

SERIAL VERBS AND THE EXPRESSION OF CONCEPTS OF LOCATION AND MOTION IN NAKANAI

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. SERIAL VERBS IN NAKANAI

There are in Nakanai¹ complex constructions composed of a main verb followed by other verbs serving auxiliary-like functions *vis-à-vis* the first verb. These auxiliary-like verbs indicate semantic notions of location and motion (termed *coverbs* in this study), direction (termed *directional verbs*), and range and accompaniment (termed here *prepositional verbs*). These subcategories are all closed classes, the members of which can all occur also as main verbs. I term verbs specifically occurring in such sequences *serial verbs*.

Other verbs can occur in series but differ from serial verbs on a number of counts:

- i) they do not represent a semantically homogeneous group;
- ii) they do not serve an auxiliary-like function in relation to the first verb in the series;
- iii) they do not form a closed class on distributional or any other criteria;
- iv) they do not possess unique morphology, as do *coverbs*.

The morphologically unique and syntactically flexible class of *serial verbs* which I term *coverbs* expresses location and motion. The discussion of these verbs forms the major part of this paper. A clause chaining solution is presented and supported for all *serial verbs* including *coverbs*.

The examples in (1) illustrate, in order, a coverb, a directional verb and a prepositional verb:

- (1)a. E gite tie so-ata (te) la gove. (Coverb)
 they climb to-up PREP NM* mountain
 'They climbed a/the mountain'
- b. E latu-gu hele taro(-a) la paia. (Directional Verb)
 ART child-1si flee away-3ps NM dog
 'My child fled from the dog'
- c. Amiteu pou kara (te) la maulavi. (Prepositional Verb)
 we(pl.ex) sit until PREP NM afternoon
 'We stayed until the afternoon'

All of the verbs illustrated in (1) are serial verbs. All of them may also occur in isolation, that is, as main verbs:

- (2)a. Amite so-muli.
 we(pl.ex) to-east
 'We went all the way east'
- b. E latu-la e Gelu tavu-tavu moli-a.
 NM child-3psi NM Gelu rd-towards just-3ps
 'His child Gelu just kept on towards it'
- c. Amiteu kara e Hoskins.
 we(pl.ex) as.far.as NM Hoskins
 'We went as far as Hoskins'

Other constructions composed of concatenated series of VPs occur in Nakanai, indicating co-ordinated sequential or consecutive events:

- (3) E rutu-rutu gite tuga go-rivo luku-luku.
 NM rd-wife 3pli walk go-garden rd-dig.taro
 'Their wives went off to the gardens and dug taro'

Such sequences are quite distinct, however, in that a transitive verb can appear in either or both conjoined clauses with the same topic, whereas serial verbs always succeed intransitive verbs when the clause topic is the same for both:

- (4)a. Eau mata tavu(-a) la paia.
 I look towards-3ps NM dog
 'I looked at the dog'
- b. *Eau hilo(-a) tavu la paia.
 I see towards NM dog

Example (b) is unacceptable because tavu is chained to a transitive verb (hilo-a 'see') rather than an intransitive verb, as in example (a).

* Refer to list of Abbreviations on p. 1060.

0.2. COVERBS IN THEIR VARIOUS SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

Coverbs in Nakanai are compound stems consisting of a bound verbal root and a bound locative root.

The bound verbal roots are as follows:

- o- *'be proximately situated at the location stated'*
- so- *'proceed to/be distantly situated at the location stated'*
- lo- *'come from/be adjacently situated at the location stated'*
- go- *'go in stated direction'*

One of a closed class of bound locative morphemes occurs suffixed to the verbal root. These are elements such as:

- ata *'up'*
- talo *'down'*
- ilo *'inside'*
- gala *'outside'*

The combinations so formed furnish a closed set of coverbs such as the following:

- o-ata *'be situated up there'*
- so-talo *'proceed to a place situated downwards/be distantly situated downwards'*
- lo-ilo *'come from inside/be adjacently situated inside something'*
- go-gala *'go outside'*

Coverbs in different ways seem to function variously in verbal, adverbial, prepositional and participial types of syntactic relationships in the clause and sentence. It is necessary therefore to examine the verbal characteristics of these categories and compare them with the syntactic nature of coverbs and the other serial verbs. By this means it should be possible to establish in a controlled manner the appropriate grammatical and syntactic characterisation of the coverb.

