Multiple V-V mono-eventive syntactic complex in Mayangna[*]

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In this paper we propose a structural analysis for a previously unidentified mono-eventive V-V complex in Mayangna. We identify three different subtypes and propose an underlying structure based on different levels of application of the Merge operation; different structural layers are identified: aspectual, transitivity, complex path and result state. The language shows that different structural mechanisms are used in Complex Movement predicates to encode Manner (of Movement) and to encode Complex Path.

1 Mayangna verb combining devices and serial verb constructions

Mayangna presents a relatively well-studied system of Serial Verb Construction (SVC) which incorporates a morphological Switch Reference System with a Same-Subject (Proximate) paradigm and a Different-Subject (Obviative) paradigm (Norwood, 1997; Hale, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1997). This system is used for a variety of configurations (Sequential, Causative, Perception structures, etc.), some of which are mono-eventive while some are not. Here are some examples:

(1) Nawah as   tal**ik**   îranayang
     tiger   D-DEF   see.**SS1s**   run.PST1s
     'I saw a tiger and I ran.'

(2) Nawah as   tal**ing**   kîrana
     tiger   D-DEF   see.**DS1s**   run.PST3s
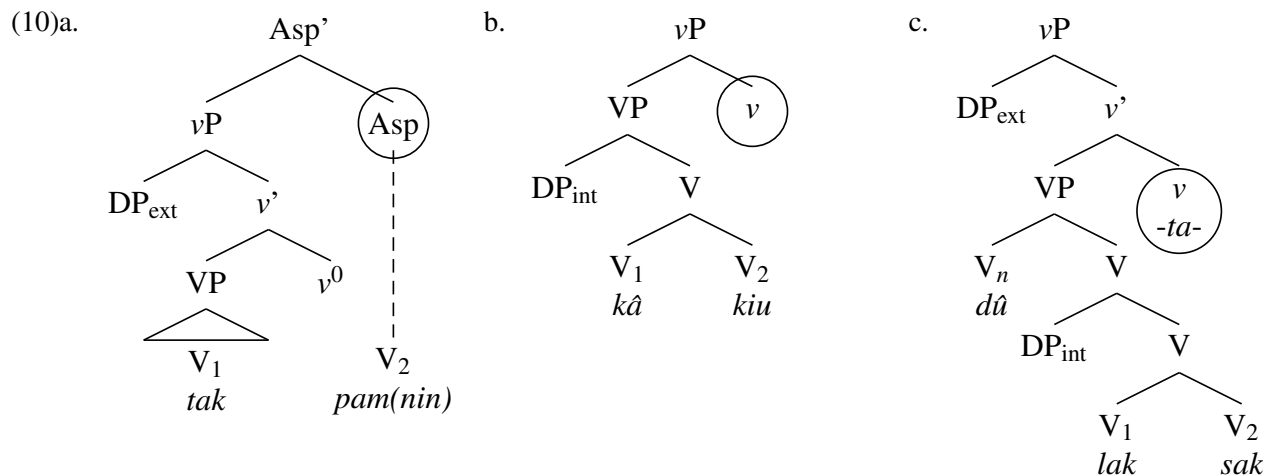   'I saw a tiger and it ran.'

Examples (1) and (2) are cases of sequential SVCs and the crucial element in them is the agreement morpheme (1st person singular in both) appearing on the first verb, the first one (-*ik*) indicating identity of reference with the following verb and the second one (-*ing*) indicating disjoint reference with the subject of the following verb.

In the structures that we deal with in this paper, previously unidentified, the initial verbal forms are bare, that is, they contain no verbal morphology of any kind, agreement or otherwise. The following is an example:

(3) dî   as   ûnitak   kidi tak   pamnin
     thing   D-DEF   skin-POS3s   D   peel.ø   PAMNIN.INF
     'to peel something'

In (3) we can observe that the first verb (*tak*) appears in its bare root form, contrary to what we could observe in (1)–(2) (*tal<u>ik</u>* and *tal<u>ing</u>*, respectively). Here we concentrate on the structure in (3) and we determine its types, properties and corresponding underlying structural configurations.

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[*]Abbreviations used are as follows: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, D = determiner, D-DEF = indefinite determiner, DS = different subject (switch reference), IMP = imperative, INF = infinitive, O = object clitic/agreement, p = plural, P = postposition, POS = possessive inflection, PRN = pronoun, PRS = present, PST = past, SS = same subject (switch reference), STA = stative (Verb/Auxiliary), s= singular, tr = transitive, ø = no inflection.

