

Lexical items merged in functional heads

The grammaticalization path of ECM-verbs in Dutch dialects

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck & Marjo van Koppen
CRISSP/HUB/KUL/Brussels & UiL-OTS/Utrecht University

1 Introduction

- **main topic:** identifying the different steps in the grammaticalization of verbs into discourse markers
- **central data:** imperatives of ECM-verbs in Dutch dialects

(1) *Kijk die koeien es gek doen.*
look those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy!'

(2) *Kijk-e die koeien es gek doen.*
look-PL those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy.'

(3) *Kijk, die koeien doen gek.*
look those cows do crazy
'Look, those cows are going crazy.'

- **main gist of the analysis:** the examples in (1)-(3) illustrate three main stages of grammaticalization:
 1. lexical verbs that are inserted in their lexical position (cf. (1))
 2. lexical verbs merged in a functional position (cf. (2))
 3. functional elements merged in a functional position (cf. (3))

Contents

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background: grammaticalization
- 3 Properties of ECM-verbs in dialect Dutch
- 4 The core analysis: three different merge positions
- 5 Inflected imperatives: raising and agreement
- 6 Summary and conclusion

2 Background: grammaticalization

Benjamin (2010); Waltereit and Detges (2007): discourse markers are typically derived from imperatives

Roberts and Roussou (1999): grammaticalization is a change from a lexical to a functional category

characteristics of functional items vs. lexical ones (see Abney (1987); Hopper and Traugott (1993)):

1. functional items can be phonologically reduced
2. functional items have a semantically bleached meaning

3. functional items permit only one complement, which is generally not an argument
4. functional items form a closed class
5. functional items can be morphologically defective

3 Properties of ECM-verbs in dialect Dutch

3.1 Introduction

→ in (dialects of) Dutch, there are two types of ECM-verbs, i.e. perception verbs and causative verbs

- (4) *Kijk hem daar es staan!*
look him there PRT stand
'Look at him standing there.'
- (5) *Hoor hem es lachen!*
hear hem PRT laugh
'Listen to him laugh!'
- (6) *Laat hem maar komen!*
let him PRT come
'Let him come!'

→ ECM-verbs in Dutch dialects can show up in three imperative(-like) contexts:

regular imperatives:

- (7) *Hoor die meeuwen es een kabaal maken!*
hear those seagulls PRT a racket make
'Listen to those seagulls make noise!'

inflected imperatives:

- (8) *Hoor-e die meeuwen es een kabaal maken.*
hear-PL those seagulls PRT a racket make
'Listen to those seagulls make noise.'

- (9) *Hoor(*-e) die meeuw es een kabaal maken.*
hear-PL that seagull PRT a racket make
'Listen to that seagull make noise.'

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (10) *Die meeuwen maken een kabaal, hoor.*
those seagulls make a racket hear
'Those seagulls sure make a lot of noise!'

3.2 Phonological reduction

→ neither regular imperatives nor inflected imperatives are phonologically reduced >< some imperatives used as discourse markers are phonologically reduced

regular imperatives:

- (11) ***Kijk** die koeien es gek doen!*
look those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy!'
- (12) *Ik **kijk** naar televisie.*
I loo to television
'I watch television.'

inflected imperatives:

- (13) ***Kijk-e** die koeien es gek doen.*
look-PL those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy.'

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (14) *Zie-j t neu, zè?!
see.you it now see_{reduced}
'Do you see now?!'*

(Lapscheure Dutch, Haegeman (2010))

3.3 Bleached meaning

→ regular imperatives and inflected imperatives retain the basic lexical meaning of the verb >< in imperatives used as discourse markers, the lexical meaning is lost

regular imperatives:

- (15) #*Kijk die koeien es gek doen zonder te kijken!*
look those cows PRT crazy do without to look
'Look at those cows go crazy without looking!'
- (16) #*Kijk die studenten op Ibiza es gek doen!*
look those students on Ibiza PRT crazy do
'Look at those students on Ibiza go crazy!'
[context: speaker is not able to see the students in Ibiza]

inflected imperatives:

- (17) #*Kijk-e die koeien es gek doen zonder te kijken.*
look-PL those cows PRT crazy do without to look
'Look at those cows go crazy without looking.'
- (18) #*Kijk-e die studenten op Ibiza es gek doen.*
look-PL those students on Ibiza PRT crazy do
'Look at those students on Ibiza go crazy.'
[context: speaker is not able to see the students in Ibiza]

however: inflected imperatives cannot be modified by adjuncts related to the ECM-verb:

- (19) *Kijk / # Kijk-e die koeien door de verrkeijker es gek*
look / look-PL those cows through the binocular PRT crazy
doen.
do
'Look through the binoculars at those cows go crazy.'

