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Serial Verbs in Finnish

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ABSTRACT

Serial verb construction (SVC) phenomena pose challenges to descriptivists and theoreticians alike (Newmayer 2004, Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, among many others). One recurring question is whether SVC is a language specific characteristic (cf. Stewart 2001) or whether it is a universally available construction utilized under specific conditions (cf. Déchaine 1993, Newmayer 2004, Muysken & Veenstra 2006). This study contributes to the debate with evidence from Finnish (Uralic language family), which has not previously been analyzed as a serializing language (contra Jarva & Kytölä 2007). Based on distributional facts as well as semantic and syntactic characteristics, we argue that the so called 'colorative construction' in Finnish is a SVC.
Keywords: Finnish, colorative construction, serial verb constructions, syntax, aspect, Aktionsart

1   Introduction

Finnish has a verbal construction (underlined in (1)-(3)) called colorative construction which combines two verbs: a non-finite verb (henceforth V_i) and a finite verb (V_{ii}). The structure is said to fulfill stylistic and aesthetic functions (Rytkönen 1937, Jarva & Kytölä 2007).

(1) Lintu laula-a helkyttel-i
     bird   sing-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG [2]
     'The bird sang like a small bell'

(2) Minä sinne lume-en kaatu-a tupsahd-i-n
     I   there snow-ILL fall-INF   IdPh-PAST-1SG
     'I tumbled into the snow' (with a soft, sudden, unexpected thud)

(3) Yrjölä-n   äijä   puhu-a lässytt-i
     Yrjölä-GEN old.man talk-INF   IdP -PAST.3SG
     'The old Yrjölä geezer babbled on'   (Sillanpää, Nobel laureate, 1919)

The construction obeys a particular morphosyntactic restriction: the V_{ii} must be inflected for tense and person, while V_i has to be in infinitive form. If the restriction is violated, i.e., if V_i is inflected for tense and person while V_{ii} is put in the infinitive, the construction becomes ungrammatical:

(4) *Lintu laulo-i   helkytel-lä
         bird   sing-PAST.3SG IdPh-INF

However, when the two verbs are used independently of each other, either verb can be tensed or infinitivized:[3]

(5a) Lintu laulo-i
      bird   sing-PAST.3SG
     'The bird sang'

(5b) Lintu alko-i laula-a
      bird   begin-PAST.3SG sing-INF
     'The bird began to sing'

(5c) Lintu helkyttel-i
      bird   IdPh-PAST.3SG
     'The bird tinkled like a small bell'

(5d) Lintu alko-i helkytel-lä
      bird   begin-PAST.3SG IdPh-INF
     'The bird began to tinkle like a small bell'

The ungrammaticality observed in (4) has neither been noted nor explained in previous analyses of the colorative construction (Rytkönen 1937, Ojutkangas 1998, Luttinen 2000, Jarva & Kytölä 2007). Our focus in this paper is the syntactic structure of and well-defined grammatical restrictions on the Finnish colorative construction, based on our own database. Specifically, we argue that the colorative constructions are serial verb constructions (henceforth, SVC). To our knowledge, there is no prior study that addresses the syntax of Finnish coloratitve constructions in detail or offers a survey of restrictions that pertain to this constriction.

Thus, our claims contribute both to the study of SVC and to the study of the colorative construction.[4] We add a Uralic language to the stock of SVC languages; moreover, we provide further evidence for a particular type of SVC, namely manner SVC (cf. Aikhenvald 2006:29). From the perspective of Finnish, we add a grammatically driven analysis (cf. Ojutkangas 1998) to pragmatically or stylistically motivated interpretations of colorative constructions (cf. Jarva & Kytölä 2007).

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. First, we outline our assumptions with respect to what counts as a SVC (section 2). In section 3 we then describe our corpus, and define the scope of our data, Finnish manner of motion SVC. In section 4 we examine the morphosyntactic, phonological and semantic characteristics of Finnish SVC and conclude by proposing an event type analysis of Finnish SVC. Earlier alternative approaches to colorative constructions are considered in section 5. Finally, we review questions still to be addressed (section 6).

2   What counts as SVC, and why

In determining the criteria for identifying SVC cross-linguistically, we must take into account the context of the larger debate on such constructions. Typological or theoretical inclinations notwithstanding, it is now recognized that both the empirical descriptions and theoretical analyses of SVC vary greatly: see Newmayer (2004), Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006) and Muysken & Veenstra (2006) for detailed overviews of general descriptive and theoretical issues. To avoid unnecessary repetition of content available in these excellent overviews, we simply briefly identify the issues disputed and the consensus attained as they pertain to the study at hand.

There are two main reasons for the disparity in the views on SVC: vagueness of the definition of what constitutes a SVC and the diversity in data. As Aikhenvald (2006:2) aptly puts it: "Serial verb constructions are grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions." Diverse means may be used to construct "a technique," and, therefore, it has been easy to assume that "serial verbs are so called because they, or at least the primary examples of them, involve verbs in series" (Zwicky 1990:2). As Zwicky (1990) is quick to point out, however, vastly diverse data fall under such a definition. This is exactly what has happened. Over the years, distinct types of SVC have been analyzed in numerous languages, using narrower, language specific definitions that may or may not be applicable to data cross-linguistically. Now the studies on SVC cover a vast amount of cross-linguistic data, ranging, e.g., from Niger Kongo Kwa languages to Carribean creoles (Awóyalé 1988, Sebba 1987, among many others). Moreover, the types of data vary: there is no one universally attested SVC; rather, SV constructions may be found in a range of domains from the functional (e.g., they may change aspectual or event type of a verb) to the lexical (e.g., they add a descriptive quality). Thus, diversity in data has led to diversity in perspectives on what constitutes a SVC. This proliferation has led some researchers to question even the existence of SVC (e.g., Delplanque 1998), while others have tried to isolate some abstract, cross-linguistically attested characteristics of SVC and argue for a universal SVC parameter (e.g., Stewart 2001). Currently, a consensus to disagree has been reached, acknowledging that the interpretation of SVC data and their analysis depend on the criteria chosen, be it descriptive or theoretical. Summarizing a number of pre-theoretical, typologically driven studies, Aikhenvald posits a multidimensional continuum, with several types, of SVC (2006:56-58). Newmayer (2004:15) sums up the status quo in the theoretical camp, stating that there is no one serialization parameter that everyone agrees upon, even within the same school of thought. We view this consensus to disagree as a temporary truce. We interpret the truce as an implicit working hypothesis: SVC do not form a homogeneous class; however, a principled overarching account of what the possible sub-classes there are, and, more importantly, how these sub-classes emerge, is yet to be proposed.

