

More on the Serial Verb Construction in Ìyínnò

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Abstract

Studies on the properties and derivation of SVC have over the years persisted as unresolved issues in African linguistics. There are series of postulations in terms of classification, properties and derivation of the structure ranging from descriptive analyses to theoretically motivated representations of the structure. On Ìyínnò little is known about the construction and its properties. Although Abimbola (2014) gave a beacon of hope towards the derivation proposing that there is one and only one clause structure projected, he did not discuss the properties of the construction. Abimbola and Taiwo (2014) also misrepresent some of the classes. Observing these inadequacies, the present paper discusses the properties, types and derivation of the SVC in Ìyínnò dialect of Aika language with a view to reviewing the claim made in Abimbola and Taiwo (2014). The paper adopts the Minimalist Program as its theoretical framework. Data for the study were gathered using both structure and unstructured interview. Proposed a revision of Abimbola (2014) on the bases of LF-residue of shared DP object jointly selected from the Lexicon but not legible at PF interface. The LF-residue caters for the valuation of the verbs' roaming features i.e phi-feature, case and assignment of theta to the residue object without flouting Inclusiveness Condition. Only the linearized copy of the DP object is legible at the PF interface.

Keywords: LF-residue, Inclusiveness Condition, object DP, properties of SVC, derivation of SVC

Introduction

According to Ilori (2010:215), serial verbal construction (SVC) or verb serialization consists of “a string of at least two verbs and their relevant complements, where applicable, with the verbs sharing just one subject without any sign of coordination”. Invariably, SVCs have couple of verbs that are not linked together with any coordination. Apart from that there is only one overt subject in the construction. Collins (1993:56) as well defines SVC as “a succession of verbs and their complements (if any) with one subject and one tense value that are not separated by any overt marker of coordination or subordination”. With the Collins definition that is based on language internal evidence cited above, it is evident that the modifying SVC type is ruled out. This is because no verb can be subordinate of the other; hence no verb is allowed to modify another verb. A verb in SVC may and may not have a DP complement. The following examples illustrate SVC in Ìyínnò.

- 1a. Ònìs, Olá ò mé ènò yẹ⁵
 mother, Ola TAg⁰ cook meat eat “Mama, Ola cooked the meat and ate it”
- 1b. Jò bọ Olá dé bi èsigé
 I know Ola reach prep house “I know Ola even with his house hold”

SVC is one of the features of most West African languages, manifested in many Nigerian languages in the Kwa language family. However Ìyínnò has not enjoyed linguists'

⁵ TAg⁰P is a merger of both the T⁰ and Agr⁰ heads as proposed by Abimbola (2014) for Ìyínnò based on the difficult situation for T⁰ and Agr⁰ to inherit features handed over by the C⁰. Neither of these two heads could be the head in the split-I analysis for Ìyínnò, thus, the need for the merger of the two functional heads.

attention compared to other languages spoken in the communities. In view of this our analysis is based on examples drawn from Ìyínnó, a dialect of Aika. Consider the following examples;

- 2a. Olú ò gá yá wù Òjó
Olu TAGrⁿ went greet say Ojo “Olu went to say hello to Ojo”
- 2b. Á gí ṣená wá yá úbó
they impf want come greet us “They want to come and greet us”

In the examples above, *gá* “went” and *yá* “greet” *wù* “say” in 2a. are all transitive underlyingly. The agent of the clause went to the object *Òjó* “Ojo”, greeted *Òjó* “Ojo” and said to *Òjó* “Ojo”. Only one object is overtly represented with *Òjó* “Ojo”. Their objects show that their accusative cases were discharged, and consequently valued. Similarly, *ṣená* “want”, *wá* “come”, *yá* “greet” have their objects as *úbó* “us” on whose accusative case was valued and deleted. The property of *ṣená* “want” requires a DP complement, and so is *yá* “greet” but which *wá* “come” is an intransitive verb. But economy of effort would not realise the entire identical object DP overtly. It is important to know, however, that the verbs used in 1a&b and 2a&b share the same tense, aspect and negation features. In this connection, scholars have proposed different structures to account for the derivation of SVC. As a matter of fact, Ilori (2010) propose different derivational accounts for all the SVC types.

In this work, our concern is on Ìyínnó SVC is based on the description of the properties, derivation of SVC through an empirically sound argument premised on Principle of Full Interpretation, Earliness Condition, feature valuation and roaming, and Inclusiveness Condition.

The theoretical framework: Minimalist Program

The current theory of Generative Grammar, the Minimalist Program (MP), is the framework adopted for this work. MP sees the processing of syntactic structures as a computational process similar to the way computer selects and combines two items. The two syntactic operations Select and Merge are the basis for building derivations.