2   The Mayangna V-V complex

The structures of the type in (3) show the following properties:

(4) a. they contain multi-verbal sequences (V-V, V-V-V, ...);

   b. they are all mono-eventive;

   c. they contain verbal units with no inflexion except for the last one.

Three different sub-types have been identified:

(5) a. Aspectual;

   b. Intransitive Complex Path;

   c. Transitive Complex Path.

In the Aspectual sub-type, the last verb, which contains the sentential inflection, has been grammaticalized for aspectual properties. The example in (3) before, repeated here for convenience is a case of this sub-type:

(6)   dî   as   ûnitak   kidi tak   pamnin
       thing   D-DEF   skin-POS3s D   peel.ø   PAMNIN.INF
       'to peel something'

Sub-types (5b–c) encode the complex path of a movement predicate, the first one in an unaccusative intransitive formation, the second one adding an agent and thus forming a transitive predicate. Examples (7) and (8), respectively, are a case in point:

(7)   was   yak kâ   kiuna
       river   P   enter.ø   go.PST3s
       '(s)he/it went into the river'

(8)   mutsila   dû   lau-ta-h   (yaklaunin, 'stand up')
       backpack   have.ø   stand_up-tr-IMP2s
       'put the backpack up!'

3   The hypothesis

In this paper we propose that the bare V-V complex is the result of merging at different levels, below or at little *v*, contrary to what happens with cases like those in (1)–(2), which would correspond to merging above little *v*. Our Hypothesis, thus, can be stated as in (9) below:

(9)   The *V-V Complex* Hypothesis
       i. bare V-V complex is the result of Merge below *v*
       ii. different structural levels of Merge underlie the sub-types in (5), as specified in (10) below.

(10)a.

```
            Asp'
          /      \
        vP       (Asp)
       /  \        :
   DPext   v'       :
         /   \      :
       VP     v⁰    :
      / \            :
     V₁           V₂
     tak        pam(nin)
```

b.

```
        vP
       /  \
     VP    (v)
    /  \
 DPint   V
        /  \
      V₁    V₂
      kâ    kiu
```

c.

```
           vP
          /  \
       DPext  v'
             /  \
           VP    (v
          /  \    -ta-)
        Vₙ    V
        dû   /  \
         DPint   V
               /  \
             V₁    V₂
             lak   sak
```

The structure in (10a) corresponds to the Aspectual type in (5a), where the aspectually grammaticalized final verb heads an Asp head; this verb will then be subject to other syntactic operations by which it will end up carrying the corresponding sentential inflection (Tense and Agreement).

The structure in (10b) corresponds to a movement predicate, with a complex path specification (V1, V2) under an unaccusative v, the intransitive type of (5b). Finally, (10c) corresponds to the merging of a complex path specification structure (V1, V2) with a V_n triggering a transitive v; that is, a v that introduces an external (agentive) argument (DP$_{ext}$).

4 The structural types of syntactic V_i-V_f

In this section we will address the properties observed in each of the types identified in (5) above and will evaluate how they behave with respect to the structures proposed in (10).

4.1 $<V_i$-$V_f>$, with $V_f = aspectual$

As mentioned before, the last verb in this V-V complex has been grammaticalized to encode aspectual meaning, while coexisting with its original non-grammaticalized lexical counterpart. In (11) below, we list the three items identified thus far with their lexical counterpart:

(11)   Values for $V_f = $ **aspectual**

Lexical verb			Grammaticalized aspectual meaning
pamnin	'to throw'	≫	completed event without specification of process
dânin	'to leave (sth)	≫	culminated process
lânin	'to cross	≫	change of state

Let us now look at them individually.

pamnin   This element that originally means 'to throw' and 'to fish' (by throwing the *kuyulh*) encodes the aspectual meaning of completed event without specifying the process involved. Here are some examples:

(12)   rumh   pamnayang
        throw_away.ø   PAMNIN.PST1s
        'I threw it away' (and I'm done with it)

(13) âdika wasni dî pam-ta-h
this water drink.ø PAMNIN-tr-IMP2s
'drink up that *fresco*!' (at once, not little by little)

The requirement for the lack of reference to the process becomes evident when the lexical predicate refers to a long complex process that cannot be obviated, as is the case with *alahus wis* 'to harvest the rice' in (14) below. In this case, *pamnin* is unacceptable while *dânin*, which indeed targets the process in a predicate as we will see next, is acceptable.

(14)a. *warmani alahus wis pam-ta-h
today rice harvest.ø PAMNIN-tr-IMP2s
*'go harvest the rice today (at once)!'

   b. warmani alahus wis dâ-ta-h
today rice harvest.ø DÂNIN-tr-IMP2s
'go finish harvesting the rice today!'