Given this context of agreement to disagree, for our study on Finnish we sought testable criteria rooted in the behaviour of SVC. In essence, we take the stance that a given language has SVC as long as it can be identified by properties distilled as being particular to the construction. We assume diagnostic criteria for SVC outlined in Muysken & Veenstra (1995; 2006).[5] To our knowledge, these criteria have not been contested. Moreover, the criteria have been applied to cross-linguistic data and used to identify SVC in sign languages (Benedicto et al. 2008). Thus, a "series of verbs" are SVC if they have:

> (i) only one expressed subject
> (ii) at most one expressed direct object
> (iii) one specification for tense/aspect
> (iv) only one possible negator
> (v) no intervening coordinating conjunction
> (vi) no intervening subordinating conjunction
> (vii) no intervening pause possible

Based on these criteria, one can test candidate sets of "verbs in series" and establish whether they behave as a SVC unit in terms of argument structure, functional projections and prosody. The

two verbs must share their arguments, whether the arguments are in subject and object position. Only one functional projection of tense/aspect and negation are allotted per SVC. The prohibitions on coordination and subordination rule out the interpretation of SVC as two independent phrases. Finally, the lack of pause between the two verbs within a SVC establishes that the verbs behave as a single prosodic constituent.[6]

In section 4, we show how the Finnish colorative constructions follow the assumed criteria, i.e., are SVC. We also discuss earlier analyses of the colorative construction. Before we delve into the analysis of the constructions, however, we explain what constitutes the corpus of our data.

3   The data corpus

In this section, we introduce our data corpus. In 3.1, we show the wealth of colorative constructions that are used in Finnish, and then limit our data set to the manner of motion colorative constructions. In Section 3.2., we explain the sources of our data collection, and the arrangement of the data sets. We conclude the section with a table of representative examples.

3.1 The broad range of Finnish colorative constructions

The colorative construction is typically used in narrative contexts, and its most common use is to indicate the manner of motion (cf. e.g. Ikola et al. 1989, Airola 2007):

(6)   Hiiri   juos-ta piipertä-ä
        mouse   run-INF IdPh-PRES.3SG
        'The mouse patters along'

(7)   Mutta silti men-nä ryski-tt-i-in   eteenpäin
        but   still go-INF   IdPh-PASSIVE-PAST-PASSIVE forwards
        'But still (they/the people) were crashing forwards'   Airola (2007: 68)

(8)   Tukki ui-ja   jolkotta-a
        log   swim-INF IdPh-PRES.3SG
        'The log is floating along'   Jarva (2003:76)

(9)   Kuka-han   tuala tul-la   kempuroitte-e
        who-EMPHASIS there come-INF IdPh-PRES.3SG
        'I wonder who's coming there (on stiff legs)'   Jarva (2003:76)

(10)   Varis lenti-ä kahnust-i   piha-n   ylitte
        crow fly-INF   IdPh-PAST.3SG yard-GEN over
        'The crow flew slowly over the yard'   Jarva (2003:76)

In manner of motion we also include examples that describe manner of non-motion:

(11)   Kosija istu-a jurotta-a   nurka-ssa
        suitor   sit-INF IdPh- PRES3SG corner-INE
        'The suitor sits in the corner withdrawn, silent, unapproachable'

(12) Äiti maa-ta retkotta-a flunssa-n kouri-ssa sohva-lla ja valitta-a
mother lie.down-INF IdPh-PRES.3SG flu-GEN grip-INE sofa-ADE and complain- PRES.3SG
'Mother lies sprawled on the couch in the grip of the flu and complains'

There are also plenty of colorative constructions that depict sensory experience, most often auditory (13), but also visual (14) or tactile (15).

(13) Lapsi itke-ä jollott-i kadonnut-ta karhu-a-an
child cry-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG lost-PART bear-part-3.POSS
'The child cried long and monotonously after her lost bear'

(14) Nyt, lukkari-Jutte, minä katso-a mulauta-n puolee-s...
now cantor-Jutte I look-INF IdPh- PRES1SG toward-2SG.POSS
'Now, Cantor Jutte, I look towards you (sideways, angrily)' (Kivi 1997: 217)

(15) Mopo-t aja-a täristä-vät katukiveykse-llä.
scooter-PL drive-INF IdPh- PRES3PL cobbled.stone-ADE
'The scooters are rattling on the cobbled stone street'

It is not easy or even possible to separate ideophones that would be specific to each of these distinct categories. This is due to the fact that the same ideophone may be used to express a number of different sensory experiences. For instance, the ideophone *täristävät* in (15) simultaneously refers to a rattling sound, a shaky movement and an uncomfortably bouncy feel of driving a small scooter on cobbled stones.

Besides the manner of motion or non-motion, colorative constructions may also indicate manner of ingesting (16), manner of speaking (17)-(18), bodily processes (19), manner of throwing (20), contact by impact (21), and even a change of possession (22) and so on (verb classes based on Levin 1993). Typically, there is either an auditory or visual aspect included in the implied meaning.

(16) Minkä muotois-ta voileipä-ä Kroko itse syö-dä rouskutta-a?
what shape-PART sandwich-PART Croc self eat-INF IdPh- PRES3SG
'What shape of a sandwich is Croc himself crunching on?'
(from advertising blurb for Lodge 2010)

(17) Kaikki puhu-a pölis-i-vät yh-tä aika-a
all speak-INF IdPh-PAST-3PL same-PART time-PART
'Everyone blathered on at the same time'

(18) Oppilas luke-a jorott-i puhee-nsa paperi-sta
student read-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG presentation-3.POSS paper-ELA
'The student read his/her presentation from the paper (in a droning voice)'

(19) Ukko sylkäis-tä pärskäytt-i lattia-lle
old.man spit-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG floor-ILL
'The old man spat on the floor with a splash'

(20) Leena heittä-ä paukautt-i kunnon löyly-t
      Leena throw-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG proper sauna.water-PL.ACC
      'Leena properly threw so much water [on the stones in the sauna], so that there was
      a banging sound'

(21) Rakennusmies iske-ä jymäyttel-i moukari-lla-an
      construction.worker hit-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG sledge.hammer-ADE-3.POSS
      'The construction worker hit with his/her sledgehammer so that it produced loud thumps'

(22) Anne myy-dä paukautt-i talo-nsa
      Anne sell-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG house-3.POSS
      'Anne sold her house (suddenly and surprisingly, i.e. with a bang)'

3.2   Corpus

The data for our present study consist of 720 tokens collected manually from diverse sources.
The published sources are: a recent Finnish grammar, two dictionaries, classical and modern
works of fiction, print magazines, folk songs, and traditional children's rhymes. Online sources
are: newspapers and journal articles, discussion forums and blog posts, advertising, and
YouTube clips. In addition, we elicited data from native speakers. Although our data base is not
large, it shows (i) most importantly, that the construction is productively used in modern
Finnish[7]; and (ii) that it can be found in formal and semi-informal registers alike.
Approximately half of examples in our data base were retrieved from two dictionaries of
standard Finnish: 262 tokens from the electronic version of *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* (2007, The
Dictionary of the [Finnish] Language Office); and 81 tokens from the first and second parts (A-I,
J-K) of *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (1996, Dictionary of Modern Finnish). The dictionaries were
systematically searched for occurrences of the colorative construction. For the electronic
dictionary, for each letter of the alphabet, we extracted all words ending in ***aa, ää, ta*** or ***tä***, which
are markers of the infinitival dictionary entry forms of Finnish verbs. Each of these lists were
then manually combed through for instances of the colorative constructions. For the printed
dictionary *Nykysuomen sanakirja*, entries were searched page by page in alphabetical order. In
both sources, bare dictionary entries of ideophones were not considered; only instances where
the colorative construction was used in a provided example were collected.
Four examples derive from the Finnish online grammar *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (2004). These
were discovered by searching for the term *koloratiivikonstruktio* (colorative construction).
138 samples were found in literary works of fiction, both Finnish classics and more
contemporary works (cf. list of sources in the reference section at the end of the paper). 24
examples appeared in newspapers or professional journal texts, seven in magazines, and three
come from traditional Finnish folk songs and children's rhymes. Four tokens appeared in a
speech given by the author Laila Hirvisaari (2004, available online, cf. data sources). Five
instances were found on YouTube, either as video clip titles or in spoken dialogue. Finally, 152
occurrences were collected from blogs, web forums, or websites.
All the examples from online and print sources other than the dictionaries and the grammar are
ones that the native Finnish speaking author has come across inadvertently. We have yet to come
up with a systematic method of searching for these constructions in fiction or online other than
example by example. The difficulty is due to the lack of means for data screening. Recall that the
first verb is neutral and, hence, can be found on its own or in numerous other constructions. The

ideophonic verb in each case is unique, and it is nearly impossible to predict in what combination the two verbs might occur.

