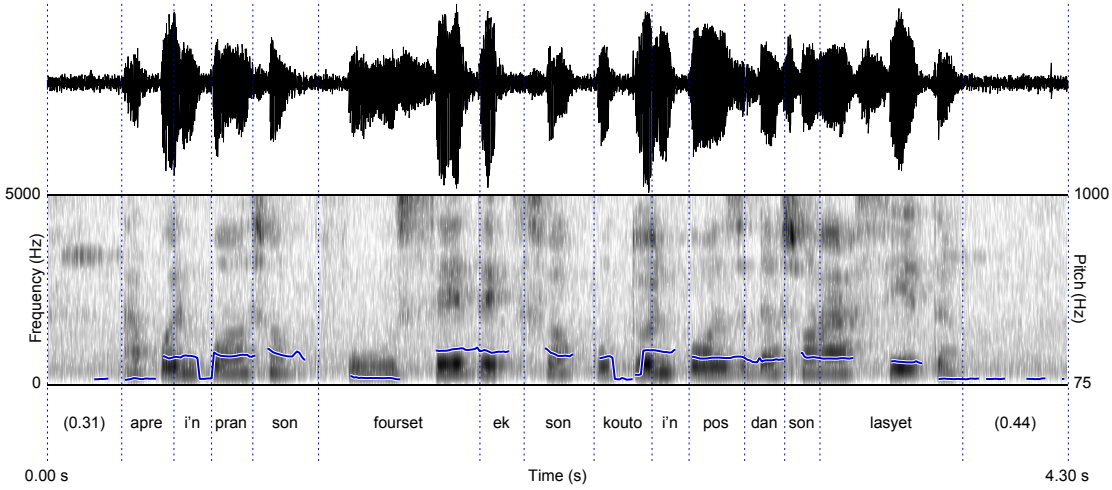


Figure 1.185: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (134)

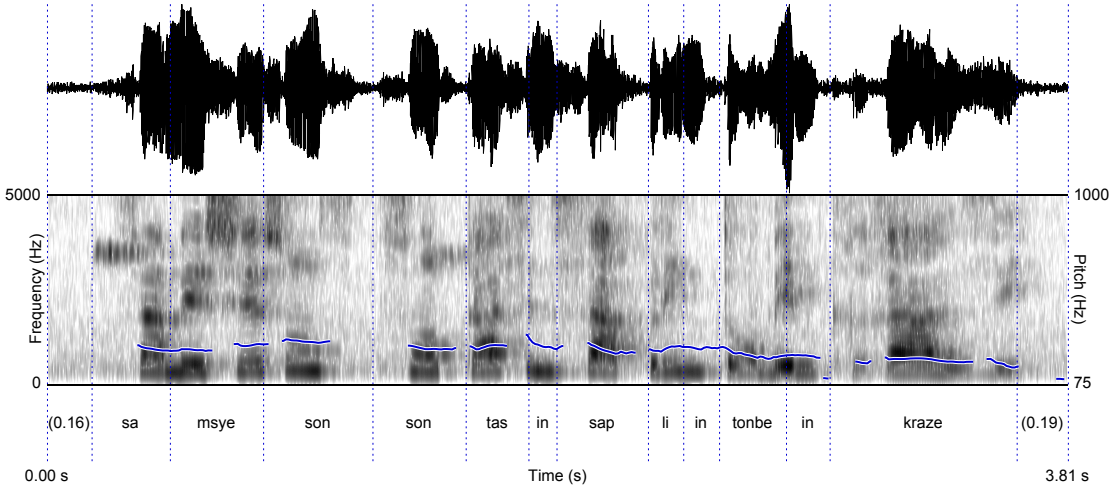


Figure 1.186: Intonation contour of putative SVC-Eli (135)

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