From the glosses of the verbal roots above it can be seen that the Nakanai coverbs fall into two broad semantic groups, one involving the signification of motion, the other of location:²

Motion		Location	
go-LOC	<i>'go to LOC'</i>	o-LOC	<i>'be proximately situated at LOC'</i>
so-LOC	<i>'proceed towards LOC'</i>	so-LOC	<i>'be distantly situated at LOC'</i>
lo-LOC	<i>'come from LOC'</i>	lo-LOC	<i>'be adjacently situated at LOC'</i>

Among the verbal roots then, lo- and so- are polysemous, while o- only indicates location and go- only motion.

Coverbs can occur as main verbs either singly or in a chained sequence with deletion under identity of the clause topic:

- (5)a. Coverb as main verb appearing singly:

E tete o-ata.
 NM father at-up
 'Father is up in the house'

- b. Coverb as first verb in a chained sequence:

[E tete o-gala] [po-pou.]
 NM father at-outside rd-sit
 'Father is outside, just sitting'

The next example shows a coverb in the adverbial type of function, the exact specification of which we have yet to ascertain:

- (6) Egite hele so-muli.
 they(pl) flee to-east
 'They fled away toward the east'

Related to the function just illustrated, there is the prepositional type of function, in which a NP appears after the coverb:

- (7) E Bereme so-ata la goe-gove.
 NM Bereme to-up NM rd-mountain
 'Bereme is (situated distantly) up in the mountains'

This kind of function can occur with a coverb in sequence:

- (8) [E tete pou] [o-ata la luma].
 NM father sit at-up NM house
 'Father sat up in the house'

Further, the preposition type of function can occur with a coverb occurring first in a sequence of two clauses with the same topic:

- (9) [Amite guvi o-lau e Lae] [mavuta].
 we(pl) arrive at-sea NM Lae sleep
 'We arrived at Lae and slept there'

Finally, there is the participial type of function, confined to go-io and go-mai, in which these verbs serve to link clauses and/or sequences of clauses following the interposition of embedded material:

- (10) Eia go-io puli-a, go-luma la luma. Go-luma la
 3ps go-there take-3ps go-village NM house go-village NM
 luma, egite pou-tio. Go-io, e tua-la tahi-a,
 house they(pl) sit-there go-there NM sibling-3ps1 ask-3ps
 mago: La tavile ale, eme abi-a o-io-ve?
 say NM woman that you(s) get-3ps at-there-where
 'He went and took her back to the village, to his house. Then
 his older brother asked him, "That girl, where did you find
 her?"'

In this example the motion verb goio at the beginning of the third sentence can be seen to fulfil a participial type of function as a

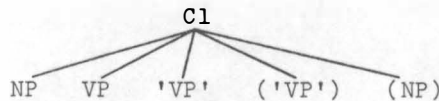
generalised form of recapitulation following the intervention of the sequence-breaking clause *egite poutio*.³ Only *goio* 'go there' and *gomai* 'come here' can perform this generalised recapitulative role. (The motion coverbs *goio* and *gomai* can also appear as auxiliary-like particles preceding main verbs. This function is analysed in 2.1. as verb chaining.)

In this paper I concentrate on the main verb versus the adverbial-cum-prepositional function of the coverb, ignoring the syntactically limited participial type of use.

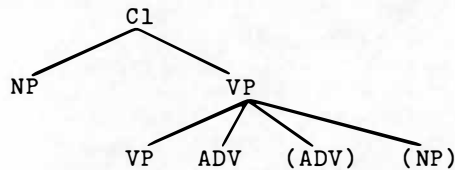
0.3. ALTERNATIVE SYNTACTIC ANALYSES OF SERIAL VERBS

As has already been noted, coverbs are just one manifestation of the phenomenon of serial verbs in Nakanai. There would appear to be at least three possible syntactic analyses which could account for the serial verb construction as I have described it so far. I will symbolise the serial construction by the linear constituent ordering NP VP 'VP' ('VP') in which 'VP' represents the serial verb.