42 tokens were obtained from a discussion-elicitation session with a group of native Finnish speakers. Eighteen participants (all female, between ages 26 and 78, from various dialect areas) were presented with ten sentences, each of which included a neutral verb that frequently occurs in the colorative construction. From a list of ten ideophonic verbs chosen by one of the authors, the participants were asked, in groups of three, to create colorative constructions for the sentences. Participants were also invited to propose ideophones that they might use outside of the original ten. The sentences were then discussed one at a time among the full group, allowing speakers to compare their choices and to assess how the choice of ideophone affected the meaning of the sentence. While no one outright challenged the grammaticality of others' choices, there were instances where clarification of meaning was requested. The author collected all tokens produced during the session. (23) shows a sample sentence frame and (24) lists the ideophones chosen by participants for this specific example.

(23)   Lapsi juos-ta ___ piha-n   poikki lyhy-i-llä   jalo-i-lla-an
     child   run-INF   yard-GEN across   short-PL-ADE foot-PL-ADE-3.POSS
     'Intended meaning: The child ran across the yard on his/her short legs'

(24a) hipsutt-i
     IdPh-PAST.3SG
     'ran lightly, with hardly any sound'

(24b) jumputt-i
     IdPh-PAST.3SG
     'ran with energy, creating a slight pounding sound'

(24c) retost-i
     IdPh-PAST.3SG
     'ran boisterously'

(24d) tikitt-i
     IdPh-PAST.3SG
     'ran with very short steps'

Table 1 below provides an overview of types of examples used in the study.

Table 1.

# of tokens	source	example
343	Dictionaries (print, CD-rom)	Lehmä nuol-la kahnutta-a kive-ä cow lick-INF IdPh-PRES.3SG rock-PART 'The cow is slowly, repeatedly licking the rock, creating a sound of friction'
4	Online grammar	Kaikki puhu-a pälätt-i-vät yh-tä aika-a all speak-INF IdPh-PAST-3PL same-PART time-PART 'Everyone talked rather loudly at the same time, not necessarily listening to each other'
138	Fiction	Yrjölä-n äijä puhu-a lässytt-i Yrjölä-GEN old.man talk-INF IdPh -PAST.3SG 'The old Yrjölä geezer babbled on' (F. E. Sillanpää)
3	Folk songs/rhymes	Tikka puu-ta koputta-a, jänis juos-ta laputta-a,.. woodpecker tree-PART knock- PRES.3SG rabbit run-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG 'A woodpecker knocks on a tree, a rabbit lopes on…'
4	Speech	Joku sylkäis-i kortti-in ja lyö-dä läiskäytt-i sen pöytä-än someone spit-PAST.3SG card-ILL and hit-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG it.ACC table-ILL 'Someone spat on the card and hit it on the table with a splat'
5	YouTube	… Kristo laula-a lurautta-a kaunii-n laulu-n Kristo sing-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG beautiful-ACC song-ACC 'Kristo cheerfully sings a beautiful song'
151	Web forums/blogs	Vappu tais-i kiro-ta täräyttä-ä suora-ssa lähetykse-ssä Vappu may-PAST.3SG swear-INF IdPh-INF straight-INE broadcast-INE 'Vappu seems to have blast a swearing expression in a live broadcast'
31	News/journals/magazines	...seiväshypy-n ME-nainen Jelena Isinbajeva itke-ä tihrust-i... pole.vault-GEN world.record-woman J. I. cry-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG 'The pole-vault world record holding female J.I. sniffled…'
1	Online advertising	Minkä muotois-ta voileipä-ä Kroko itse syö-dä rouskutta-a? what shape-PART sandwich-PART Croc self eat-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG 'What shape of a sandwich is Croc himself crunching on?'
42	Elicitation	Lapsi juos-ta hipsutt-i piha-n poikki lyhy-i-llä jalo-i-lla-an child run-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG yard-GEN across short-PL-ADE foot-PL-ADE-3.POSS 'The child ran nearly soundlessly across the yard on his/her short legs'

4   Finnish manner of motion SVC

This section presents evidence to support our claim that Finnish colorative constructions are SVC. Specifically, we argue that assuming the set of criteria outlined in section 2, the two verbs

that appear in the colorative construction can be identified as a single constituent, SVC (section 4.1). Furthermore, in section 4.2 we show that there are language specific properties associated with both V_i and V_{ii} (cf. also Rytkönen 1937, Ikola et al. 1989, Jarva & Kytölä 2007). At the end of the section 4.2 we go over the views alternative to our proposal. In 4.3, we outline our proposed syntactic structure for Finnish SVC.

4.1   Finnish manner of motion colorative constructions meet SVC criteria

Finnish SVC have only one expressed subject, *mummu* 'granny' in (25a). If another subject is added, e.g., *vaari* 'grampa', the expression becomes ungrammatical, as illustrated in (25b):

(25a)   Mummu kävel-lä köntyst-i
      granny   walk-INF   IdPh-PAST.3SG
      'The granny trudged along (= walked slowly and stiffly)'

(25b) *Mummu kävel-lä vaari köntyst -i
      granny   walk-INF grampa IdPh-PAST.3SG
      Intended: *'Granny to walk Grampa trudged'

Two subjects are possible, but only if the SVC is broken apart. Then the two verbs become independent, coordinated predicates with individual tense marking: [8]

(26)   Mummu kävel-i   ja vaari köntyst-i
      granny   walk-PAST.3SG and grampa IdPh-PAST.3SG
      'Granny walked and Grampa trudged'

The second property ascribed to SVC is that they have at most one expressed direct object. This is true of Finnish SVC, too. In (27a), *ikkunan* 'the window' is the only object. The insertion of a second object, *lasin* 'the glass', is ungrammatical, as (27b) shows.