When the process portion of an event can be obviated, then both options are possible (with the corresponding change in meaning). Thus, in (15a) the meaning of the main verb allows the process portion of its meaning to be obviated and the use of *pamnin* is allowed; in (15b), on the contrary, the aspectual *dânin* targets precisely the process portion and, under that interpretation, its use is allowed:

(15)a. bakan pam-ta-h
buy/sell.ø PAMNIN-tr-IMP2s
'sell it already (…I'll come back tomorrow for another one)'
Context: I'm in the market looking at an object to buy when another lady comes and also shows interest in the object; I utter (15a) thus allowing the seller to sell it to the other buyer.

   b. bakan dâ-ta-h
buy/sell.ø DÂNIN-tr-IMP2s
'be done with your buying (…I'm in a hurry and I want to go now…)'
Context: A husband and wife are in the market looking at an object to buy; the wife is looking at it and considering whether she is sufficiently interested or not, and asking questions about it; the husband becomes impatient and utters (15b) to end the process.

dânin   The original lexical meaning of this element is 'to leave something somewhere' and it has been grammaticalized into an aspectual element referring to the culmination of an event's process or the end of that process. Here are some examples:

(16) asna yaunik balna bitik suh dânayang
clothes wash.INF1s PL all wash.ø DÂNIN.PST1s
'all the clothing that I had to wash, I finished washing'

The question arises as to the scope of this aspectual element; that is, is the object under its scope (thus producing a telic event) or outside. Let us consider the following modified example:

(17) yang pat asna suh dânayang
PRN.1s already clothes wash.ø DÂNIN.PST1s
'I am already done washing the clothes'

In this case, there are two possible readings: one in which there are still clothes to wash but I'm done for the day (non-telic reading: object not affected); and one where there are no more clothes to wash

(telic reading: affected object). The answer to the above question is then that the telic reading is possible but not obligatory. We can suggest a way of dealing with this along the lines of optional movement of the object to the Spec of the Asp head (see 10a), in the spirit of proposals like Borer (2005).

lânin Originally meaning 'to cross over', this element has been grammaticalized into an aspectual meaning of change of state. Here are some examples:

(18) . . . dawak yamni buh   lalâna
      and   well   dry.ø   LÂNIN.PST3p
     '. . . and they dried out well'

Example (18), as a continuation to (16) or (17), indicates the change of state from wet to dry. In these cases, the lexical meaning of the base predicate seems to have an effect on the use of the corresponding aspectual head:

(19)a. tîbil/ûpas   us   lânayang   (/ pamnayang   / dânayang)
      table/house   clean.ø   LÂNIN-PST1s   / PAMNIN-PST1s   / DÂNIN.PST1s
      'I got the table/house to become clean.
      (/ I cleaned the table/house at once, in one go / I stopped cleaning the table/house)'

  b. tîbil/ûpas   suh   *lânayang   (/ pamnayang   / dânayang)
      table/house   clean.ø   *LÂNIN.PST1s   / PAMNIN.PST1s   / DÂNIN.PST1s
      *'I got the table/house to become clean.
      (/ ✓I cleaned the table/house at once, in one go / ✓I stopped cleaning the table/house)'

In (19a), the predicate *us* 'to clean' involves a cleaning with something wet and implies a short process, with a clear change of state; *lânin* is thus compatible (as is *pamnin* obviating the process part of the event, and *dânin* targeting precisely the process part of the event). In (19b), however, the predicate *suh* also 'to clean' involves, on the contrary, a long and complex process which does not accept *lânin*,[1] seemingly indicating the lack of availability of a change of state, whereas the acceptability of *pamnin* and *dânin* indicates the availability of a process that can be obviated.

4.2 $<V_i\text{-}\ldots\ V_n\text{-}V_f>$, with $V_i\text{-}\ldots\ V_n\text{-}V_f = $ *complex path (movement)*

This V-V complex type is used to encode complex movement predicates. It does not, however, encode the more well-known type of complex movement, that of manner of movement. Manner of movement is encoded using the other V-combining device presented above in (1)–(2), using the Switch Reference paradigm, as shown in the following examples:

(20)a. *balh   kiuna
      fly.ø   go.PST3s

  b. balh**wi**   kiuna
      fly.**SS3s**   go.PST3s
      's/he flew (away)' (fly-went)

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[1]It may be interesting to further investigate whether *usnin* but not *suhnin* encodes a result state or not. A similar contrast exists in Spanish between *lavar* 'to wash' (✓*lavado*, result past participle) and *limpiar* 'to clean' (**limpiado*, result past participle).