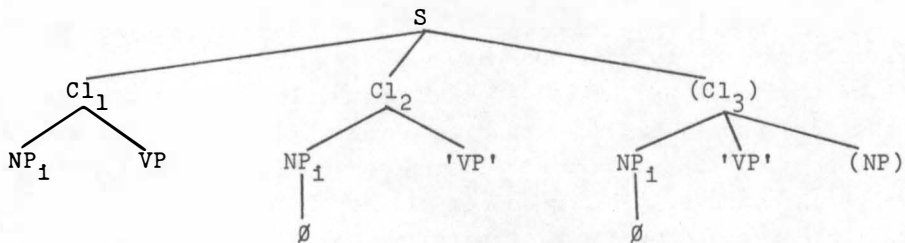
The first proposed analysis is that of a concatenation of VPs (e.g. Schachter 1974):⁴



The second analysis is that of a sequence consisting of VP + Adverbs, all under the VP node in the clause (e.g. Stahlke 1974):



The third proposed analysis is that of clause chaining with deletion under identity of the clause topic in the chained clauses, yielding a conjoined clause analysis (e.g. Li and Thompson 1973:100):



The alternatives presented above also appear adequately to cover certain proposed neo-structuralist analyses such as the postulating of so-called dependent or merged sentences. I shall argue that the clause chaining solution is the most appropriate analysis for Nakanai, but this matter cannot be satisfactorily addressed until the matter of category membership of serial verbs has been resolved.

1. VERBS OF MOTION, LOCATION AND DIRECTION

1.1. A DYNAMIC VIEW OF SERIAL VERBS

Serial verbs have raised considerable interest in recent linguistic research, as evidenced by the discussion which surrounded Ross' proposal for the analysis of English modals as main verbs (Ross 1969). There has been considerable interest among typologically-oriented linguistics as well. For example, Smeall (1975) analysed 'grammaticalised' verbs in Lolo-Burmese. These are a set of verbs, which, in his words, "concatenate with each other and with full verbs" thus forming complex predicates "which themselves function as unitary predicates in simple sentences". Smeall relates his analysis to the recent resurgence of interest in questions of category membership and categorial change, particularly among verbs.

Work on serial verbs in Chinese (e.g. Li and Thompson 1973), and in West African languages (e.g. Schachter 1974) has led to proposals that verbs have undergone categorial change into prepositions or particles (e.g. Givón 1971). The problem of correctly determining category membership is an aspect of grammar writing which, in Smeall's words (1975:273):

has always been complicated by the dynamic processes of language change, through which elements become relexicalised and regroupings take place among the form-classes of the lexicon.

This assessment of the dynamic and problematical nature of auxiliary verbal elements has been endorsed by Clark (1975) whose study of coverbs in Vietnamese includes a section (1975:267-83) which argues for an historical derivational relationship between prepositions and verbs in which prepositions derive from verbs, with coverbs representing an intermediate step in this process.⁵

Pike (1967:12) has suggested that grammatical constructions such as the verb phrase may be viewed as waves which capture in synchronic form aspects of diachronic development of elements. This process of development occurs in the sequence clause cluster formation leading to auxiliary element formation, leading ultimately to the development of verb-associated particles.

I propose to follow up this idea of Pike's of dynamic category analysis according to a view of language as wave. The method is to compare the syntactic and grammatical potentials of verbal elements.

1.2. GRAMMATICAL AND SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISATION OF SERIAL VERBS

1.2.0. Overview

I have summarised in Table 1 the major grammatical and syntactic potentials of the whole range of verb-associated entities in Nakanai, including serial verbs. The basis of comparison is the set of grammatical characteristics of the intransitive verb of motion (represented by hari 'run') marked consistently positive in the leftmost column. Aspects of the comparison are compared in the subsections which follow, viz. 1.2.1. and 1.2.2. Note that preposition *te* represents all particles associated with verbs. Modal particles *ge* and *ga*, representing irrealis mood, the post-verbal ablative particle *le*, and adverbs were examined, and in no circumstances were these elements found to take on the character of main verbs.