(27a)   Anssi iske-ä täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi hit-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken
      'Anssi hit (smashed) the window broken'

(27b) *Anssi iske-ä ikkuna-a   täräytt-i   lasi-n   rikki
      Anssi hit-INF   window-PART IdPh-PAST.3SG glass-ACC broken
      Intended: 'Anssi hit the window so hard that he broke the glass'

Once the SVC is transformed into two consecutive events, two objects are possible:

(28)   Anssi isk-i   ikkuna-a   ja täräytt-i   lasi-n   rikki
      Anssi   hit-PAST.3SG window-PART   and IdPh-PAST.3SG glass-ACC broken
      Intended: 'Anssi hit the window and he smashed the glass broken'

The third property of SV, only one specification for tense betweent the two verbs, also holds for the Finnish SVC. The first verb in the colorative construction appears in the infinitive form, and

the second verb in a tensed form, as we have seen in all the grammatical examples hitherto. If one attempts to inflect both verbs for tense, the expression becomes ungrammatical.[9] For example, in (29) and (30), one verb is inflected for present, the other past tense, and the resulting sentences are ungrammatical.

(29) *Anssi juokse-e   lönkytt -i
      Anssi   run-PRES.3sg IdPh-PAST.3sg
      Intended: 'Anssi runs trudged'

(30) *Anssi   juoks-i   lönkyttä-ä
      Anssi   run-PAST.3SG IdPh-PRES.3SG
      Intended: 'Anssi ran trudges'

In addition to one specification for tense, only one specification for aspect - the internal time of event- per SVC is allowed. To demonstrate how this applies to Finnish data, we used the adverbial 'for x time/in x time' test (Verkuyl 1972). In (31), the SVC is an activity predicated without an inherent endpoint, therefore it is felicitous with the 'for x time' adverbial, and ungrammatical with the 'in x time' adverbial which picks out predicates with endpoints.

(31)   Mummu kävel-lä   köntyst-i   tunni-n ajan /*tunni-ssa
      granny   walk-INF   IdPh-PAST.3SG hour-GEN time / hour-INE
      'The granny trudged along for an hour/*in an hour'

Conversely, in (32), the SVC predicate *iskeä täräytti* is an achievement type predicate with an inherent endpoint which makes it ungrammatical with the 'for x time' adverbial:

(32)   Anssi iske-ä täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki hetke-ssä /*hetke-n   ajan
      Anssi   hit-INF   IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken instant-INE / instant-GEN time
      'Anssi hit (smashed) the window broken in an instant/*for an instant'

If the two verbs do not form a SV construction, their aspectual classes may differ. For example, *käveli* and *täräytti* are of different aspectual classes, yet they can be coordinated:

(33)   Anssi kävel-i   ympäri huone-tta ja lopulta täräytt-i   nyrkki-nsä   poytä-än
      Anssi   walk-PAST.3SG around   room-PART and finally IdPh-PAST.3SG fist-3.POSS   table-ILL
      'Anssi walked around the room and finally slammed his fist on the table'

Finnish SVC also meet the fourth criterion: only one negator is allowed per SVC. In (34) we see that *ei* suffices to express negation of the event.

(34)   Sen jälkeen mummu ei   enää   kävel-lä   köntystä-nyt
      that after   granny   not.3SG anymore walk-INF   IdPh-PAST. PARTICIPLE [10]
      'After that, the granny did not trudge along anymore'

More than one negator is not allowed. If another negator is inserted as in (35), it renders the expression ungrammatical:

(35) *Sen jälkeen mummu ei   enää   kävel-lä ei(-kä)   köntystä-nyt
      that after   granny   not.3SG anymore walk-INF   not. 3SG(-NOR) IdPh- PAST.PARTICIPLE
      Intended: 'After that, the granny did not walk nor trudge anymore'

With verbs that express separate events and do not form a SVC, one may have more than one negator:

(36) Sen jälkeen mummu ei   enää   kävel-lyt   ei-kä   köntystä-nyt
      that after   granny   not.3SG anymore walk-PAST.PARTICIPLE not.3SG-NOR IdPh-PAST. PARTICIPLE
      'After that, the granny did not walk nor trudge anymore'

Neither an intervening coordinating nor subordinating conjunction is allowed in SVC. Finnish is no exception to the rule: if either type of conjunction is inserted, the result is ungrammatical as we can see in (37). 1n (37a), the coordinating *ja* is used, while in (37b), the subordinating *niin että*.

(37a) *Anssi iske-ä ja täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi   hit-INF   and IdPh-PAST.3SG   window-ACC broken
      Intended: 'Anssi hit and so hard that the window broke'

(37b) *Anssi iske-ä niin että täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi   hit-INF   so   that   IdPh-PAST.3SG   window-ACC broken
      Intended: 'Anssi hit so hard that the window broke'

With the insertion of the conjunctions the SVC is dissolved, and one event is transformed into a sequence of two events. This requires each verb to bear its own tense:

(38) Anssi isk-i   ja täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi   hit-PAST.3SG   and IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken
      'Anssi hit and (he) smashed the window broken'

(39) Anssi isk-i   niin että täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi   hit-PAST.3SG   so   that   IdPh-PAST.3SG window- ACC broken
      'Anssi hit so hard that (he) smashed the window broken'

The final property of SVC to be considered is their prosodic status. An intervening pause is not allowed between the two verbs, i.e., a SVC construction is one constituent in terms of prosody. Finnish SVC again meet this criterion, as shown in the examples below: insertion of a pause (indicated by |) is ungrammatical.

(40) *Anssi iske-ä | täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
      Anssi hit-INF   PAUSE   IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken
      Intended: 'Anssi hit so hard that the window broke.'

If the SVC is deconstructed by separating the two verbs into individually tensed events, then a pause can set the verbs apart, too.

(41a) Anssi isk-i | niin että täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
       Anssi hit-PAST.3SG PAUSE   so   that   IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken
       'Anssi hit so that he smashed the window broken'

(41b) Anssi isk-i, | täräytt-i   ikkuna-n   rikki
       Anssi hit-PAST.3SG PAUSE IdPh-PAST.3SG window-ACC broken
       'Anssi hit, smashed the window broken'

We have shown how Muysken & Veenstra's (1995; 2006) criteria for SVC apply to the Finnish colorative construction. Thus, we conclude that the 'colorative constructions' are best analyzed as SVC. Note that, conversely, Finnish verbs that are not SVC have not met the set criteria. To date, this is the first study that compares what we call serial verbs versus non-serial verbs in Finnish. Table 2 provides a summary of the SVC properties in contrast to verbal constructions that are not SVC.

Table 2. Properties of Finnish SV versus non-SV construction

Finnish	One subject	One object	One tense	One aspect	One negator	Co-ordination	Sub-ordination	Pause
SV	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗
V (and) V	varies	varies	varies	varies	varies	✓	✓	✓

The Finnish colorative construction has previously been an object of study by a small number of Finnish linguists (Rytkönen 1937, Luttinen 2000, Hamunen 2007, Jarva & Kytölä 2007; cf. also Ikola et al. 1989, Sivula 1989, Airola 2007, Jomppanen 2009).[11] Although the idea of treating them as a SVC has been entertained by Ojutkangas (1998), Airola (2007), and Jarva & Kytölä (2007), no full-fledged, syntactically motivated account has ever been offered.
Airola (2007: 91-92) pointed out that the colorative constructions display semantic properties associated with SVCs; however, her study addresses verb-verb sequences coordinated with *ja* 'and'. On one hand, our account is not limited to semantic properties as we seek to reveal grammatical restrictions. On the other hand, we specifically rule out any coordinated verb-verb sequences. Thus, neither Airola's exclusively semantic point of view nor the data focus make the two analyses comparable.
Ojutkangas (1998: 115–117) observed that the colorative construction is a "serial verb-like" construction, in that the two verbs encode a single event – they permit only one subject and share a single tense. However, as Ojutkangas' thesis investigated numerous asyndetic verbal expressions in different Finno-Ugric languages, it did not offer a detailed account of the syntactic properties of CC.