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (20) *Kijk, je mag niet kijken.*
look you may not look
'Look, you can't look.'
- (21) *Kijk, die studenten op Ibiza doen gek.*
look those students on Ibiza do crazy
'Look, those students on Ibiza are going crazy.'
[context: speaker is not able to see the students in Ibiza]

→ regular imperatives carry true imperative force >< neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers have imperative force

regular imperatives:

- (22) *Ik beveel je: laat deze mensen naar binnen gaan!*
I order you let these people to inside go
'I order you: let these people go inside!'
- (23) *Laat die kinderen ophouden en stop ze in hun bed!*
let those children stop and put them in their bed
'Make those children stop and put them to bed.'

inflected imperatives:

- (24) #*Ik beveel je: laat-e deze mensen naar binnen gaan!*
I order you let-PL these people to inside go
- (25) #*Laat-e die kinderen ophouden en stop ze in hun bed!*
let-PL those children stop and put them in their bed

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (26) #*Ik beveel je: kijk, die jongens gaan naar binnen.*
I order you look those boys go to inside
- (27) #*Kijk, die kinderen doen raar en stop ze in hun bed.*
look those children do weird and put them in their bed

3.4 Lack of argument structure

→ regular imperatives have a (*pro*-)subject >< neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers have a subject

regular imperatives:

- (28) *Kijk* pro_i *jezelf_i* *es* *gek* *doen!*
 look yourself PRT crazy do
 ‘Look at yourself going crazy!’
- (29) *Laat* pro_i *die* *kinderen* *es* *ophouden* *door* PRO_i *ze* *te* *slaan!*
 let those children PRT stop by them to hit
 ‘Make those children stop by hitting them!’
- (30) *Laat* *jij* *die* *kinderen* *es* *ophouden!*
 let you those children PRT stop
 ‘You make those children stop!’

inflected imperatives:

- (31) **Kijk-e* *jezelf* *es* *gek* *doen!*
 look-PL yourself PRT crazy do
- (32) **Laat-e* *die* *kinderen* *es* *ophouden* *door* *ze* *te* *slaan!*
 let-PL those children PRT stop by them to hit
- (33) **Laat-e* *jullie* *die* *kinderen* *es* *ophouden!*
 let-PL you those children PRT stop

however: inflected imperatives do impose a thematic restriction on the ECM-subject: it has to be agentive

- (34) *Kijk-e* {*die mensen* / # *die tafels*} *es* *in de weg* *staan.*
 look-PL those people / those tables PRT in the way stand
 ‘Look at those {people/#tables} standing in the way.’

- (35) #*Kijk-e* *die* *koeien* *es* *paars* *zijn.*
 look-PL those cows PRT purple be
 INTENDED: ‘Look at those cows be purple.’

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (36) **Kijk*, *hij* *ziet* *jezelf.*
 look he sees yourself
- (37) **Kijk*, *die* *kinderen* *stoppen* *niet* *door* *PRO* *ze* *te* *slaan.*
 look those children stop not by them to hit
 (only ✓ under a PRO_{arb} -reading)
- (38) **Kijk* *jij*, *die* *koeien* *doen* *gek.*
 look you those cows do crazy

3.5 Closed class

→ regular imperatives are part of an open class >< inflected imperatives and imperatives as discourse markers are part of a closed class

regular imperatives:

- (39) {*Hoor* / *Kijk* / *Laat* / *Voel* / *Zie* / *Doe*} *die* *meeuwen* *es* *een* *kabaal* *maken.*
 hear / look / let / feel / see / do those seagulls PRT a racket make
 ‘Listen to/look at/let/feel/see/let those seagulls mak(e/ing) noise.’

inflected imperatives:

- (40) {*Hoor-e* / *Kijk-e* / *Laat-e* / **Voel-e* / **Zie(n)-e* / **Doe(n)-e*}
 hear-PL / look-PL / let-PL / feel-PL / see-PL / do-PL
die *meeuwen* *een* *kabaal* *maken.*
 those seagulls a racket make
 ‘Listen to/look at/let/feel/see/let those seagulls mak(e/ing) noise.’