(21)a. *kar   lakwanayang
        roll.ø   go_down.PST1s

    b.   kart**ik**   lakwanayang
        roll.**SS1s** go_down.PST1s
        'I rolled down (the hill)'

The bare V-V complex that occupies us here is used instead to encode a complex path. The following are some examples:
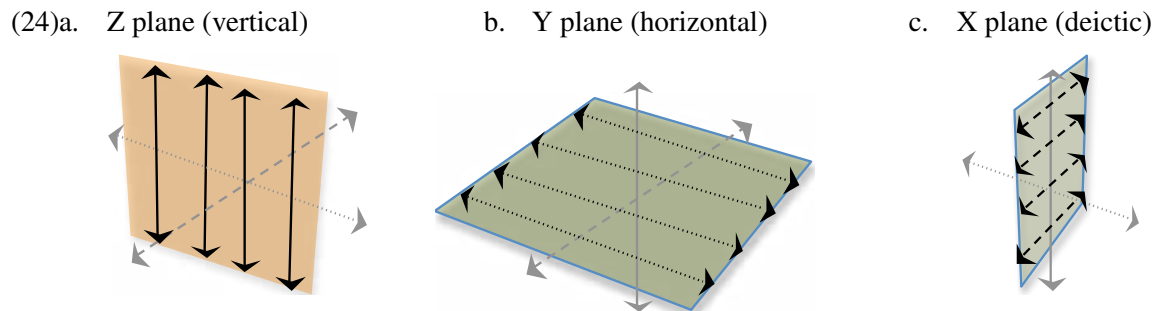
(22)a. truk   lak   kiuna
        truck   go_down.ø   go.PST3s
        'the truck went down (the hill)'

    b.   truk   kil   kiuna
        truck   go_up.ø   go.PST3s
        'the truck went up (the hill)'

In the previous examples, the last V, *kiuna*, encodes movement towards or away from the speaker (or the reference point); in that sense, we can identify it as 'deictic.' The previous V, *lak* 'to go down' or *kil* 'to go up', indicates movement along the vertical axis.

    We can conceptualize this system as a reflection of a Cartesian Coordinate System,[2] using three axes representing a three-dimensional space representation.
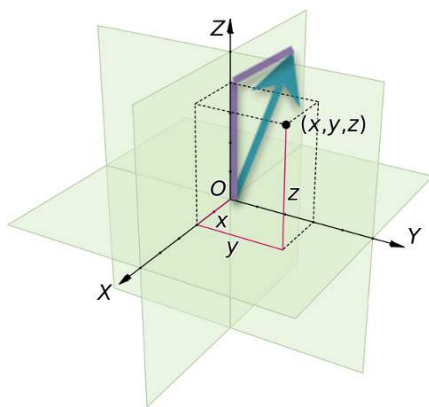
(23)
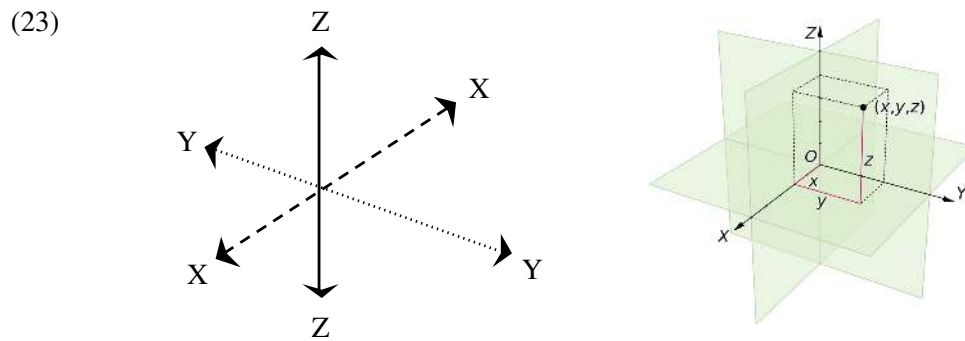
Linguistically, such a system can be used to encode movement along planes defined on the basis of these axes, with respect to a reference point, as follows: Z for the vertical axis (up/down), Y for the horizontal, sideways, axis (across); and X for the deictic (away/towards the reference point):[3]
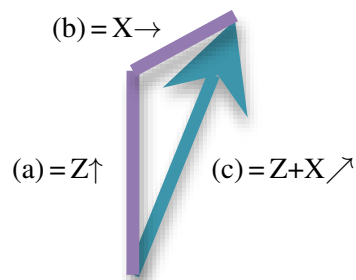
(24)a. Z plane (vertical)   b. Y plane (horizontal)   c. X plane (deictic)