According to Chomsky (2005:5), Phases are independence at the interface, and are also propositional. Phases are the subarrays of the numeration, i.e. some chunk or part of the numeration. He sees Phase as the lexical subarrays which is a chunk of the numeration and is exhaustible. Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005:355) observe that the computational system activates a subarray δ_1 from the numeration and builds a phase PH, using all the lexical items listed in $\delta \dots$ ’ this means that the Numeration must be exhausted for the derivation of a syntactic structure. A phase is complete *iff* the head of the phase is saturated. Richards (2010) says that a phasal array defines the areas where merge is predictable. We will examine the types of SVC proposed by Abimbola (2014) for Ìyínnó in the literature review. This theory determines the structural representations and determines the arguments advanced in this work.

Literature Review

There are several works on Ìyínnó but the earliest works were based on the orthography, codification and developing of primers for all the dialects of the language (Arohunmolase et al, 2006a &b). Abimbola (2008) studies the word classes and the sentence types but did not have the SVC types of sentences in his sentence types. Ibikunle (2008) examines the phonological structure and other phonological constraint in the language. Olanipekun (2008) also examines the verb phrase structure, but the work did not take into account the SVC sentence type. Her analysis is based on other verb phrase structures which subsume transitivity, split verbs, etc.

Salfner (2010) examines the functions of tone in the lexicon, and grammar of Ukaan, a dialect of Aika. Abimbola (2014) examines Ìyínnó's clause structure. In his work examines and classifies the SVC sentences.

There are various classifications of SVC in the literature. Some of these works include Angitso (2013) who renamed Modifying SVC class as Manner SVC in Tiv. Déchaine (1993), cited in Ilori (2010), classifies SVC into types based on the argument structure, and his classification include; (i) Benefactive SVC, (ii) Instrumental SVC, (iii) Resultative SVC, and (iv) Sequential SVC. Ilori (2010) added Causative SVC to Déchaine's classification. Others include Bamgbose (1983, 1990), cited in Abimbola (2014). Bamgbose's classification include; Sequential, Consequential, Modifying, Durational and Causative SVC. Although Taiwo's main concern is on the SVC derivation, he agrees with Bamgbose's classification. He did not accept Modifying SVC as a class.

Although, only Abimbola (2014) has classified SVC in Ìyínnó into types, there are several proposals on SVC derivation. In his classification of Ìyínnó SVC, he rejects modifying SVC. According to him, there are three types of SVC: Sequential, Causative and Complex SVC types. Abimbola and Taiwo (2014) based their analysis on Abimbola's classification, but their focus is on the derivation of the SVC. It is observed that the examples of Sequential SVC were termed Complex SVC while the Complex SVCs were classified as Sequential SVC.

As we have noted above, Abimbola (2014) is the only work that has classified the SVC types in this language. His work did not discuss the properties of SVC in this language. Therefore, we shall first consider the properties of SVC in Ìyínnó before going to the typology.

Properties of SVC in Ìyínnó

Argument sharing

The first among all the properties apart from the absence of overt connectives is the argument sharing of verbs in serialization. DP performing the action expressed by the verbs in series is one. All the verbs will have to share one and only one agentive argument. This condition can be formulated as follows:

3. Verbs in SVC share one and only one agentive DP/external argument.

A string of verbs in serialisation can only have one overt subject irrespective of the number of verbs in the string and there subject licensing properties. Just as the external DP is shared by verbs in serialisation, the internal arguments could be shared by the two or more verbs in series. As for the sharing of the agentive argument, it foregrounds the facts that SVC are not from multiple 'underlying/base' sentences as noted in Abimbola (2014). For examples:

4a. Qlá ò yù ùmó ránhín
 Ola TAg⁰ fetch water sell "Ola fetch water to sell"

4b. Qlá ò yù ùmó
 Ola TAg⁰ fetch water "Ola fetched water"

4c. Qlá ò ránhín ùmó
 Ola TAg⁰ sell water "Ola sells water"

If we assume multi-underlying sentences for one SVC, then 4a could have 4b&c representations where different persons are involved in the actions. Apart from sharing agentive subjects, two, three verbs in serialisation may share one object argument. In this case, only one of the verbs receives object marking overtly. Other verbs are superficially or covertly implied.

- 5a. Olú ò sèná yànnì nì ihwúék
 Olu TAgr⁰ want buy prep shoe “Olu wants to buy a shoe”
- 5b. Olú ò wó òrìṣà kwúé
 Olu TAgr⁰ accept god listen “Olu has faith in GOD”

The following condition is true in all SVC cross-linguistically.

6. # Agentive DP + tense + [V1, …ⁿ]# = A clause.