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (41) *Kijk, die meeuwen maken een kabaal, {hoor / zè / *laat / *voel / *doe}.*
 look those seagulls make a racket hear / see / let / feel
 / do
 ‘Look, those seagulls sure make a lot of noise, you know.’

3.6 Morphological defectiveness

→ regular imperatives have a corresponding indicative form >< neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers can be used indicatively

regular imperatives:

- (42) *Ik hoor de mannen roepen.*
 I hear the men shout
 ‘I hear the men shout.’

inflected imperatives:

- (43) **Ik hoor-e de mannen roepen.*
 I hear-PL the men shout

imperatives as discourse markers:

- (44) **De mannen roepen, ik hoor.*
 the men shout I hear

3.7 Data summary

	regular imperative	inflected imperative	imperative as discourse marker
phonological reduction	-	-	+
bleached meaning	-	+/-	+
lack of argument structure	-	+/-	+
closed class	-	+	+
morphological defectiveness	-	+	+

4 The core analysis: three different merge positions**4.1 Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001)****motion verb with a regular infinitival complement**

- (45) *Vaju a pigghiari u pani.*
 go-1S to fetch-INF the bread
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’ (Marsalese)

motion verb with an inflected complement

- (46) *Vaju a pigghiu u pani.*
 go-1S to fetch-1SG the bread
 ‘I go to fetch bread.’ (Marsalese)

→ motion verbs with inflected complements (in Marsalese, English and Swedish) are lexical categories merged as functional heads

4.1.1 Properties of inflected infinitives

- **Phonological reduction:** motion verbs with an inflected complement are not phonologically reduced compared to their regular use, compare (46) with (45)
- **Bleached meaning:** motion verbs retain their basic semantic content (Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 23))

on the other hand, motion verbs with an inflected complement cannot be modified by motion-related adjuncts:

(47) **Peppe va a mangia c'a machina.*
Peppe go-3SG to eat-3SG by car

(48) *Peppe va a mangiari c'a machina.*
Peppe go-3SG to eat-INF by car
'Peppe goes to eat by car.'

- **Lack of argument structure:** motion verbs with inflected complements cannot select their own arguments:

(49) *va (*agghiri a casa) a mangia*
go-3SG (*towards to home) to eat-3SG

(50) *va (agghiri a casa) a mangiari*
go-3SG (towards to home) to eat-INF
'He goes towards home to eat.'

however, motion verbs with inflected complements do impose a thematic restriction on their subject in some languages, like English: it has to be agentive.

(51) The smoke fumes (*go) inebriate the people upstairs.

- **closed class:** motion verbs with inflected complements form a closed class

(52) a. *iri* 'to go', *viniri* 'to come', *passari* 'to come by', *mannari* 'to send'
b. **acchianari* 'go up', **scinniri* 'go down', **trasiri* 'go into', **curriri* 'run', ...

- **morphological defectiveness:** motion verbs with inflected complements are morphologically defective

(53) *Vaju a pigghiu u pani.*
go-1S to fetch-1SG the bread
'I go to fetch bread.'

(54) **Iti a pigghiati u pani.*
go-2PL to fetch-2PL the bread

- **Summary**

	inflected imperative	motion verbs with inflected complement
phonological reduction	-	-
bleached meaning	+/-	+/-
lack of argument structure	+/-	+/-
closed class	+	+
morphological defectiveness	+	+

4.1.2 Analysis of Marsalese motion verbs with inflected infinitives:

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001): motion verbs with inflected infinitives are merged in a left-peripheral functional head in the extended domain of the lexical verb

supporting evidence: motion verbs with inflected infinitives display monoclausal properties:

- unique person/tense/mood
- single event interpretation
- clitic climbing in Marsalese
- floating quantifiers and sentential adverbs in Marsalese

4.2 Multiple merge positions

proposal: the three imperative(-like) contexts in which ECM-verbs appear in Dutch dialects reflect three possible merge positions for these verbs:

- the regular imperative is merged in V^0 and raises to C^0
- the inflected imperative is merged directly in C^0
- the imperative used as a discourse marker is merged in a functional head higher than C^0 (see also Haegeman (2010))

this derives:

- the fully lexical properties of the regular imperative (full argument structure, full morphological paradigm, open class, ...)
- the fully functional properties of the imperative used as discourse marker (no argument structure, no morphological paradigm, closed class, no lexical meaning, ...)
- the intermediate status of inflected imperatives: on the hand, they involve the lexical ECM-verb (secondary theta-role, basic lexical semantics), on the other, they are merged directly in a functional head (morphological deficiency, closed class, no argument structure)

note: this means that in regular and inflected imperatives (cf. (55) and (56)) a different lexical item is used than when an imperative shows up as a discourse marker (as in (57)) → this is corroborated by the fact that the two morphemes sometimes differ phonologically (cf. section 3.2)

(55) *Kijk die koeien es gek doen!*
look those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy!'