In Mayangna, movement along those three axis-defined planes is each reflected by a different verbal root:

(25)   Z axis plane, vertical: *kilnin* 'go up'   *(yak)laknin* 'go down'
        Y axis plane, horizontal: *yaklanin* 'to cross (over)'
        X axis plane, deictic: *kiunin* 'go (away)'   *kainin* 'come'

More interestingly, complex paths obtained from a combination of those axes can be expressed via a V-V morphosyntactic device. The examples in (22) reflect this combination of axis-defined planes, each represented by a V root, in a specific order (Z>X). A complex path using the three dimensions can be observed in the example in (26) below, responding to a prompt like (27), with individual V roots in a fixed order Z>Y>X:

(26)a. kâma   tât   amang   kil   yakla   kiuna
        iguana   board   through go_up.ø   cross.ø   go.PST3s
                                   ✓Z   Y   X

   b. *kâma   tât   amang   yakla   kil   kiuna
        iguana   board   through cross.ø   go_up.ø   go.PST3s
                                   *Y   Z   X

   c. *kâma   tât   amang   kiu   yakla   kilna
        iguana   board   through go.PST3s cross.ø   go_up.ø
                                   *X   Y   Z
        'The iguana went up (through) the board across (the creek).'

(27)

Furthermore, another interesting point is that the denotation of the vector is not calculated in a strictly compositional way. If we look at (22b), repeated here for convenience as (28), we can observe that a strict compositional path calculation would yield the path formed by the combination of (a)=Z 'go up' and (b)=X 'go away' in (29b) (↑→); however, the denotation of the single event in (28) is that of (c) in (29b) (↗).

(28)   truk   kil   kiuna
        truck   go_up.ø   go.PST3s
        'the truck went up (the hill)'

(29)a.

The structure that we are proposing for this type, along the lines of the one stated earlier in (10b), is the one we find in (30), with direct Merge of the roots in the order established:

(30)
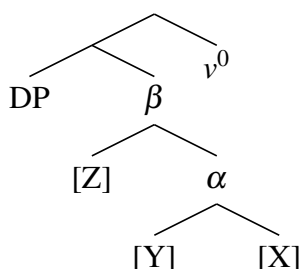
This structure leaves the right-most V root as the one that will stay (linearly) adjacent to the sentential head-final inflection of the language; that's why *kiuna* in the previous examples carries the Past tense inflection of the sentence.[4] We will come back to this issue in the next sub-section, when we consider whether we only have surface linear adjacency or head movement.

From a compositional semantic point of view, the denotation of the α and β nodes would need to be calculated via some variation of Event Identification (Kratzer, 1996), which would yield the mono-eventivity of the structure and the fact that all the V roots share one single internal argument (DP), as unaccusative roots.

A final point to address in this subsection is the role of elements like *kâ(nin)* in (7), repeated here for convenience:

(31)   was   yak   kâ   kiuna
         river   P   enter.ø   go.PST3s
         '(s)he/it went into the river'

We contend that the role of *kânin* in these cases introduces the end point argument of the complex predicate, thus playing the role of a telicity marker. Its absence will indicate the general direction of the movement but not 'entering into the river' (by drowning or by sinking):

(32)   was   yak   kiuna
         river   P   go.PST3s
         '(s)he/it went towards the river'

The tree in (30) implies a different directionality for lexical and functional heads (lexical heads Z and Y left-merge, while *v* right-merges), something that is not uncommon crosslinguistically. If this is in

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[4]The tree in (30) is a partial tree, that will be subject to further Merge of inflectional heads (Asp, T, etc.)

the right direction, and if *kânin* in V-V complexes is indeed a telicity marker, then it behaves along lexical roots (left-merged) and not functional heads (right-merged), thus making a difference between 'inner aspect' (or Aktionsart) and 'external' aspect (as illustrated by the first subtype in Section 4.1). We leave the implications of this issue for further research.

4.3 $<V_i\text{-}V_f>$ + *-ta*, *(complex path) movement + agent*

The specific characteristic of this sub-type is the fact that it adds an agent to the predicate, that is, it transforms an (unaccusative) intransitive predicate into a transitive one. Additionally, it can also present a result sub-structure or a beneficiary sub-structure (in complementary distribution). Let us begin by considering some examples:

(33) mutsila   dû   lau-ta-h
      backpack   have.ø   stand_up-tr-IMP2s
      'pick up the backpack!'