One Tense/Aspectual Form

Simple (underived) sentences have just one tense⁶, agreement and aspectual form in Ìyínnó. It implies that the construction is mono-clausal in respect of its tense and aspectual specification. Similarly, SVCs have only one tense and only one aspectual specification implying also that the said clause is a mono-clause/simple clause structurally. All the verbs in serialization share one single tense property and one single aspectual system. All the verbs are not assigned separate tense and aspect. One tense feature determines the tense of all the verbs in serialization and the tense of the clause. For examples:

- 7a. Olá ó bēhan ènómèùmó
 Ola TAgr⁰ smoke meat-water “Ola smoked the fish”
- 7b. à gí sèná wa ya ùbó
 they impf want come greet us “They want to come and greet us”
- 7c. Olu ò wára hún
 Olu TAgr⁰ quickly go “Olu went quickly”
- 7d. Fólá ò yànnà àṣón fidèḗ
 Fola TAgr⁰ bought clothes wore “Fola bought the clothes and wore it”
- 8a. Tópé ó dá tóro sá imùṣ wá èṣìgé
 Tope TAgr⁰ will drink full beer come house “Tope will be drunk (before he/she gets) home”
- 8b. Òṣìò-itítí òyèù òtintín ó dá sèná yànnà nì hùék
 Father-Titi small black TAgr⁰ will want buy prep shoe “Titi’s small dark Father will wants to buy a shoe”
- 8c. # Agentive DP + tense-agree + (Asp) (pre modifier) V1, V2…ⁿ (post modifier) # = A clause.

Example 7a is a simple underived clause. It has only one tense specification. Similarly, example 7b has just one tense specification and the same is true of 7c and 7d. Also notice that 7b expresses

⁶ According to Abimbola (2014), tense in Ìyínnó is marked tonologically on the agreement marker that occurs between the subject of the sentence and the verb phrase. The agreement marker may be [+SG] while à is [-SG]. It may also be affected by [±ATR]. For example, ò may be ò depending on the form of the vowel of the preceding subject. The marker does not co-occur with non-human and pronominal subjects as in 1a-b and 2a-b below. But the systematic change in the tone of the agreement marker determines the tense of the clause. If the agreement marker has Low Tone, then the tense is Future but if it is High Tone, then it is Non-Future tense. But based on the problem of Feature Inheritance from the phase head, it is difficult for the agreement and tense markers to inherit the features handed over to the non-phasal head. In lieu of separate projections of TP and AgrP in Aika, Abimbola (2014) proposed that the two functional heads should be merged as TAgrP; hence feature inheritance is easy for the functional head. So, the TAgrP is the clausal projection that receives features handed over by the FinP in Ìyínnó.

- 1a. owésí núù ò yúó (b) àwésí dàà à yúó
 Man(sg) D(sg) agr die “The man died” man(pl) D(pl) agr die “These men died”.
- 2a) èsón nẹẹ yúó (b) isún dàà yúó
 Housefly(sg) D(sg) die “The housefly died” housefly(pl) D(pl) die “These houseflies died”

imperfective aspect as well. The scope of the imperfective marker is on the clause without exempting a verb. Pre- and post-verbal items like ‘will’, ‘shall’, ‘even’, etc are used to express modality, possibility among others. But when they are selected in SVC, only one pre-verb item is used for all the verbs in series i.e. if *dá* “will” is to be used in SVC structure, two *dá* will not be picked for different verbs. Modality sense expressed by one pre-verb in SVC scopes over all the verbs in serialisation. In the sentences above, only one *dá* “will” is used. It is never the case that all the verbs are used with different *dá*. This further affirms that the structure of SVC is mono-clausal. Hence, 8c holds for all SVC type in the language under consideration. One agentive DP, one tense specification, one optional aspectual specification plus the verbs in series result into one clause.

Scope of Negation and SVC Verbs

Whenever the events/actions specified by verbs in serialization are negated, the scope of one single negator covers all the verbs in series. It is never the case that the verbs and the events/actions are negated individually. That is, all the events/actions expressed by the verbs are negated at the same time.

10a. Olú ó síó-k tẹ̀ bi ẹ̀sìgẹ̀-k
 Olu TAgr⁰ run-neg arrive prep house-neg “Olu did not run back home”

10b. — á tórán ríngín músù-k
 (they) TAgr⁰ drank beer stupor-neg
 “They did not drink beer to stupor (the fact is that they drank beer, but not to stupor)”

We noticed that all the verbs were negated at the same time by the discontinuous negator. It scopes over all the events/actions expressed by the verbs in serialisation to negate the whole clause. No single verb is negated in isolation. The discontinuous affix segments in 10a were cliticised to verb *síó* “run” and the final part of the affix is attached as clitic to the *ẹ̀sìgẹ̀* “house”. In the 10b example, only the *músù* “stupor” visibly displayed the discontinuous negative affix. This may have resulted from one possible interpretation of the sentence, i.e. they got drunk but not to stupor.

11. # Agentive DP + tense-agree + (Asp) + (neg) V1, V2...ⁿ (neg)# = A clause.

The rule in 11 holds for all SVC type in the language under consideration. One agentive DP, one tense and agreement specification, one optional aspectual specification plus the negative affixes before and after the verbs in serialization result into one clause.