Jarva & Kytölä (2007: 240) rule out the Finnish colorative construction being a SVC for two reasons: the presence of infinitive marking, and the particular descriptive function that the colorative construction serves. Under our view, the infinite affixation is not problematic, because the infinitive is simply a non-finite citation form needed to constructu a CC (bare verb roots cannot stand alone in Finnish). We still adhere to one-finite-form-per-SVC constraint, i.e., one tense/aspect criterion: only one finite form is allowed. The issue of the descriptive function of the construction does not concern us either. We assume that SVCs have a diversity of functions across languages, and descriptive function is not excluded (cf. Aikhenvald 2006 and references therein). The point of divergence is the perspective taken. Jarva & Kytölä (2007; see also Ojutkangas 1998:115-117), crucially, assume Givón's (1991) functional approach to what counts as a SVC, while we look for grammatical constraints (both the ones listed in Muysken & Veenstra (1995; 2006) as well as language internal ones). Under our view, the diversity of functions is not problematic as long as the assumed grammatical constraints are obeyed.

In sum, the purely functional or semantic accounts have thus far excluded the morphosyntactic facts. In contrast, our analysis of the Finnish colorative constructions as SVC is rooted in morphosyntax, with complementing semantic and phonological evidence.

Having shown the properties of SVC as a single constituent, we now turn to a discussion of its internal make up. In the following section we examine further properties of Vi and V_{ii}, and show how the individual properties of each verb are in line with our proposal.

4.2   Language specific properties of SVC

In this section we explore properties specific to verbs that constitute manner of motion SVC. We demonstrate that V_i is usually - but not exclusively - a verb denoting an event devoid of manner. We then identify V_{ii} as ideophone.

Let us first discuss the nature of V_i as an event without manner. While compiling the data corpus for our study, we observed that some verbs are allowed in V_i position, while others, although similar in their lexical meaning, are not allowed in V_i. For example, the verb 'to come' of example (42a) may not be substituted by the verb 'to appear' of (42b):

  (42a)   Vieraa-t tul-la   tupsaht-i-vat yhtäkkiä
            guest-PL come-INF IdPh-PAST-3PL suddenly
            'The guests popped up all of a sudden'

  (42b) #Vieraa-t ilmesty-ä tupsaht-i-vat yhtäkkiä
            guest-PL   appear-INF IdPh-PAST-3PL suddenly
          'The guests appeared all of a sudden'

In a non-SVC environment 'to appear' may substitute for 'to come':

  (43a) Vieraa-t tul-i-vat   yhtäkkiä
           guest-PL   come-PAST-3PL suddenly
          'The guests came all of a sudden'

(43b) Vieraa-t ilmesty-i-vät yhtäkkiä
       guest-PL appear-PAST-3PL suddenly
       'The guests appeared all of a sudden'

Similarly, 'to topple over' is not accepted instead of 'to fall' in the SVC, as example (44) shows.

(44a)   Vanha puu kaatu-a   kellaht-i   kumoon tuule-ssa
         old   tree   fall.over-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG over   wind-INE
         'The old tree fell over suddenly and lightly in the wind'

(44b)   #Vanha puu keikahta-a   kellaht-i   kumoon tuule-ssa
         old   tree topple.over-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG over   wind-INE
         ??'The old tree fell toppled over suddenly and lightly in the wind'

Again, in a non-SVC environment the substitution is possible:

(45a)   Vanha puu kaatu-i   kumoon tuule-ssa
         old   tree fall.over-PAST.3SG over   wind-INE
         'The old tree fell over in the wind'

(45b)   Vanha puu keikaht-i   kumoon tuule-ssa
         old   tree topple.over-PAST.3SG over   wind-INE
         'The old tree fell toppled over in the wind'

There are two reasons for the observed ungrammaticality. One reason is semantic: in the Finnish SVC, there is a strong preference to have the V_i slot filled by verbs that denote events without manner. In other words, the description of manner - how an event takes place - usually does not form a part of the lexical entry for V_i. The manner of the event is usually encoded by V_{ii} (Airola 2007:91, footnote 1 has a similar observation).
There is independent evidence that many of the V_i are, in fact, 'bleached' in their meaning. Verbs found in V_i slot are also encountered in verb-adjective constructions that utilize mannerless verbs, exemplified in (46)-(47):

(46a)   Kengä-t tul-i-vat   kura-is-i-ksi
         shoe-PL   come-PAST-3PL mud-ADJ-PL-TRANS
         'The shoes got muddy'

(46b)   Kengä-t kura-antu-i-vat
         shoe-PL   mud-V-PAST-3PL
         'The shoes got muddy'

(47a)   Työ tul-i   valmii-ksi
         work come-PAST-3PL ready-TRANS
         'The work got finished'

(47b) Työ valmis-tu-i
       work ready-V-PAST-3PL
     'The work got finished'

(48a) Mies tul-i   hike-en
       man   come-PAST-3PL sweat-ILL
     'The man got sweaty'

(48b) Mies hies-ty-i
       man sweat-V-PAST.3SG
     'The man got sweaty'

In the (47a)-(48a) examples, the verb *tulla* 'to come' appears either with adjectival objects in the translative case or nominal objects in illative. In the (47b)-(48b) sentences, the *tulla* + Adj/N constructions are replaced with deadjectival or denominal verbs. The meanings of the (a) and (b) sentences are identical.

      The mannerless V_i examples are the dominant tendency. There are, however, some instances where a semantically more specific verb surfaces as V_i. There are about thirty such examples in our corpus, i.e., approximately four percent of the data. For example, the following constructions involve two entries for 'lick'. With respect to manner, the entry in (49) is more neutral than the entry in (50):

(49) Lehmä nuol-la kahnutta-a   kive-ä
      cow   lick-INF   IdPh- PRES.3SG rock-PART
     'The cow is slowly, repeatedly licking the rock, creating a sound of friction'
                                          (*Nykysuomen sanakirja* 2:136)

(50) Lehmä lipais-ta   lutkautt-i   kive-ä
      cow   lick.once-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG rock-PART
     'The cow licked the rock once, in that wet and somewhat icky way that cows do'

 The lexical entries for these two verbs in *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (1996) are:

(51) Nuolla: sivellä, pyyhkiä, lipoa kielellään
      'To lick: to daub, to wipe, to lick with one's tongue'

(52) Lipaista: pyyhkäistä t. hipaista kielellään, nuolaista
      'To lick: to take a wipe or to brush with one's tongue, to take a lick'

Examples such as those above show that mannerless semantics of the V_i cannot be the only constraint on verbs appearing as V_i. In section 4.3, we argue that the mannerless-ness of the V_i falls out as an expected (but not obligatory) property of the SVC construction as a whole, once we take into account the properties of V_{ii}. Before we propose what bond holds V_i and V_{ii} as a unit, lets us take a look at the V_{ii}.