(56) *Kijk-e die koeien es gek doen.*
look-PL those cows PRT crazy do
'Look at those cows go crazy.'

(57) *Kijk, die koeien doen gek.*
look those cows do crazy
'Look, those cows are going crazy.'

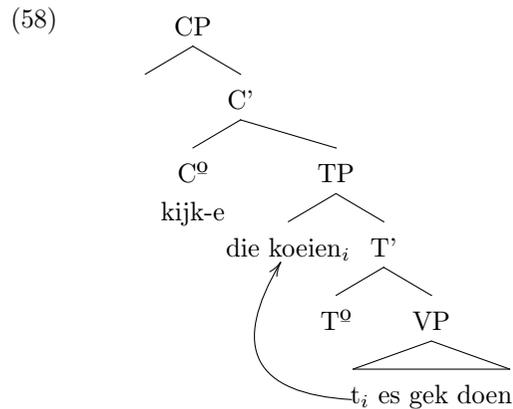
5 Inflected imperatives: raising and agreement

note: analyzing inflected imperatives as lexical verbs that are merged in C^0 doesn't yet answer the following questions:

1. If there is no *pro*-subject in inflected imperatives, how does the EPP get satisfied? (section 5.1)
2. If there is no external theta-role, there is no case for the embedded ECM-subject (Burzio's generalization), so how does that DP get case-licensed? (section 5.1)
3. Where does the agreement ending on the verb come from? (section 5.2)
4. Why can only ECM-verbs occur as inflected imperatives? (section 5.3)

5.1 Proposal and corroborating evidence

proposal: in inflected imperatives the ECM-subject raises to specTP, thus satisfying the EPP. Moreover, it receives nominative case in this position.



corroborating evidence:

- **correlation between overt subjects and agreement:** if an overt subject is present in Dutch imperatives (i.e. if specTP is overtly filled), the agreeing form of the imperative must be used (cf. Bennis (2006)):

- (59)
- Kom*(-en) jullie eens hier!*
come-AGR you_{pl} PRT here
 - Kom*(-t) u eens hier!*
come-AGR you_{polite} PRT here
 - Kom*(-t) gij eens hier!*
come-AGR you_{regional} PRT here (Standard Dutch)

→ the presence of overt agreement on agreeing ECM-imperatives follows from the correlation illustrated in (59): the raised ECM-subject overtly fills specTP and as a consequence, the imperative verb has to display agreement with this raised subject.

- **case:** if the post-verbal DP in inflected ECM-imperatives is in specTP, it should bear nominative case → this prediction is borne out:

- (60)
- Kijk-e wij es gek doen.*
look-PL we PRT crazy do
'Look at us go crazy.'
 - *Kijk-e ons es gek doen.*
look-PL us PRT crazy do
'Look at us go crazy.'

→ moreover, when the imperative does not display agreement (i.e. in a regular imperative, when a *pro*-subject fills specTP), only the (ECM-) accusative should be allowed:

- (61)
- *Kijk wij es gek doen!*
look we PRT crazy do
'Look at us go crazy!'
 - Kijk ons es gek doen!*
look us PRT crazy do
'Look at us go crazy!'

5.2 Source of the agreement

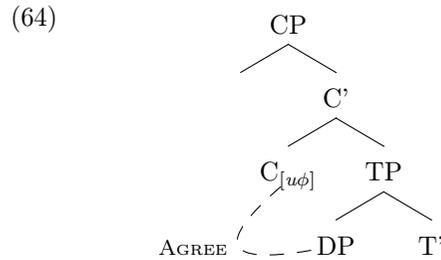
correlation: all dialects with inflected imperatives also have so-called complementizer agreement:

- (62) *Ik vind dat-e we toffe jongens zijn.*
I find that-PL we fun guys are
'I think we're fun guys.'
- (63) *Ik vind dat(*-e) ik een toffe jongen ben.*
I find that-PL we a fun guy am
'I think I'm a fun guy.'