Irregular argument selection properties of verbs in serialisation

No language has just one type of verb. Just as one may have transitive verb in a language, there could be stative, ergative, or unaccusative verbs. In the same way, the properties of the verbs in SVC are not the same. Not all the verbs in the series are transitive or intransitive at the same time. Some don’t have object selection property while some do. In cases where only one of the verbs in serialization is object selecting verb, there will be one internal argument only for the transitive verb. For examples:

12a. Fọ́lá ọ̀ sígán yànnà ẹ̀nómẹ̀-hínhín mẹ̀wà
 Fola TAgr⁰ quickly bought watermeat-cold brought “Fola quickly went, bought and brought iced fish”

12b. Olú ọ̀ wá disánwẹ̀ mẹ̀wà
 Olu TAgr⁰ carry chair brought “Olu carried and brought the chair”

12c. # V1_(complement), V2_(complement)...ⁿ # = the SVC’s vP

The verbs in the sentences above are not the same in terms of their argument selection or transitivity properties. *Yànnà* “buy” is a transitive verb and it needs an internal argument and that was satisfied through *èṅómé-hínhín* “cold fish” in 12a. But *méwà* “bring” does not require internal argument. *wá* “carry” needs an object complement to satisfy its transitive property. *dísànwè* “chair” was selected as its object complement. Because the verb is transitive. But *méwà* “brought” has a null argument. This means that all the verbs in serialisation do not have to be transitive or intransitive. Overt object selecting verbs must come before the intransitive verbs in series. And if two verbs or more share the same object, the object will follow the first verb. Thus, the condition in 12c holds.

From the discussion above, it is evident that, an adequate SVC structural representation must put all these feature in mind for a correct representation. Irrespective of the type of SVC in question, once the grammatical properties shared by verb in series are not separated, then the structure is derived unitarily. Apart from the general claim that SVCs don’t have overt coordination, any structural representation must take into cognisance all the aforementioned properties before representing the clause structure.

Types of SVC in Ìyínnó

Sequential SVC: In this type of SVC, the action or event encoded by first verb precedes the event or action encoded by the second the verb in the string (cf. Bamgbose 1983). Examples of this type include the following;

13a. *Á dá wá isìnà àláfià ùbó*
they will come ask peace us “They will come and ask about our wellbeing”

13b. *à gí ṣená wa ya ùbó*
they impf want come greet us “They want to come and greet us”

13c. *Folá ò sigán yànnà èṅómé-hínhín méwà*
Fola TAgr⁰ quickly bought watermeat-cold brought “Fola quickly went, bought and brought iced fish”

As the examples in 13a-b have shown, *wá* “come” precedes *isìnà* “ask”. In 13b, *ṣená* “want” *wa* “come” *ya* “greet”. The action expressed in the first verb precedes that of the second verb. If the verbs are reordered, then the sequence will not be derived.

Causative SVC: this sub type of SVC is so-classified because the action or event of the first verb causes or leads to the action or event of the second verb. This means that the first verb triggered the result in the second verb. Examples are

14a. *Olú ò síṣọ jì ránhín*
Olu TAgr⁰ pound yam sell “Olu pounded yam and sold”

14b. *Olú ò rá wá jeré*
Olu TAgr⁰ v come yesterday “Olu arrived yesterday”

14c. **Olú ò ránhín jì síṣọ*
Olu TAgr⁰ sold yam pounded

In data 14a, the action expressed by *síṣọ* “pounded” leads to the one in the second verb *ránhín* “sold”. It cannot be the other way round if we inverse it as shown in the ungrammatical expression of 14c. One cannot sell the pounded yam before pounding it.

Complex SVC: This subclass of SVC is regarded as complex SVC because the first verb does not occur independently in a clause i.e., the verb cannot occur in simplex clauses on their own. In the literature, this sub-class is classified as Modifying SVC (Bamgbose, 1983 among others) because one of the verbs cannot occur in isolation. Defining a verb as ‘modifying verb’ is a shortfall to what a verb is. If a verb modifies another verb it should be regarded as performing an adverb function. It is assumed that there is nothing like modifying SVC. Examples are given below.

15a. Olu ó wára hún
Olu TAg⁰ quickly go “Olu went quickly”

15b. Olú ò síó fienu
Olu TAg⁰ ran returned “Olu ran back”

Consequential SVC: Previous classification did not have this class. In this type of SVC, “the event symbolized by the second verb is understood as to be consequence of that symbolized by the first” (Taiwo 2009:1, Bamgbose 1990:161).