As is true of the V_i position, in the V_{ii} position also only a subset of verbs may appear. We argue that this is a syntactic restriction, in that verbs in this position exhibit particular properties. The

properties we have identified are: flexibility in sound, elasticity of semantics and co-occurrence with –ise/-inA affixes.

Example (53) exemplifies that not all verbs can be used as V_{ii} of Finnish SVC. The two verbs in (a) and (b) placed in V_{ii} are identical in their grammatical form, and, therefore, would be expected to be equally acceptable, yet this is not the case: example (b) is ungrammatical.

(53a) Minä sinne lume-en kaatu-a tupsahd-i-n
   I there snow-ILL fall-INF IdPh-PAST-1SG
   'I tumbled into the snow' (with a soft, sudden, unexpected thud)

(53b) *Minä sinne lume-en kaatu-a putos-i-n
   I there snow-ILL fall-INF drop-PAST-1SG
   'I fell into the snow'

The reason for ungrammaticality is the choice in V_{ii}. We argue that only ideophonic verbs can be used as V_{ii} in Finnish. We define ideophones as linguistic elements that highlight sensual perception of the world by sound, vision, or touch from a speaker's perspective. The range of expressive senses encoded by ideophones differs across languages. The grammatical status and lexical category of ideophones may also vary, and often are language-specific (for more discussion, see Bodomo 1998, 2006, Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001). In Finnish, various morpho-phonological, semantic, and syntactic-pragmatic tendencies have been proposed to identify ideophones.

Mikone (2001) examines the phonological structure of Finnish ideophones. Citing research on the Kihtelysvaara dialect of Finnish, she observes that the vowel ö appears unusually frequently (more than 80% of the Kihtelysvaara dictionary words beginning with ö or Cö are ideophones). Mikone also points out a difference in the occurrence of initial consonant clusters in non-ideophonic and ideophonic words. While older Indo-European loan words have reduced such clusters to a single consonant, in ideophones clusters are relatively common. At the same time, only a very reduced number of initial consonant clusters are permitted in ideophones. While recent Indo-European loan words permit twelve possible clusters: [fl-], [fr-], [kl-], [kn-], [kr-], [pl-], [pr-], [sl-], [sm-], [sn-], [sp-], [sr-], [st-], [sv-], only four of these clusters appear in ideophones: [kl-], [kr-], [pl-], [pr].

Mikone (2001) as well as Jarva (2008) remark on an unusual characteristic of this word type. In ideophones meaning is not necessarily affected by a change in sound structure. For instance, *löyhöttää – löyhyttää – leyhyttää – leyhytellä – leuhuttaa – leuhottaa* all mean the same thing (Mikone 2001:227). Such variation is not normally permitted in the language: *mökkiä* 'hut' and *mykkiä* '(the) dumb (ones)'; *kuva* 'picture' vs. *kova* 'hard' etc. form minimal pairs. This phonological trait has semantic consequences, as Jarva (2003:72) remarks: the meanings of Finnish ideophones are flexible. More or less the same meaning can be expressed with a number of ideophones, as seen above, and the same ideophone can be used in various contexts. For example, the ideophone *jumputtaa* can appear in very dissimilar circumstances:

(54) Pari elä-ä jumputta-a päivä-n kerrallaan
   pair live-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG day-ACC at.a.time
   'The pair is living a day at a time, i.e. the days thump by at a regular rhythm'

(55) Kone   käy-dä jumputta-a   hiljakseen
     machine work-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG slowly
     'The machine is working relatively quietly, with a regular thumping rhythm'

(56) Lapsi juos-ta jumputta-a   piha-n poikki lyhy-i-llä jalo-i-lla-an
     child   run-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG yard-GEN across short-PL-ADE foot-PL-ADE-3POSS
     'The child runs across the yard at a steady beat on his/her short legs'

The non-ideophonic V_i verbs in these sentences do not display the same kind of semantic elasticity:

(57) *Pari käy-dä jumputta-a   päivä-n kerrallaan
     pair live-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG day-ACC at.a.time
     Intended meaning: 'The pair is living a day at a time, i.e. the days thump by at a regular rhythm'

(58) *Kone juos-ta jumputta-a   hiljakseen
     machine work-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG slowly
     Intended meaning: 'The machine is working slowly, with a regular thumping rhythm'

(59) *Lapsi elä-ä jumputta-a   piha-n poikki lyhy-i-llä jalo-i-lla-an
     child   run-INF IdPh- PRES.3SG yard-GEN across short-PL-ADE foot-PL-ADE-3POSS
     Intended meaning: 'The child runs across the yard at a steady beat on his/her short legs'

Due to this semantic fuzziness of ideophonic interpretation, Jarva (2003: 75) observes that such terms are context-bound within the clause, i.e. their exact meaning is determined by the infinitival verb in a CC. The definition of *jumputtaa* in *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* (2009) is:

     'of monotonous, even doing or of a relatively loud, throbbing, low sound'

While a number of such phonological, semantic and morpho-syntactic traits have been associated with Finnish ideophones by Mikone (2001) and Jarva (2003), no criteria have been identified that apply to all ideophones; rather, stronger or weaker tendencies have been documented (as also commented by Jarva 2003: 70). Moreover, the boundaries between ideophonic and non-ideophonic roots are not clear. Semantically, ideophonic roots are often onomatopoeic (based on sound) or descriptive in some other way (of movement, light, position). This is what a typical dictionary entry looks like:

(60) *Nykysuomen sanakirja* (1996):

käkättää   onom.v.   ääntää katkonaisesti kä-kä-kä; puhua änkyttäen, jankuttaen, inttäen
'Onomatopoeic verb - to make a choppy kä-kä-kä sound; to speak stutteringly, naggingly'

kähmiä   deskr.v.   liikkua t. toimia haparoiden, hiiviskellä, hääräillä salaa jossk.
'Descriptive verb   - to move or act fumblingly, to tip-toe, to busy oneself secretively'

While we take the descriptive entries into account, we do not rely on a dictionary list alone. We use additional tests to ascertain that a particular verb is an ideophonic one. Specifically, we rely on the fact the roots that appear with the verbalizing suffix *-ise* and the nominalizing suffix *-inA* are always ideophonic (cf. Jarva 2003), here exemplified in (61):

(61a)　Lattia　töm-ise-e　　　　laste-n　　juost-e-ssa
　　　　　floor　　IdPh-ISE- PRES.3SG　child-PL-GEN　run-E.INF-INE
　　　　　'The floor thumps while the children are running'

(61b)　　Juoksu-n　töm-inä　kuulu-u　luoka-sta
　　　　　　run-GEN　　IdPh-INA　sound-3SG　classroom-ELA
　　　　　　'The thump of running can be heard from the classroom'

While not all ideophonic verbs in V$_{ii}$ position bear these suffixes, crucially, non-ideophonic verbs never accept either suffix, as can be seen in (62). This is yet another piece of data evidence revealing morpho-syntactic behavior particular to ideophones. Here we attempted use of *-ise* and *-inA* with the non-ideophonic verb *juosta* 'to run'.

