

## Segmentation of complex motion events in two verb-serializing languages

Kyosuke Yamamoto<sup>1,3,a</sup>, Kiyoko Takahashi<sup>2,b</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Kyoto University, <sup>2</sup>Kanda University of International Studies, <sup>3</sup>JSPS

<sup>a</sup>jazznells@gmail.com, <sup>b</sup>kiyoko@kanda.kuis.ac.jp

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This study aims to investigate event segmentation (Pawley 1987, Givón 1991, Bohnemeyer et al. 2007) in the coding of ballistic caused motion events (e.g. *kick*, *throw*) in two verb-serializing languages of Southeast Asia, Ilocano (a Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian family) and Thai (a Tai language of the Tai-Kadai family). A video-based speech elicitation experiment conducted in the two languages reveals that speakers of each language make frequent use of serial verb constructions (SVCs), to describe ballistic caused motion events. Building on the results, we examine how such SVCs package ballistic caused motion events linguistically, using the scope of temporal modifiers. The data collected through interviews show that the way of event segmentation varies between Thai and Ilocano SVCs.

SVCs are monoclausal constructions consisting of two or more independent verbs serialized with no overt connector (Aikhenvald 2006). Each constituent verb of an SVC, by itself, may function as a full-fledged verb. An SVC is monoclausal in that the whole construction falls under the scope of an illocutionary-force operator (e.g. imperative marker) and of an epistemic modal marker (e.g. speculative marker), as in (1) and (2).

- (1) *kinugtara=k*                      *ti=bo:la*      *?agpasi:rok*  
kick:perfective=1SG.ERG      core=ball      go.under:perfective  
*?iti=lamisa: ?an*      *napan*                      *?idjaj=net.*  
oblique=table      go:perfective      locative=net  
'I kicked the ball and it passed under the table away to the net.' [Ilocano]
- (2) *phûan têt?*      *lûuk bôn*      *phân nâa*      *chân paj hâa*                      *càkkrayaan*  
friend kick ball                      pass in.front.of 1SG go approach.and.meet bicycle  
'(My) friend kicked the ball which passed in front of me away to the bicycle.' [Thai]

Following Bohnemeyer et al. (2007), we introduce the macro-event property (MEP) as a way to examine how ballistic caused motion events are morpho-syntactically packaged in the two languages. A construction expressing a complex event has the MEP if and only if temporal operators (e.g. *yesterday*, *instantly*, *at noon*) necessarily have scope over all subevents of the complex event. Ballistic caused motion events described with SVCs as in (1) and (2) primarily consist of two subevents, Ballistic causation and Caused motion. Thus, the possible segmentations are: (a) the two subevents are integrated into a single macro-event expression (an expression having the MEP) or (b) they are not. The results show the following. Ilocano SVCs for ballistic caused motion as in (1) do not have the MEP. In other words, the two subevents are not integrated into one macro-event expression, although the passing and arrival event described in (1) are integrated into a single macro-event expression. In contrast, Thai SVCs for Ballistic caused motion as in (2) have the MEP, and therefore they combine Ballistic causation and Caused motion more tightly than Ilocano SVCs.

To sum up, we show that the segmentation of complex motion events differs between the two verb-serializing languages. It is also shown that the two languages have SVCs with different properties. This study thus contributes to a better understanding of the range of variation in SVCs as well as in the segmentation of complex motion events.

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