16a. Fólá ò yànnà àşon fidèş
Fola TAg⁰ bought clothes wore “Fola bought the clothes and wore it”

16b. Ọşìò-ítítí ọyèù ọtintín ó dá şenà yànnà ni húşk
Father-Titi small black TAg⁰ will want buy prep shoe “Titi’s small dark Father will wants to buy a shoe”

The Derivation of SVC

In literatures, one of the most debated issues in SVC is the controversies on how SVC is derived. According to Abimbola and Taiwo (2014), opinions are polarized on the derivation of SVC. There are two hypotheses in SVC derivation: the Multi-source hypothesis and the Mono-source hypothesis. The Multi-source hypothesis assumes that SVCs are derived from at least two different basic underlying sentences. Invariably, the numbers of verbs in a given SVC structure determines the number of base sentences from which it is derived. This hypothesis holds the view that the underlying sentences must have identical agentive argument and identical object argument. This will ensure identical internal and external arguments at the surface derivation. Derivation is through Equi-NP deletion, objects deletion where applicable or through blending of sentences together to derive surface transformed sentence. For example, 4a repeated as 17a below. 17b&c would be the two underlying structures according to this school.

17a. Olá ò yù ùmó ránhín
Ola TAg⁰ fetch water sell “He fetches water to sell”

17b. Olá ò yù ùmó
Ola TAg⁰ fetch water “Ola fetches water”

17c. Olá ò ránhín ùmó
Fola TAg⁰ sell water “Ola sells the water”

Theoretically, this view is problematic. Considering all the properties aforementioned, verbs are stalked one after the other without any coordination. No sentence serves as the base

for deriving the other. There is a shift from specific rules targeting specific constituents to operation Merge.

As for the Mono-source hypothesis, the derivation of SVC is from one underlying sentence. This is motivated on the behaviour of the so-called modifying verbs in Modifying SVC type. Modifying verbs don't occur in mono-clausal sentences. Thus, the claim of two underlying sentences holds no water in this school. No matter how brilliant this hypothesis may present itself, it has several shortcomings.

One is claimed to be the D-structure and another, S-structure. There are no underlying and surface representations in the MP because there is no language internal evidence to show these levels Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005:355). Derivation begins with operations Select and Merge. Derivations proceed in the narrow syntax to the interfaces from the subarray. The idea of bringing two different sentences from the "underlying" representation to the "surface" representation before they can come together to derive a single SVC through the application of transformational rules is not welcome in the MP. Merge picks two Lexical Items (LI) at a time and group them together without assuming any theory internally imposed levels. Merge groups two LIs at a time to form a syntactic object. By implication, the assumptions of the two hypotheses discussed above only gave credence to claims in previous models of generative theory. But it fails to explain how language faculty behaves and what speakers understand in reality about their language. It is from this point that our analysis picks up.

According to Abimbola and Taiwo (2014), syntactic structural building process doesn't have to be cumbersome. In the Phase based syntax of MP, derivations of syntactic structures start from the subarrays of the numeration therefore eliminating the issue of D- and S-structures and also the consideration of the merged sentences' sources. One important point which could point us to how syntactic structures are derived, particularly SVC, is to look at their structural architectures. Our claim holds the view that SVC structure has one and only one projected clause structure.

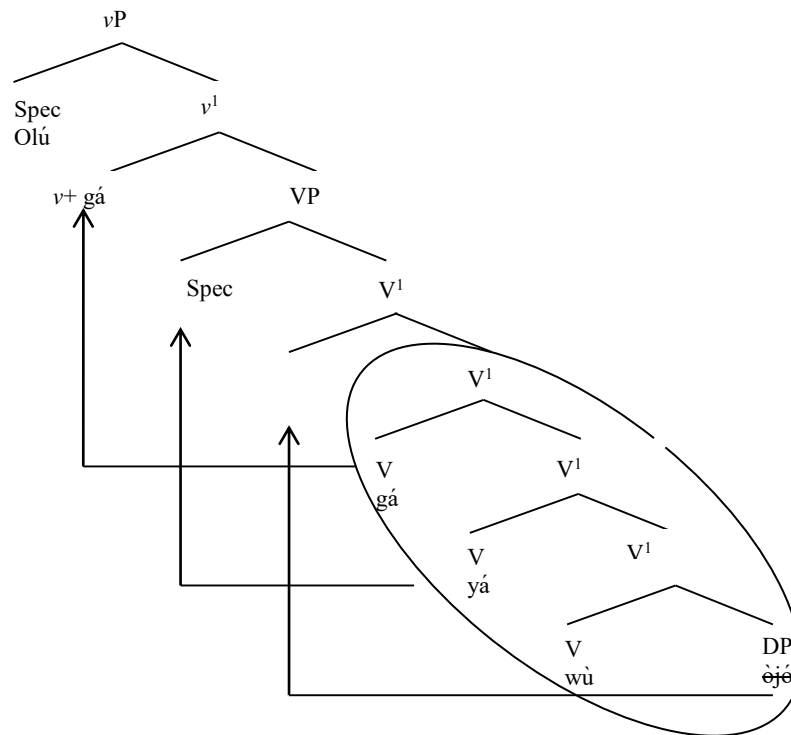
On Taiwo (2009) we note that the external DP moves cyclically checking features but these features are not there nor implied in the construction except a highly complex structure. In MP, the basic foundation of movement is motivated mainly for valuing uninterpretable features and deleting those unvalued. Invariably, without unvalued features there can be no movement. A lexical item is frozen in place if it bears no unvalued features. If the external DP has to move, something must motivate the movement. If the two VPs merged and project different TAspP, AgrO, etc., then, the assumption hasn't changed at all. For some examined languages in the literature, internal DPs are sandwiched within the verbs in serialization. According to Abimbola (2014), data found in Ìyínnó is quite different from those observed in Yorùbá or Ao dialect and all other languages displaying SVCs. Internal DPs are stranded clause finally. Consider the examples below.