TABLE 1
Comparison of Verb-Associated Entities in Nakanai by Grammatical and Syntactic Potentials

'Main Verb' Function	Intransitive Verb of Motion	Prepositional Verb	Motion Coverb	Locative Coverbs	Directional Verb	Preposition
Semantic characterisation	Action	Action	Action	State	Action	n/a
Syntactic characterisation	Intrans	Intrans	Intrans	Intrans	Trans	n/a
Example	hari 'run'	kara 'until, as far as'	go-LOC 'go to stated location'	o-LOC 'be situated at stated location'	tavu 'towards'	te
In serial function, independently takes verbal modes and aspects	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
Takes prepositional 'object', i.e. goal	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Isolable from a following NP	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	n/a
Can occur in series following a transitive clause	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	n/a
Supervention of patient of first clause as topic of second clause, i.e. clear (paradigmatic) conjoining	yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a

1.2.1. Prepositional Verbs

There are two verbs which I have included under the term prepositional verb, namely *kara* 'until, as far as', encoding range and *vikapopo* 'together', encoding the comitative relationship. These are intransitive active verbs. They can appear as main verbs without a following NP:

- (11)a. Amite vikapopo
 we(pl.ex) together
 '*We were all together*'
- b. Egiteu kara moli-e
 they(pl) as.far.as just-there
 '*They came only this far*'

These verbs can also appear as main verbs with a NP following:

- (12) Amite kara moli e Hoskin.
 we(pl.ex) as.far.as just NM Hoskins
 '*We only went as far as Hoskins*'

However, when the verbs *kara* and *vikapopo* occur in series the following NP is potentially preceded by a preposition encoding goal (preposition *te*) and comitative (particle *le*) respectively:

- (13)a. Amite pou kara moli (te) la maulavi.
 we(pl.ex) sit until just PREP NM afternoon
 '*We stayed until the afternoon*'
- b. Amite umala ge pou vikapopo l-egite Siapani-pani.
 we(pl.ex) PROH IRR sit together ABL-they(pl) rd-Japan
 '*We were not to stay with the Japanese*'
- c. *Amite vikapopo-a egite Siapanipani. (cf. example (b))

The following NP then, is in the goal or comitative relationship. Example (c) shows that the NP following the VP cannot be encoded with accusative 3ps suffix *-a* as would be appropriate to the marking of patient. Neither can the prepositional verb in chained sequence take verbal aspects and modifiers independently of the VP in the preceding clause:

- (14) Amite (ge) pou (*ge) vikapopo egite.
 we(pl.ex) IRR sit IRR together they(pl)
 '*We will sit with them*'

1.2.2. Directional Verbs

Consider now directional verbs such as:

tavu	'towards'	e.g.	hari tavu	'run towards'
muli	'after'	e.g.	hari muli	'run after'
taro	'away from'	e.g.	hele taro	'run away from'
polo	'across'	e.g.	pagi polo	'jump across'

These verbs indicate the direction of a motion to a goal or away from a source. They accord very closely with Pawley's three characteristics of prepositional verbs in POC grammar (Pawley 1973:142-7). The first of these characteristics is that prepositional verbs are disyllabic forms which connect a verb with its grammatical object. The second characteristic is that such forms are always followed by an object pronominal suffix. In Nakanai this characteristic is reduced to the potential suffixation of the 3ps suffix *-a*. Thirdly, the preceding verb is often formally intransitive, having no transitive suffix or pronominal suffix.

Prepositional verbs very probably played an important role in Oceanic grammar. They are not prominent in Fijian, nor in the Polynesian languages, but are numerous in most of the other better-known Oceanic languages, as well as being found in some of the Western Austronesian languages (Pawley 1973:143 and 180). It would appear that a number of words which are purely adverbs in Polynesian languages were verbs in Proto-Oceanic grammar. For these reasons then, it would appear an important task to adequately ascertain the categorial status of prepositional-type verbs in Oceanic languages.

Syntactically, directional verbs occur mainly in chained succession to an intransitive motion verb, as do coverbs and the prepositional verbs *kara* and *vikapopo*. Directional verbs, however, are quite distinct semantically from these other verbs. They are transitive rather than intransitive, hence they must take a patient-NP in the immediately post-verbal nominal position, rather than a goal, source or comitative NP. The directional verb, then, will potentially be suffixed by the 3ps accusative ending *-a* and the following NP will never be marked by prepositional-type elements *te* and *le*:

- (15)a. E guliliki hari tavu(-a) (*te) e tila-la.
 NM child run towards-3ps PREP NM mother-3ps1
 'The child ran to his mother'
- b. E guliliki hele taro(-a) (*le) e tila-la.
 NM child flee away.from-3ps ABL NM mother-3ps1
 'The child ran away from his mother'