(62a)　*Lapse-t juoks-ise-vat　　　meluisasti
　　　　　child-PL　run-ISE- PRES.3PL　noisily
　　　　　'The children run noisily'

(62b)　*Las-te-n　　juoks-ina kuulu-u　　　　luoka-sta
　　　　　child-PL-GEN　run-INA　　sound- PRES.3SG　classroom-ELA
　　　　　'The children's running can be heard from the classroom'

Thus, in conlusion, we have argued that the V$_{ii}$ position is restricted to ideophonic verbs that exhibit the following properties:

Table 3

Property	ideophonic V	non-ideophonic V
sound change relevance	✗	✓
semantic elasticity	✓	✗
–ise/-inA affixation	✓	✗

Note that we rule out the possibility that the V$_{ii}$ is some sort of an adverbial. If adverbials were to occur in this position, we would expect any adverb to surface in a finite tensed form. This is not the case. Consider the following data. When adverbials modify verbs, they are formed from adjectives with the help of suffix *-sti* (akin to English adverbial suffix *-ly*):

(63a) meluisa tömInä
      noisy   IdPh-INA
      'the noisy thumping'

(63b) Lattia tömise-e   meluisa-sti
      floor   IdPh- PRES.3SG noisy-ly
      'The floor thumps/thunders noisily'

(64a) reipas juoksu
      brisk   run
      'a brisk run'

(64b) Poika juokse-e   reippaa-sti
      boy   run- PRES.3SG brisk-ly
      'The boy is running briskly'

However, if we try to use these adverbials with tense inflection in the V_{ii} position of the SVC, the result is ungrammatical:

(65)   *Lattia tömis-tä meluisasti-i
        floor   IdPh-INF noisily-PRES.3SG
        Intended meaning: 'The floor thumps/thunders noisily'

(66)   *Poika juos-ta reippaasti-i
        boy   run-INF briskly- PRES.3SG
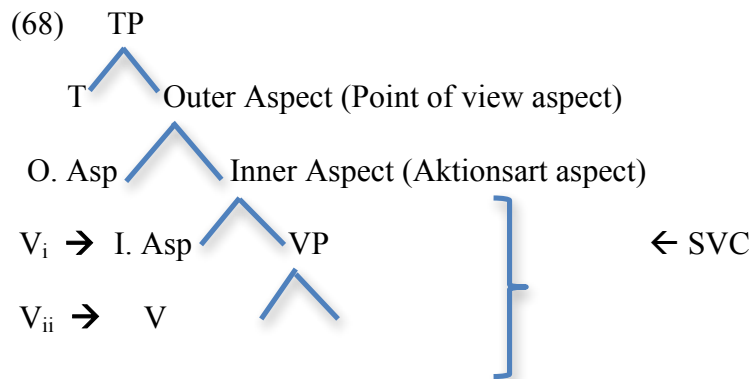   Intended meaning: 'The boy is running briskly'

4.3   Proposal: V_i is Aktionsart

In the previous sections, we have looked at V_i and V_{ii} in detail, as two distinct elements with distinct properties within a SVC. In this section, we introduce our working hypothesis on what holds the two verbs together and makes them a syntactic atom.

We have already shown that V_{ii} in Finnish SVC provides rich descriptive information, i.e., the manner of an event (hence the colorativeness of the construction). A hitherto overlooked fact is that V_{ii} lacks specificity of an event kind. Namely, V_{ii} may be compatible with events of different kinds as illustrated in the examples below, where the same V_{ii} *retostaa* co-occurs with two distinct V_i, *kävellä* 'to walk' and *elää* 'to live':

(67a) Kurkiperhe ...käve-llä retosta-a jälkeläis-i-ne-en näyti-llä.
      crane.family   walk-INF IdPh-3SG offspring-PL-3POSS display-ADE
      'The crane family is walking proudly showing off its offspring'

(67b) Yläluokka elä-ä retost-i   omi-ssa maailmo-i-ssa-an
      upper.class   live-INF IdPh-PAST.3SG own-INE   world-PL-INE-3POSS
      'The upper class lived showily in its own world (and spent the state's money…)'

While the *manner* instantiated by V_{ii} remains constant, 'to show off' in this particular example, the *event* instantiated by V_i changes from 'walk' to 'live'. To put it schematically, V_i provides the event, while V_{ii} describes it. Based on examples of this kind we propose that V_i is a spell-out of an aspectual head, namely Aktionsart. Aktionsart is defined as lexical aspect: it classifies verbs based on their inherent event type (Rothstein 2004, among others). Four event types are recognized as Aktionsart: activity (e.g., *walk*), state (e.g., *live*), achievement (e.g., *blink*) and accomplishment (e.g., *climb a mountain*). The event types are usually considered inherent to verbs in the sense that there is no overt morpheme on the verb that would indicate a particular Aktionsart class. However, (67) shows that Finnish V_{ii} is comparable with more than one event type, i.e., it is underspecified for a particular event class. Thus, we propose that V_i introduces an event to complement the V_{ii}: the entire SVC obtains the Aktionsart specification of V_i. Structurally, a Finnish SVC would look as follows:

(68)   TP

         T   Outer Aspect (Point of view aspect)

      O. Asp   Inner Aspect (Aktionsart aspect)

   V_i → I. Asp   VP   ← SVC

   V_{ii} →   V

As indicated above, SVC spans across two heads, V and Aktionsart, where manner is encoded by V_{ii} and event type is provided by V_i. This working hypothesis captures our data well and is in line with observations about the properties of both V_i and V_{ii}.

If we argue that the two verbs form an atomic unit spanning two heads, then we need to explain how it is posible that *both* verbs are inflected: V_i is in an infinitive form while V_{ii} inflects for tense, person and number. It has been observed for other constructions identified as SVC that typically one of the verbs is in some uninflected form (see typological data in Aikhenvald 2006, Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001). Thus, the presence of the infinitive affixation appears to be a problem. We argue, however, that the infinitive form is the only available citation form that is grammatical in Finnish. We observe that Finnish does not allow bare verbs roots, as illustrated in (69).

(69)   Minä aio-n   juos-ta /*juos kauppa-an
        I   plan.to- PRES.1SG   run- INF/   run   store- ILL
        'I plan to run to the store'

In other words, Finnish verbs must bear some sort of inflection. We conclude that the –*a* (traditionally known as the first) infinitive is the most neutral verb form. It is the form of a verb found in dictionary and grammar entries. Finnish has two other infinitival forms: -e and -ma infinitives. While the -*a* infinitive appears in a wide range of functions (in dictionary and grammar entries, following auxiliary verbs, in a wide range of embedded nonfinite complement clauses, and in rationale adjunct clauses), the other two infinitives have more restricted distribution: the -*e* infinitive is used in temporal and manner adjunct clauses, and the –*ma*

infinitive in a small number of complement and adjunct clauses and as a prenominal modifier. It is also worth noting that the -*a* infinitive is the most verbal of the three nonfinite forms in Finnish in that the -*a* verb never bears nominal inflection. The -*e* and -*ma* infinitives always appear with number, case and possessive marking (cf. e.g. Koskinen 1998). If the infinitive within the SVC were more than citation form, we could expect the other infinitive types to appear in the construction. This is not possible. Only the least marked -*a* form may appear in the SVC, as illustrated in (70).