- 18a. Á dá wá isinà àláfíà ùbó
 they POS come ask wellbeing us "They will come and ask us about our wellbeing"
- 18b. Olú ò síso ju ùyán
 Olu TAgr^o pound eat yam "Olu pounded yam and ate it"
- 18c. Olú ò gá yá wa Òjò
 Olu TAgr^o go greet come Ojo "Olu went to say hello to Ojo"
- 18d. Á gi şená wa ya ùbó
 they v want come greet us "They want to come and greet us"

Abimbola (2014) proposes one SVC derivation through the duo operations, operations Select and Merge. But his analysis has a shortcoming because Case, an uninterpretable unvalued feature of two verbs, is not valued. Although the derivation is adjudged convergent, the case feature is still left unvalued in the derivation and transferred to the interfaces. A situation where a feature which ought to be valued and deleted in the derivation is left in the derivation is termed Feature Roaming (Angitso, 2013). An uninterpretable feature which is not valued and deleted in the course of the derivation would lead to feature roaming. Feature roaming is the formal situation in grammar where a feature which ought to be valued and deleted is not valued and deleted, and the derivation is adjudged convergent. A roaming feature could crash a derivation at the interfaces even if it is adjudged convergent.

Following Abimbola (2014), and Abimbola and Taiwo (2014), all the verbs in serialization clause are merged in the VP internal. Only the highest verb in the string is raised to adjoin the null light verb for lexicalization due to the light verb's strong features so that it will be legible and interpretable at the twin interfaces, PF and LF. The light verb has to be lexicalized so as to complete the vP phase. Since all the verbs have maximal occurrences, they all have overt realization at the interfaces. As stated under the discussion on SVC properties, all the verbs share the same tense, aspectual and some other features which do not require the verbs to project separate AspP, TP, NegP, etc., as we have shown above. Using 18c above, verbs are merged to form a unitary vP structure but not from certain separate different pre-syntactic computation as shown in 19 below.

19.



As observed in 19 above, all the verbs in the series have uninterpretable unvalued case waiting to be valued and deleted in the numeration. As evident in the derivation above, only the lowest verb accusative case is valued. The derivation contains two other instances of Acc-feature left to roam in the derivation. We propose that no feature roaming is allowed for a convergent derivation so that the derivation will not crash at the interfaces. Apart from that the semantic loads of the verbs in serialization show that two of the verbs are inherently transitive. Invariably, they require internal DPs. The semantic features of the verbs in serialization must be considered on the level of argument selection property. For instance, if we consider 18b repeated below as 20a for ease of reference, *sísọ* “pound” and *ju* “eat” requires what was pounded and was eaten which is *ùyán* “pounded yam”. In this connection, the verbs have internal arguments.

20a. [TA_{grP} Olú ò sísọ ju ùyán]
[TA_{grP} Olu TA_{gr}^o pound eat pounded yam] “Olu pound yam and ate it”

20b. *Olú ò sísọ ùyán ju ùyán

However, only a copy of the two DPs would be given spell out. 20b does not represent what the speakers actually say. Hence, 20b crashed at PF interface because PF rule yielding the output is not respected. 20a does not have “gap” as Collins (1993) has claimed. 20b fails the Inclusiveness Condition regulation which says that “The LF object λ must be built only from the features of the Lexical Item N”, Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann (2005). Only the maximal occurrence of a lexical item can be Spelt Out and usually, that is the one stranded clause finally except when there are independent internal arguments. If we do not strand it clause finally, the derivation will crash and if we do not show the semantic features of the verbs, our analysis will run contrary to the principle of Inclusiveness Condition. The version of Inclusiveness Condition mentioned above cannot cater for this problem. Hence a review of the condition is in order to satisfy the properties of verbs in serialization.