Unlike prepositional verbs *kara* and *vikapopo*, which can appear without a following NP, directional verbs must be followed by a patient NP which encodes the goal or source of the motion encoded by the main

verb of the clause complex. However, a point of similarity with prepositional verbs is found in the fact that grammatical elements cannot be interposed between the main verb and the directional verb occurring in chained sequence to it:

- (16)a. E guliliki hele tavu(-a) e tila-la.
 NM *child* *flee towards-3ps* NM *mother-3psi*
 '*The child fled to his mother*'

Cf. the serial verb complex *hele tavu-a* in the above example with the following expansions:

- b. *hele ta-tavu-a* cf. **hele-le tavu-a*
 c. *hele tavu-ti-a* cf. **hele-ti tavu-a*
 d. *hele tavu moli-a* cf. **hele molu tavu-a*

In the above comparisons of acceptable and unacceptable grammaticalised expansions of the serial verb complex (b) represents the habituitive/continue aspect, (c) the perfective aspect, and (d) verbal modification by the verb *moli* indicating in this instance a direct or unwavering action.

Now Table 1 shows that these directional and prepositional verbs are quite distinct, by a number of syntactic tests, from the motion coverb *go-LOC*, but considerably more parallel syntactically with the stative intransitive locative coverbs. This suggests then that there are subcategory distinctions within the class of coverbs, as indeed between classes of serial verbs, based on syntactic behaviour reflecting fundamental semantic distinctions.

2. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISATION OF COVERBS

2.0. SYNTACTIC CORRELATES OF THE MOTION/LOCATION DISTINCTION

Whereas prepositional verbs encode a spatial or temporal relationship, and directional verbs a directional one, coverbs encode either location or motion. In this they are morphologically distinct from other verbs, there being a bound verbal root to indicate the locative state or the direction of the motion, followed by a bound locative root.

The bound locative root *o-* uniquely signifies the semantic notion of location, i.e. proximate or generalised location.

- (17)a. Amiteu pou o-io la hohoi.
 we(pl.ex) *sit at-there* NM *bush*
 '*We stayed in the bush.*'
- b. E tete o-ata la luma.
 NM *father at-up* NM *house*
 '*Father is up in the house*'

Additionally, so-LOC indicates distant location, while lo-LOC indicates adjacency.

The bound root go- uniquely signifies the semantic notion of motion, i.e. motion toward a location which is stated in general terms in the suffixed locative root.

- (18)a. E Baba hele, (eia) go-ata la hohoi.
 NM *Baba flee* 3ps *go-up* NM *bush*
'Baba ran away up into the bush'
- b. Egite ge go-muli te Kinsel.
 they(pl) IRR *go-east* PREP *Councillor*
'They are going along to see the Councillor'

Additionally, so-LOC and lo-LOC in their motion (rather than their locative) senses indicate respectively the destination or origin of the motion.

Table 1 shows that coverbs differ from both prepositional verbs and directional verbs in that they can be stated without a following nominal, because of the encoding of locative in the compound stem.

Coverbs differ further from directional verbs in that directional verbs are transitive, whereas coverbs are intransitive. Also, a clause with a directional verb cannot be conjoined to another clause with a different topic NP. But coverbs are not a unitary category. Locative coverbs are stative, taking a patient-NP as the clause topic, whereas motion coverbs are active, taking an actor-NP as the clause topic. The motion coverbs have more of the characteristics of full verbs than do locative coverbs, independently taking verbal modes and aspects in the serial function, and readily allowing the supervision of the clause topic between the main verb and the serial verb, e.g. (20)c.

2.1. MOTION COVERBS

The motion coverbs are the general motion verb go-LOC and the directional motion verbs lo-LOC and so-LOC, which may appear as main verbs (examples (a) and (b)) or as chained verbs (examples (c) and (d)):

- (19)a. La vareki so-ata la uele.
 NM *goanna to-up* NM *canarium.tree*
'The goanna went straight up the canarium tree'
- b. La uaga isa lo-at-ata-o.
 NM *canoe one from-rd-up-there*
'A canoe is coming from up there'

- c. Eia pull-a so-luma la mautu.
3ps take-3ps to-house NM village
'He took her back to the village'
- d. E Mugure hiliti lo-talo la liba-le.
NM Mugure arise from-down NM grave-there
'Mugure arose from out of the grave'