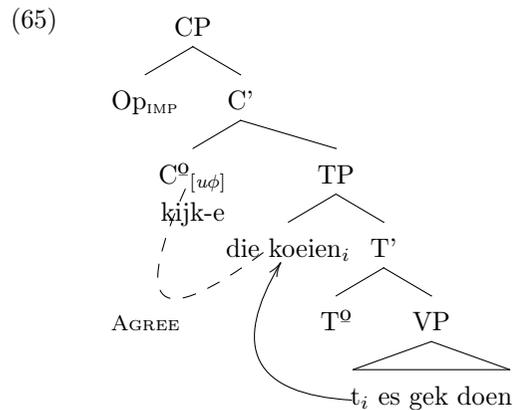
moreover: the comp-agreement endings are from the same morphological paradigm as the endings found on inflected imperatives

standard analysis of comp-agreement: there are unvalued ϕ -features on C⁰ that Agree with and are valued by the subject in specTP

(Craenenbroeck and Koppen (2008); Haegeman and Koppen (2012))



→ it is that same set of ϕ -features that is spelled out as agreement on inflected ECM-imperatives:



5.3 Why only ECM-verbs?

question: why do only ECM-imperatives allow raising of something other than their own subject into specTP?

- (66) *Kijk-e die koeien es gek doen.*
 look-PL those cows PRT crazy do
 ‘Look at those cows go crazy.’
- (67) *Vertel(*-e) die verhalen es.*
 tell-PL those stories PRT
 ‘Tell those stories.’
- (68) *Overtuig(*-e) die jongens es om te komen.*
 convince-PL those boys PRT for to come
 ‘Convince those boys to come.’

assumption: this is related to the fact that subjects in imperatives are necessarily agentive Jensen (2003, 163):

- (69) a. Go away!
 b. *Know French!

consequence: if a DP other than the subject of the imperative verb raises to specTP (as is the case in inflected ECM-imperatives), it must bear an [AGENT]-theta role ⇒ it must be the external argument of a lower predicate + this external argument must be allowed to undergo A-movement ⇒ agentive ECM-subjects are the only DPs that can partake in this construction

note: this also explains why the ECM-subject in inflected imperatives bears a secondary agentive theta-role

- (70) *Kijk-e {die mensen / #die tafels} es in de weg staan!*
 look-PL those people / those tables PRT in the way stand
 ‘Look at those {people/#tables} standing in the way!’
- (71) *#Kijk-e die koeien es gemolken worden.*
 look-PL those cows PRT milked be
 INTENDED: ‘Look at those cows getting milked.’

6 Summary and conclusion

- we have discerned three main stages of grammaticalization in Dutch ECM-imperatives:
 1. lexical verbs merged in lexical positions (regular imperatives)
 2. lexical verbs merged in functional positions (inflected imperatives)
 3. functional elements merged in functional positions (imperatives as discourse markers)
- each of these stages has its own characteristic syntactic, morphological and lexical properties, which stage 2 occupying an intermediate position between the other two
- microvariational data from Dutch provide crucial insight into the middle stage of the development

References

- Abney, Steven. 1987. The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Benjamin, Fagard. 2010. *É vida, olha...: Imperatives as discourse markers and grammaticalization paths in Romance: A diachronic corpus study*. *Languages in contact* 10:245–267.
- Bennis, Hans. 2006. Agreement, pro and imperatives. In *Arguments and agreement*, ed. Peter Ackema, Patrick Brandt, Maaïke Schoorlemmer, and Fred Weerman, 101–127. Oxford University Press.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Giuliana Giusti. 2001. "semi-lexical" motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical categories: the function of content words and the content of function words*, ed. Norbert Corver and Henk van Riemsdijk, volume 59 of *Studies in Generative Grammar*, 371–414. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van, and Marjo van Koppen. 2008. Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects: big DPs and coordinations. In *Microvariation in syntactic doubling.*, ed. Sjeff et al. Barbiers, volume 36 of *Syntax and Semantics*, 207–249. Bingley: Emerald.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2010. West-Flemish verb-based discourse markers and the articulation of the speech act layer. Unpublished manuscript, Ghent University.
- Haegeman, Liliane, and Marjo van Koppen. 2012. Complementizer agreement and the relation between T and C. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43:441–454.
- Hopper, P., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jensen, Britta. 2003. Syntax and semantics of imperative subjects. *Nordlyd* 31:150–164.
- Roberts, Ian, and Anna Roussou. 1999. A formal approach to grammaticalization. *Linguistics* 37:1011–1041.
- Waltereit, R., and U. Detges. 2007. Different functions, different histories. Modal particles and discourse markers from a diachronic point of view. *Catalan journal of linguistics* 6:61–80.