In (33) we can observe how, out of the (unaccusative) intransitive *yaklaunin* 'to stand up' we obtain a transitive predicate by adding *dû* (from *dûnin* 'to have'). Evidence for the fact that the resulting complex predicate is transitive comes not only from the interpretation associated with (33) but also from the presence of the morpheme *-ta* in sentence final position.[5] The intransitive version of *yaklaunin* 'to stand up' shows a thematic morpheme *-wa-* instead of the *-ta-* we see in (33), as we can observe in (34) next:

(34) (yang) lau-*wa*-yang   'I get up / I stand up'
      (man) lau-*wa*-man   'you get up / you stand up'

The presence of the initial verb *dûnin* 'to have' is, however, not always necessary. The example in (35) does not have it, still showing the transitive *-ta* morpheme, while the case of (36a), corresponding to the prompt in (36b), has a different one, *mur* 'to pull':

(35) mutsila   il   sak-ta-h[6]
      backpack   go_up.ø   be(at).STA-tr-IMP2s
      'get the backpack up (and leave it / let it be)!'

(36)a. mur   lâ   wit-ta-h
       pull.ø   cross.ø   be(_hanging).STA-tr-IMP2s
       'pull it over (while hanging)!'

   b.
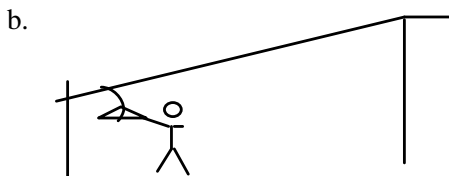
What makes (35) and (36) interesting is the fact that they show that the verbal inflectional element *-ta*, indicating transitivity, appears (right) adjacent, not to the initial transitive verb (*dû* in 33, *il* in 35 or

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[5]Intransitive *yaklaunin* also has an additional mark of intransitivity: the prefix *yak-*. However this morpheme is only present in 3rd person singular, and the example in (33) is 2sg.

[6]*(K)ilnin* 'to go up' is also a verb whose (in)transitivity shows through verbal morphology as in (34) and a prefix, *k-* in this case, for 3rd person. Like in the case of (33), however, the examples is in 2sg and thus the (3rd person) *k-* does not appear.

mur in 36), but to the totality of the V-V complex, right after the last element.

This is especially interesting because of the nature of that last element in (35) and (36), *sak* and *wit*, respectively. These elements belong to a paradigm of five (positional) stative verbs (Norwood, 1997; Benedicto, 2002) with a particular inflectional paradigm, clearly distinct from regular lexical verbs. These elements take the (Person) Agreement morphology directly and can never take verbal elements like *-ta-* or *-wa-*, which are obligatory in verbal elements:

(37)   a.   (yang) sak yang   b.   *sak-**ta**-yang   c.   *sak-**wa**-yang
            (man) sak man
            (witing) sak ki

The fact that the transitivity morpheme *-ta-* in (33), (35), and (36) appears adjacent to the stative verbs (*sak*, *wit*), together with the impossibility of (37b) (and 37c) shows that such a morpheme is not attached to the stative verb itself but to the totality of the V-V complex. We will address this particular property in the revised structure we propose at the end of this section.

A further property of this subtype is the fact that the transitive V of the V-V complex must appear at the absolute left edge of the V-V compound, after the complex path sub-structure:

(38)   dû   lau   il   sak-tayang
       have.ø   stand_up.ø   go_up.ø   be(at).STA-trPRS1s
       '(s/he) raises it up (and lets it be)'

In summary, the transitive V in the V-V complex must appear in absolute initial position, whereas the transitive inflection that it triggers must appear at the V-V complex absolute final position. This is captured by the structure proposed in (10c), repeated here for convenience, where the transitivity marker instantiating little *v* takes the VP formed by the V-V complex via successive Merge of its individual Vs:

(39)
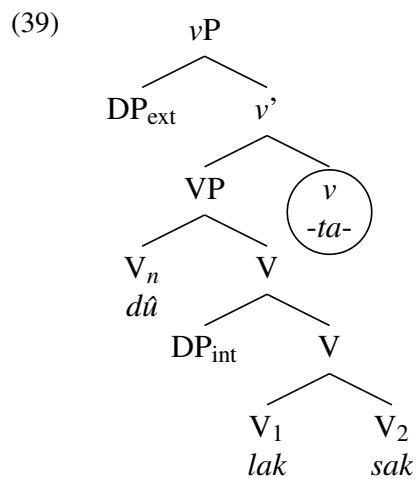
In addition to the transitivity of this subtype, we also identified a result sub-structure, contributed by the stative verbs *sak* and *wit* in the above examples, (35)–(38). Though this sub-structure does not seem to be required (see 33), it is incompatible with the presence of another optional sub-structure, that of a beneficiary/goal: compare (40a) and (40b) with (41) below.