Motion coverbs however, are not uniform in their syntactic behaviour. Consider conjoined clauses with the same topic. The coreferential topic cannot be stated preceding coverbs lo-LOC and so-LOC in chained sequence, but can before go-LOC:

- (20)a. Egite hele (*egite) so-mull e Makaslli.
they(pl) flee they(pl) to-eat NM Makasili
'They fled eastward to Makasili'
- b. Amite guvl (*amlte) lo-ata la hohoi.
we(pl.ex) arrive we(pl.ex) from-up NM bush
'We arrived from up in the bush'
- c. Eia hele (eia) go-ata la hohoi.
3ps flee 3ps go-up NM bush
'He fled up into the bush'

Similarly, when in successive clauses the patient of the first clause is coreferential with the topic of the second, it may not be stated preceding coverbs so-LOC and lo-LOC in the second clause:

- (21)a. Eia tigltaro la lalu (*ela/la lalu) so-talo la magasa.
3ps pour.out NM water 3ps/NM water to-down NM ground
'He poured out the water onto the ground'
- b. E masta vi-valibure-a la pepa (*ela/la pepa)
NM whiteman caus-scatter-3ps NM paper 3ps/NM paper
lo-ata te balus.
from-up PREP aircraft
'The whiteman scattered papers from a 'plane'

Such conjunction may, however, occur with the coverb go-LOC in chained sequence:

- c. La varekl go-ata la uele (eia) talltititi moli-tl.
NM goanna go-up NM canarium.tree 3ps scurry just-PERF
'The goanna went straight up the canarium tree, scurrying'
- d. E gulliki hari muli la kari, ela go-muli.
NM child run after NM truck 3ps go-east
'The child ran after the truck as it headed east'

In (d) if the topic of the chained motion clause were to be omitted the clause would be interpreted as referring to the child rather than the vehicle.

A similar argument can be stated with regard to non-imminent irrealis marker *ge*, which is usually repeated for every clause in a sequence, even when the coreferential topic is not stated:

- (22)a. Galigeli, etatou *ge go-lau ge igo-a.*
tomorrow we(pl.in) IRR go-sea IRR do-3ps
'Tomorrow we will go to the beach and do that job'

Such cannot occur, however, with clauses with *so-LOC* and *lo-LOC* in chained succession:

- b. Amite *ge hele (*ge) so-io la hohoi.*
we(pl.ex) IRR flee IRR to-there NM bush
'We will flee into the bush'

So without yet considering locative coverbs in detail it can already be seen that coverbs are not homogeneous in their syntactic behaviour and syntactic character, the distinctions patterning as follows:

	Active Only	Active or Stative	Stative Only
Serialized only by clause conjunction	<i>go-LOC</i>		
Serialized either by clause conjunction or chaining		<i>so-LOC</i> <i>lo-LOC</i>	
Serialized only by chaining			<i>o-LOC</i>

So, as shown by the above table, *so-LOC* and *lo-LOC* are polysemous, having in addition to their motion functions a purely locative function comparable to the function of *o-LOC*, which is a stative verb entering only into clause chaining constructions, never appearing conjoined to another clause.

2.2. LOCATIVE COVERBS

Locative coverbs are the proximate location verb *o-LOC*, and the polysemous verbs *so-LOC* and *lo-LOC* in their locative senses, indicating respectively distant and adjacent situation at a stated location.

As a main verb *o-LOC* can indicate a stative existential function:

- (23)a. Eau *o-mai.*
I at-here
'I am here'
- b. E *gavman o-io.*
NM government at-there
'There is a government'

This function can be fulfilled in a relative clause also:

- c. E tama gatou o-ata ge baumuli amutou.
 NM father lpl1 at-up IRR care.for you(pl)
 'Our father in heaven will watch over you'

The next example illustrates o-LOC in chained succession with an intervening patient-NP:

- (24) Egira tomi abi la sulabe, tau-a o-ata la varu girua.
 they(du) all get NM climbing.ring put-3ps at-up NM head 3pl1
 'They both took their climbing rings and put them up on their foreheads'

Chaining of o-LOC with regard to various grammatical options is next illustrated:

- (25)a. In chained sequence with anaphoric reference
 Tio, egiteu e tamalavele ge go-io, ge pou-ti
 then they(pl) NM father.of.adze IRR go-there IRR sit-PERF
 o-io vola.
 at-there PRON
 'Then the adze-owners will go and commit themselves to work on that (canoe)'
- b. In topicalised sentence with partitioning
 Ale o-gala la sto, eia malau bakisi.
 that at-out NM store 3ps far a.bit
 'That trip out to the store is a bit far'
- c. In topicalised sentence, referring anaphorically to the sentence topic
 Eia la taua sesele, egite mera taro amite o-io
 3ps NM spirit true they(pl) talk away we(pl.ex) at-there
 vola.
 PRON
 'He is truly a spirit, and they warned us about him'

The locative verb so-LOC indicates a state of being situated distantly from the speaker, out of sight. The location indicated is general rather than specific, and implies informing someone of the location. Thus utterances with so-LOC very appropriately accompany any kind of indicating or directing activity.

- (26)a. Egite vi-sae moli-a so-ata te sipi.
 they(pl) caus-climb just-3ps to-up PREP ship
 'They loaded it onto the ship'
- b. Egite isahari so-io la gauru.
 they(pl) some to-there NM road
 'Some of them are out on the road'

The locative verb *lo-LOC* however, indicates a state of being situated adjacently to the speaker, positioned immediately beside an object which serves as a point of reference and is relatively large in relation to the size of the entity whose distance from the speaker is being indicated:

- (27)a. Eme pou lo-ata la poga-gu-e.
you(s) sit from-up NM back-lsi-there
'Sit up on my back there'
- b. Isahari ge mavuta lo-talo la kupaha mula.
some IRR sleep from-down NM leg our(du.1)
'Some will sleep down at your feet'

Locative coverbs can appear with juxtaposed locative clauses, indicating a conjunction of locative clauses:

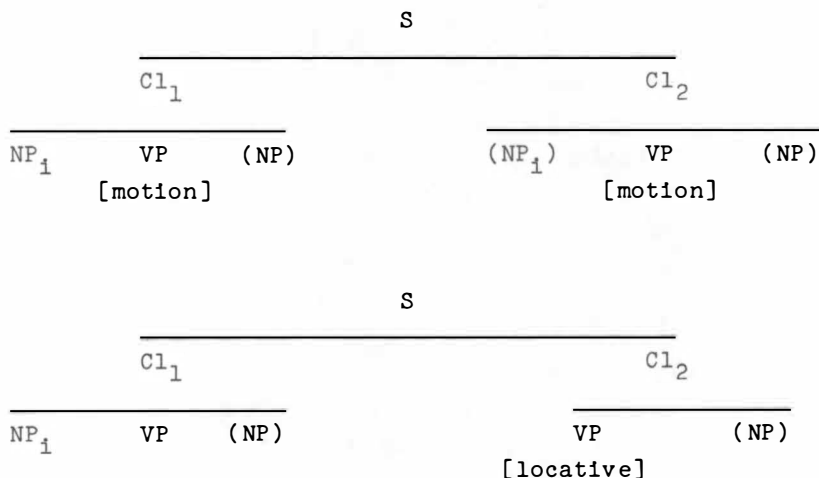
- (28) Eia so-muli lagu, o-gala-le.
3ps to-east face at-out-there
'It's eastward, in front of you, outside the village there'

2.3. THE CLAUSE CHAINING SOLUTION

The question arises as to which of the three proposed analyses of serial verbs to adopt for the analysis of coverbs (see 0.3.). From the conjoining behaviour of intransitive motion verbs and the motion coverb *go-LOC*, choice of the paradigm of conjoined clauses in sequence seems to be pressed upon us. In the case of conjoined motion verbs, the speaker has the option of not uttering the coreferential NP in a subsequent clause in a clause chain. However, the coreferential NP is obligatorily deleted from a clause chain with preceding locative coverbs or with motion coverbs *so-LOC* and *lo-LOC*.