LF-residue and visibility

20b seems to be the actual representation of the clause in the mind of the speakers of the language. But only one of the identical DPs is given a Spell Out, and if the second verb’s property is not accounted for, the analysis will be incomplete. In view of these facts, an item that will be visible at the interpretive interface for Acc-case feature and Theta property of the second is needed; hence, the roaming features would be valued and deleted. However, such an item must be opaque/invisible to the PF to avoid yielding 20b outright. A way to do this is to go back to the Numeration. This is necessary, so that Inclusiveness Condition will not be violated, since the Numeration determines the number of the set of lexical items made available for a given derivation. A lexical item that is not listed in the numeration cannot be introduced to the derivation at any other level. Following Abimbola and Taiwo (2014) and the bulk of evidence provided through the properties of the verbs in serialization in Ìyínnó above, there is need for a dummy DP which will be listed in the numeration. It will have the same instance of features on the verb and it will be similar in feature specification to the overt DP. If this is taken into consideration, there will be no violation of Inclusiveness Condition in as much as the dummy DP is listed in the Numeration of the structure. Activity Condition will not be violated because the computation will not have to select the same item twice. That is, the overt DP will not be used cyclically because it does not have any unvalued feature to license agreement. The overt DP will be frozen after *agree* has been archived. No Feature will roam in the derivation, since all the features have been valued and deleted cyclically. The principle of Full Interpretation will

be satisfied for all the verbs in the SVC structure because in constructions like 21a-b, the verbs are given Full interpretations.

21a. [T_{AgRP} Olú ò [vP síso ùyán]]
 [T_{AgRP} Olu TAg⁰ [vP pound pounded-yam]] “Olu pound yam”

21b. [T_{AgRP} Olú ò [vP ju ùyán]]
 [T_{AgRP} Olu TAg⁰ [vP eat pounded-yam]] “Olu ate yam”

Síso’s “pound” semantic feature requires an internal DP on whom the accusative case will be satisfied. Similarly, *ju* “eat” requires an internal DP. Its semantic property is also satisfied in mono-clausal constructions. Hence, in SVCs, the properties of these verbs satisfy the principle of Full Interpretation. So, we propose that an abstract element “LF-Residue” bearing similar properties with the object DP, and a copy of the same object DP, should be specified in the numeration. As implied here, the LF-residue specified in the numeration does not enter the derivation with the overt object DP at the same time. This is so-assumed to guide against postulations and the number of copies of the residue made available in the Numeration. Apart from this, theta role is assigned under merge at the point of entry into the derivation, if the residue enters the derivation with the overt object DP at the same time, then only one theta role would be assigned to both the overt object DP and the residue. Consequently, theta feature of the higher verbs would not be assigned. As we have claimed earlier, the Inclusiveness Condition must be reviewed to accommodate LF-Residue.

22. **Inclusiveness Condition revision (Abimbola and Taiwo, 2014).**

The LF object λ must be built only from the features of the Lexical Item N [which may include instances of LF-residue visible at LF; not legible at PF].

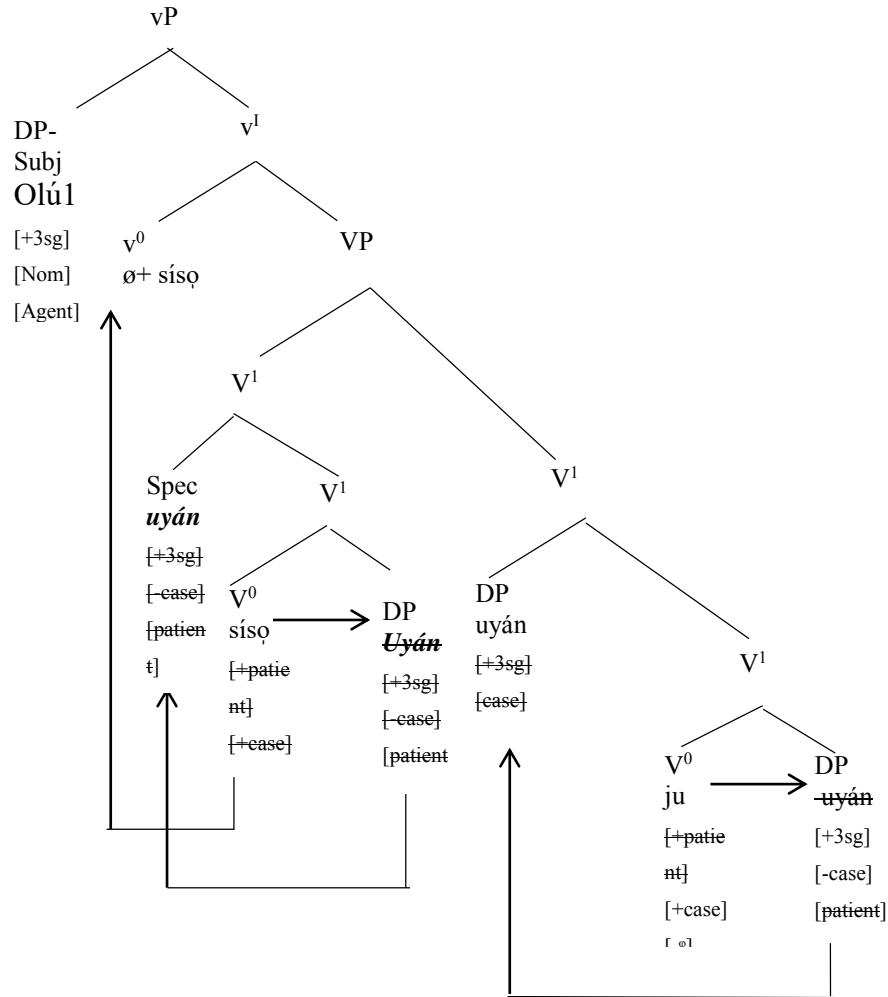
Once the Inclusiveness Condition has specified the possibility of having LF-Residue, no violation could results from this. Delay processes are eliminated in the derivation so that the verbs in SVC will no longer delay Acc-Case and theta property. The numeration of 20a is represented as 23a below with the LF-Residue item specified with its features and number of use in the derivation.