(40)a. dû   lau   sak-na
        have.ø   stand_up.ø   be(at).STA-trPST3s
        '(s/he) raised it (and let it be)'

   b.   dû   lau   yâna
        have.ø   stand_up.ø   O1s.give.PST3s
        '(s/he) raised it up to me'

(41) *dû   lau   sak   yâna
       have.ø   stand_up.ø   be(at).ø   O1s.give.PST3s
       '(s/he) raised it (and let it be) for me' (in a location closer to me)

   The structure in (39), however, does not account for this incompatibility. In order to address this issue, we will revise this initial structure along the lines of a Larsonian VP-shell analysis proposed for ditransitives. This type of approach proposes two layers for these predicates, where the lower one corresponds to a predication structure; the V in that lower structure then raises to the upper one leaving the DP subject of the lower predication as the 'object' of the resulting (di)transitive structure. In a head-initial language like English, the structure for predicates like 'put something somewhere' or 'give something to someone' would be as in (42), with the final lexical verb ('give' or 'put') as the output of the complex head V+V:
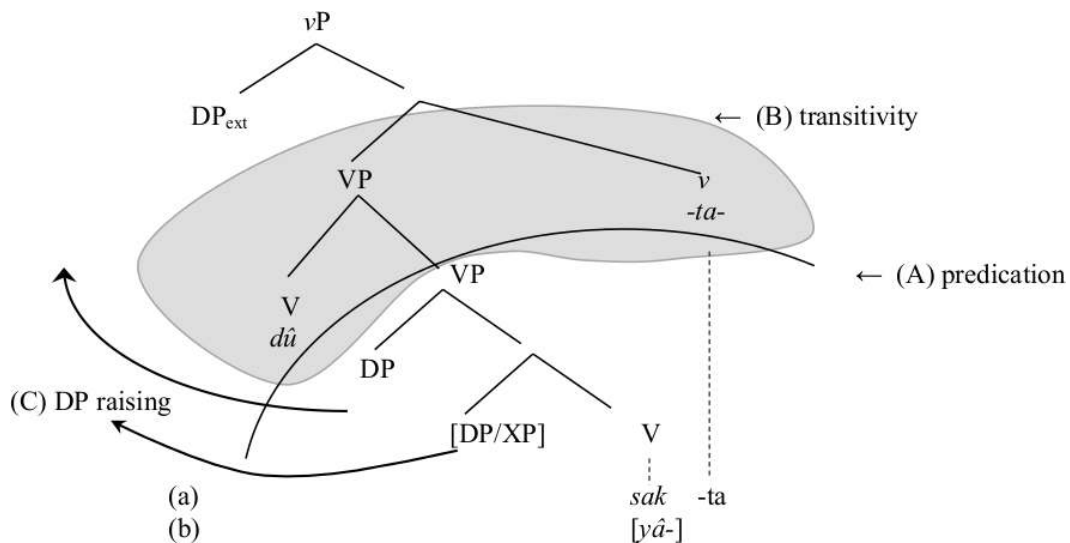
(42)   **VP shell analysis for ditransitives**
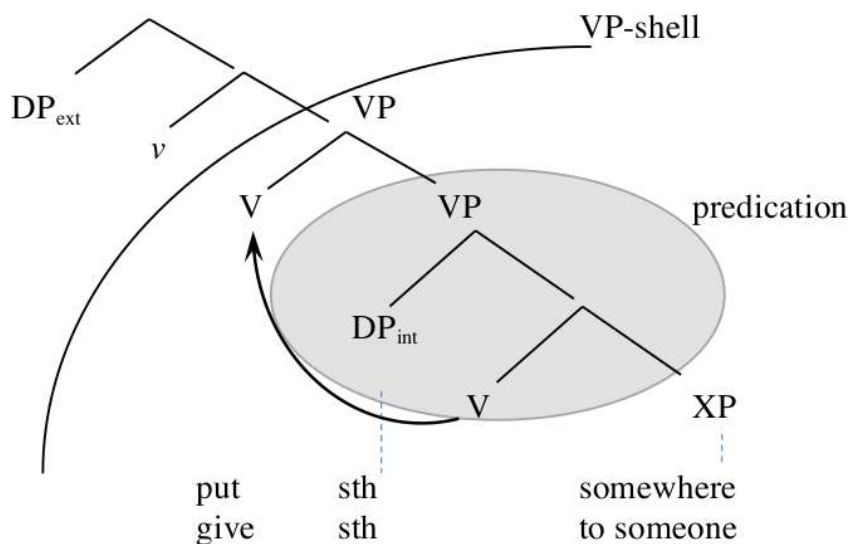
   We will propose that, in Mayangna, the upper V is represented by the initial *dû* while the lower V is lexically represented by the stative verb (as in 40a or by the dative marking 'give' V in (40b). The reason why these two elements are incompatible, as we saw in (41) is precisely because they are competing for the same position, the lower V.