(70a) Minä juos-ta viuhahda-n kauppa-an
     I   run-A.INF   IdPh- PRES.1SG store- ILL
    'I'll quickly nip over to the store'

(70b) *Minä juos-te viuhahda-n kauppa-an
     I   run-E.INF   IdPh- PRES.1SG store- ILL
    'I'll quickly nip over to the store'

(70c) *Minä juos-ma viuhahda-n kauppa-an
     I   run-MA.INF IdPh- PRES.1SG store- ILL
    'I'll quickly nip over to the store'

We conclude that the presence of the infinitive marking on the V_i verb is not a counter argument against our Aktionsart head proposal. For a more detailed account of the internal structure of Finnish SVC and the theoretical implications of the proposal, see Armoskaite & Koskinen (in prep).

5   Conclusions and further questions

The main empirical goal of the paper has been to argue for Finnish colorative constructions as SVC. Our analysis is based on an examination of the morpho-syntactic properties of the structure in relation to criteria outlined for serial verbs by Muysken & Veenstra (1995; 2006). We have also discussed the nature of the two verb types that appear in the construction, identifying the first one as a neutral verb unspecified for manner, and the second as an ideophone that supplies such manner specification. Moreover, we have proposed that the existence of this serial verb structure is due to a deficiency in the event type of the ideophonic V_{ii}: they lack Aktionsart specification, which, in turn, is provided by V_i.

We have shown that a SVC account of the constructions is in line with their morphosyntactic behavior. Such an account offers insight into the morpho-syntax of Finnish that goes beyond the stylistic impact that has been the usual focus of studies on this structure (cf. e.g. Rytkönen 1937, Luttinen 2000). Moreover, our study is supported by the data corpus compiled from a range of sources, which has not been done before.

This study also contributes to the discussion on the grammaticalization of ideophones. Although the range of grammatical guises of ideophones has been observed (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001; Newman 1968), the use of non-ideophonic verbs for Aktionsart specification has not been discussed, to the best of our knowledge (note the discussion of grammatical rather than lexical aspect in ideophones of Pastaza-Quechua in Nuckolls 1996). Thus, our analytical contribution is the proposed analysis of the grammatical roles within Finnish SVC: event and Aktionasart heads.

The following questions will be the goal of our on-going research.

With respect to colorative constructions, we have limited our data to motion predicates. It remains to be seen whether our observations extend to other classes of verbs. If they do not, we will investigate what it tells us about the heterogeneity of the colorative constructions and the reasons behind any variation.

With respect to the SVC account, the internal structure of SVC construction requires further elaboration. As a working hypothesis, we have posited that the first verb in the Finnish SVC can be analyzed as an overt head of Aktionsart aspect. The data introduced hitherto is in line with such a hypothesis. However, we need to find independent evidence in support of spelling out an Aktionsart head, as well as to ascertain what implications this proposal has for Finnish grammar as a whole (see Armoskaite & Koskinen in prep). To that end, we will compare Aktionsart behaviour of regular verbal predicates with that of the SVC predicates, exploring similarities and differences. We will also test the effect of aspectual affixes on SVC: which affixes do and do not select for SVC, and why. Yet another venue to explore will be the shift from one Aktionsart type into another. This will provide valuable insight into the mechanics of Aktionsart, given that overtly spelled out Aktionsart heads are rare.

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Loviisan Sanomat.
Satakunnan Kansa.
Savon Sanomat.
Uusi Suomi.

[2] The following abbreviations are used throughout the paper:
Verbal suffixes: IdPh – ideophone; INF – A infinitive –*(t)A* 'to Verb'; E-INF – E infinitive (used for time & manner expressions) *-(t)e*; PRES – present tense, unmarked; PAST – past tense *-i*; 1,2,3.SG & 1,2,3.PL – subject-verb agreement 1SG *-n*, 2SG *-t*, 3SG *-V,* 1PL *-mme*, 2PL *-tte*, 3PL *-vAt*
Nominal suffixes: SG – Singular, unmarked; PL – Plural *-t/-i* ; POSS – Possessive suffixes 1SG *-ni*, 2SG *-si*, 1PL *-mme*, 2PL *-tte*, 3person *-nsA* (3rd person singular and plural possessive suffixes are identical and indicated with '3Poss'); NOM – Nominative,unmarked; PAR – Partitive *-(t)A*; ACC – Accusative (= non-partitive objects), unmarked or *-n* ; GEN – Genitive *-n*; INE – Inessive *-ssA*, 'in'; ELA – Elative *-stA*, 'from in'; ILL – Illative *-Vn/-hin* , 'to in'; ADE – Adessive *-llA*, 'on', 'at'; TRANS - Translative (change of state) *-ksi*, 'into'
Other: | – prosodic pause; ADJ – denominal adjectivizer *-inen*; V – denominal verbalizer *-(An)tU*
Note: The capital letters A and U indicate morphophonological variation between [a]/[ä] and [u]/[y], based on vowel harmony. For instance, the (first) infinitive suffix may be either *-ta* or *-tä*, as in juosta 'to run' or *sylkäistä* 'to spit'. Further phonological processes apply to various suffixes. Discussion of these is beyond the scope of this paper.

[3] Although not all ideophonic V$_{ii}$'s can appear on their own.

[4] See discussion in section 4.1 on the alternative approaches to Finnish colorative constructions.

[5] Note that these criteria overlap, to an extent, with Aikhenvald's (2006) generalizations. On one hand, Aikhenvald offers a larger number of more nuanced characteristics of SVC, but, on the other hand, her generalizations are also more tentative.

[6] One of the anonymous reviewers points out that the assumptions on what constitutes a SVC may not be universally shared, which, in turn, could be a problem for our analysis of Finnish colorative constructions as SVC. We are aware of the controversies. Crucially, however, our assumptions are rooted in empirical tests. The tests may not work for *all* SVC languages, but we believe them to be the most widely accepted, theory-neutral diagnostics currently available.

[7] This is contra Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979:234), who state that "the colorative construction is a lexicalized mold of an emphatic verbal construction". It is not derived from its parts through productive syntactic rules." We show that the use of the construction continues to be productive. With respect to a particular syntactic process involved, see discussion in section 4.3.

[8] Airola (2007) looked at the constructions with *ja* in detail. The observed contrast between the constructions with j*a* and the constructions without *ja* shows that the two constructions should not be treated as same.

[9] In some South-Western dialects it is grammatical to mark the <u>same</u> tense on both verbs of the SVC (cf. e.g. Kohtamäki 1936: 9, Ikola et al. 1989: 304; Jarva 2003: 76-77), although not so in Standard Finnish or the dialect we work on. Even so, the two verbs refer to a *single* event and are marked with the *same* tense. Since, however, this structure has not appeared in our corpus, we leave its analysis for future work.

[10] After the negator, which in Finnish behaves like a verb in that it conjugates for subject-verb agreement, the past tense main verb appears in the past participle form.

[11] The Finnish colorative construction has also been a somewhat popular topic for Masters thesis (cf. e.g. Iisa 1965, Havo 1966, Korhonen 1967, Pursiainen 1967, Haapamaki 1983, Sivula 1989, Kapanen 1990, Rääpysjärvi 2005, Gardemaister 2005, Heikkinen & Voutilainen 2009). These works, however, have focused on the stylistic value of the construction for the work of specific Finnish authors, and have not discussed its structure.