Recall Pike's language-as-wave concept (see 1.1.). All of the serial verbs discussed in this paper have maintained their capacity to appear as main verbs, despite their frequent participation in verbal complexes. Yet in the process of developing an auxiliary verbal role they are losing some of their flexibility in terms of capacity to enter into conjoined relationships and ability to take modes and aspects when in chained sequence. Yet there is still their undeniable verbal potential to contend with, the fact that they still appear as main verbs, and with most of the grammatical characteristics of verbs. The paradigm of conjoined clauses would seem to be the only paradigm which does justice to the fully verbal character of these verbs. Three of the four basic coverb forms occur as motion verbs, and it is to motion verbs that the conjoining paradigm most aptly applies. In view of these considerations, a clause chaining analysis is adopted for coverbs,

with the option of the interposition of the coreferential NP between Clause 1 and Clause 2 being obligatorily suspended (i) in the case of a locative clause, or (ii) in the case of a clause with the motion verbs so-LOC and lo-LOC occurring in chained sequence. Illustrated for clauses with coreferential topics, this situation is as follows:



Depending on the structural conditions as indicated, one or the other of these conjoining configurations will be the appropriate structural analysis for every serial verb sequence in Nakanai involving the expression of concepts of location and motion.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Ablative post-verbal particle
ADV	Adverb
AN	Austronesian
Caus	causative
Cl	Clause
du	dual
ex	exclusive
i	inclusive
IRR	Irrealis
-LOC	Locative suffix
NM	Noun marker
NP	Noun phrase
PERF	Perfective
PREP	Preposition
PRON	the general pronominal trace element <i>vola</i> referencing NPs which do not fill referen- tially prominent positions in the clause
pl	plural
rd	reduplication
s	singular
S	Sentence
VP	verb phrase
lsi	1st person singular inalienable possession
3pl1	3rd person plural inalienable possession
3ps	3rd person singular
3psip	3rd person singular inalienable possession

Locative Suffixes

-ata	<i>'up'</i>
-talo	<i>'down'</i>
-ilo	<i>'inside'</i>
-gala	<i>'outside'</i>
-lagu	<i>'to the front'</i> (lagu <i>'face'</i>)
-tigu	<i>'behind'</i>
-muli	<i>'east along coast'</i>
-ale	<i>'west along coast'</i>
-lau	<i>'in the direction of the sea'</i>
-tivu	<i>'inland, ashore'</i>
-luma	<i>'direction of the nearest village, habitation'</i>

- rivo *'gardens, bush hinterland proximate to village'*
- hulu *'men's clearing or men's house'*
- io *'there, hither'*
- mai *'here, hither'*
- ve *'where?'*

Verbal Prefixes

- go- *'proceed in stated direction'*
- o- *'situated in proximate location'*
- so-
 1. *'situated in distant location'*
 2. *'proceed to stated location'*
- lo-
 1. *'situated in adjacent location'*
 2. *'come from stated location'*

N O T E S

1. Nakanai is an Oceanic AN language spoken by some 8,000 people in the coastal and hinterland regions of Commodore Bay and Bangula Bay in West New Britain.
2. -LOC signifies any location identified by one of the set of bound locative roots such as -ata 'up' and -ilo 'inside'.
3. Goluma la luma in the second sentence recapitulates the identical VP from the end of the first sentence. This is clearly the fully repetitive type of recapitulation operating with regard to a coverb appearing as a main verb. It is not therefore the generalised type of recapitulation which, as I have already mentioned, is restricted to goio and gomai.
4. Schachter (1974) deals with West African languages in which serial verbs can potentially occur in long series. See also Pike 1967. This occurs with Nakanai motion verbs but not with serial verbs as we have discussed them above. In Nakanai a maximum of two serial verbs can occur postposed to a main verb, e.g.

Egite sae so-ata tavu-a.
they(pl) climb to-up towards-3ps
'They climbed up towards it'
5. The term coverb was introduced by teachers of Chinese to denote a verb which occurs as a secondary verb preceding the main verb in a sentence, is followed by a NP with which it forms a constituent, and can be translated as a preposition in English (Clark 1975:110). The term preposition is, however, more commonly used for such secondary verbs in literature on Chinese language. In her dissertation, however,

Clark confined her attention to those coverbs in Vietnamese which have corresponding verbs, considering these only in their non-main-verb function (Clark 1975:114-5). This approach is consistent with the approach taken herein, in that the non-main-verb functions of Nakanai serial verbs is seen to be the problematical area. However it is likely to be less than informative if such functions of serial verbs are not compared with each other and with the syntactic functions of other verb-associated entities.

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