23a. {Olú_[+3sg;Nom;Agent] ò<sub>[T⁰ Agr⁰]=TAg⁰ (=NF)] síso_[-3sg;+Acc]
 ju_[-3sg;+Acc] ùyán_[+3sg;+Acc;+patient] *ùyán*_[+3sg;+Acc;+patient]}</sub>

23b. [T_{AgRP} Olú ò síso ùyán ránhin ẹ̀nẹ̀ùmó]
 [T_{AgRP} Olu TAg⁰ pound pounded-yam sell meatwater] “Olu pounded yam to sell fish”

The italicized *ùyán* in the numeration is the LF-Residue of the LI ùyán “yam”. The tree diagram in 24 shows how the vP structure is projected. Instances where the verbs in serialization have overt objects, as in 23b above, the LF-residue object is not selected into the numeration for the verbs. This is because the verbs have overt DPs that will value and delete all uninterpretable features.

24.



As shown in 24 above, the verb *sísọ* “pound” is raised to adjoin the light verb for interpretive purpose. Prior to that, *ju* “eat” is externally merged with the object DP *ùyán* “pounded-yam”, to derive **V¹** which is a syntactic object, and its theta features were assigned but raised to Spec-V¹ where the [Acc-case] was valued. The derivation proceeded by merging with *sísọ* “pound” which assigned it [Acc-case] to the LF-residue *DP ùyán*, its theta was assigned and the case feature was also checked and frozen in place. Consequently, no feature can roam in the derivation. Both the two syntactic objects were merged and the derivation yields **V¹**. Merging the overt object DP with the **V¹** at Spec-V¹ and it projects the derivation to **VP**. Truly, theta properties are satisfied under merge but the case feature of the DP object must not only be catered for in writing but also in principle. In addition to our argument, the Spec-VP is a multi-Spec position allowing successive DPs in SVC. It is an escape hatch which allows DPs to move up against the head for valuation. The **V¹** projection of *sísọ* “pound” and its complement DP *ùyán*

“yam” is merged at Spec- V¹ before the verb was raised to lexicalize the light verb under head adjunction. All features were valued and the domain of the light verb is ready for transfer to the interfaces.

At the interface, the LF-residue is only visible at the LF interface and thus satisfied the principle of Full Interpretation of the verb. At the PF interface however, the LF-residue is not linearized because it is reduced to a copy of the object DP *ùyán* with which it was jointly selected from the Lexicon into the subarray.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined the properties, types and derivation of SVC structures in Ìyínnò, a dialect of Àíká spoken in Akoko-Edo local government area, Edo state. Contrary to the claim that there are only three SVC types in Ìyínnò (Abimbola, 2014, and Abimbola and Taiwo, 2014); we have discovered another SVC type -Consequential SVC. The properties of SVC in Ìyínnò were discussed in support of Abimbola and Taiwo’s (2014) SVC derivational proposal in Ìyínnò. That is we argued that an LF-residue is required for the discharge of theta and Case properties of verbs in serialization. If verbs in serialization share one object and the property of a verb is the one the analysis is able to account for, then such an analysis is counter intuitive. The DP object and the LF-residue are jointly selected into the derivation from the numeration of the clause but the LF-residue is a dummy item required only to satisfy Full Interpretation of the verbs in serialization at the LF interface. Hence, LF-residue is not legible at the PF interface.

List of Abbreviations

TAgrP/TAgr^o = Tense-Agreement Phrase/head of TAgrP; TP/T^o = Tense Phrase/ head of Tense Phrase; Agr^o = Agreement Phrase; C^o = head of Complementizer Phrase; Prep= preposition; Impf = imperfective aspect; DP = Determiner Phrase; MP = Minimalist Program; # = clause boundary; vP/VP =the functional light verb Phrase/Verb Phrase; NP = Noun Phrase; LI = Lexical Item; TAspP = Tense-Aspect Phrase; AgrO = Agreement Object; POS = Possibility; Neg/NegP = Negation/Negation Phrase; PF & LF = Phonological form & logical form; Asp/AspP= Aspect/Aspect phrase; λ = a variable; acc= Accusative case feature; Spec= Specifier; SVC= serial verbal construction/verb serialization.

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