   The final structure proposed for this subtype, thus, is the one we set in (43), with a lower predication layer (A) and an upper transitivity layer (B), with independent lexicalization of the individual V heads (and further raising of the internal arguments for Case purposes):
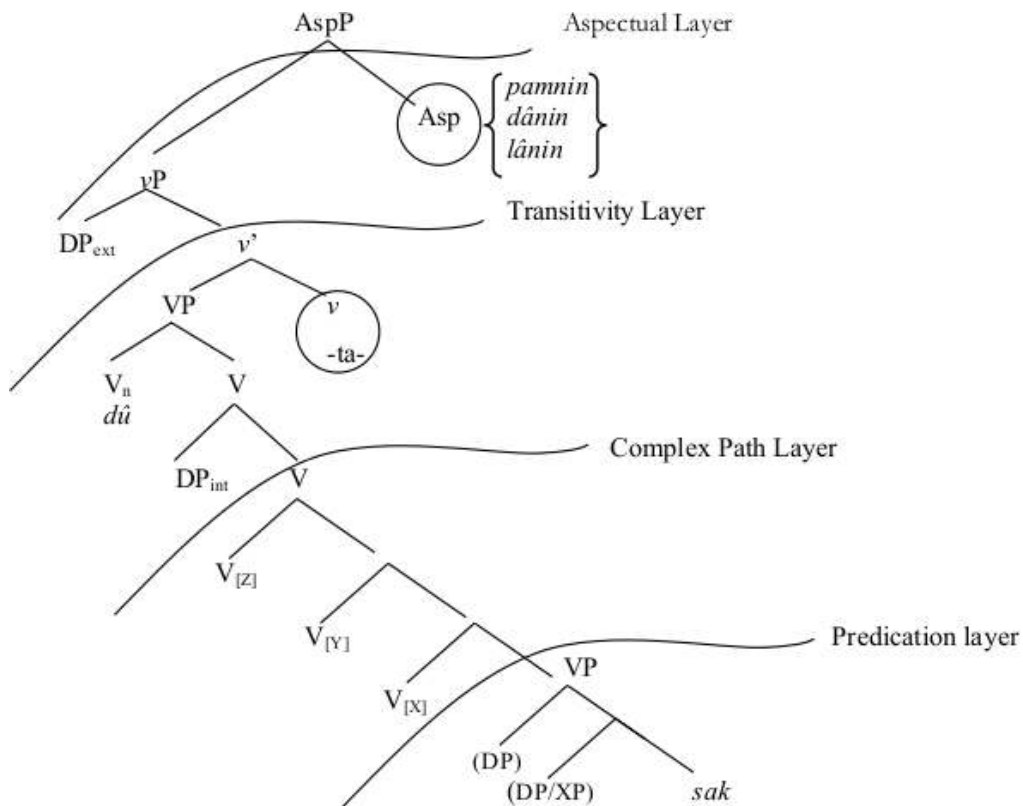
(43)

vP

DPext

VP

v
-ta-

← (B) transitivity

VP

V
dû

DP

← (A) predication

[DP/XP]   V

(C) DP raising

(a)
(b)

sak   -ta
[yâ-]

The structure proposed in (43) then accounts for all the properties identified for these structures: (i) the 'left-edge' effect for the transitive V in the V-V complex; (ii) the 'right-edge' effect of the transitivity marker; (iii) the surprising and unexpected apparent attachment of the transitive marker to the final stative element (as a surface linear adjacency by-product out of the structural adjacency of v and VP); and (iv) the complementary distribution of the final stative element and the beneficiary element.

5   Conclusions

In this paper we have identified a new type of syntactic V-V complex, with at least three different subtypes. We have proposed that these three types are the result of merging at different levels with a potential layered structure of the type in (44):

(44)

AspP

Asp
{ pamnin
  dânin
  lânin }

Aspectual Layer

vP

DPext

v'

VP

v
-ta-

Transitivity Layer

Vn
dû

V

DPint   V

Complex Path Layer

V[Z]

V[Y]

V[X]

VP

(DP)

(DP/XP)   sak

Predication layer

26

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