

# Derived verbs in Dutch

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# Outline

Derived verbs

Two views on prefixed verbs

Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

Beyond  $\emptyset$  morphemes: phrasal lexicalisation

What is the prefix?

Conclusion

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- ▶ zero-marking

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- ▶ suffixes

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Table 1: Derivational morphology in verbs: zero marking

| AFX |   | base         | gloss    | verb            | gloss     |
|-----|---|--------------|----------|-----------------|-----------|
| ∅   | A | <i>droog</i> | 'dry'    | <i>droog-en</i> | 'dry'     |
| ∅   | N | <i>adem</i>  | 'breath' | <i>adem-en</i>  | 'breathe' |
| ∅   | P | <i>uit</i>   | 'out'    | <i>uit-en</i>   | 'utter'   |



Table 2: Derivational morphology in verbs: **suffixes**

| SFX  |   | base          | gloss     | verb                 | gloss        |
|------|---|---------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------|
| -eer | A | <i>blond</i>  | 'blonde'  | <i>blond-eer-en</i>  | 'bleach'     |
| -eer | N | <i>asfalt</i> | 'asphalt' | <i>asfalt-eer-en</i> | 'bituminise' |
| -eer | √ | <i>domin-</i> |           | <i>domin-eer-en</i>  | 'dominate'   |

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| -eer | √ | <i>domin-</i> |           | <i>domin-eer-en</i>  | 'dominate'   |
| -ig  | N | <i>steen</i>  | 'stone'   | <i>steen-ig-en</i>   | 'stone'      |

Table 3: Derivational morphology in verbs: **prefixes**

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| <i>ver-</i> | A | <i>breed</i> | 'wide' | <i>ver-breed-en</i> | 'widen' |
| <i>ver-</i> | N | <i>vel</i>   | 'skin' | <i>ver-vel-en</i>   | 'molt'  |
| <i>ver-</i> | V | <i>doen</i>  | 'do'   | <i>ver-doen</i>     | 'waste' |

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| <i>be-</i>  | N | <i>bos</i>     | 'forest' | <i>be-bos-en</i>    | 'afforest' |
| <i>be-</i>  | V | <i>giet-en</i> | 'pour'   | <i>be-giet-en</i>   | 'water'    |

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| <i>ont-</i> | A | <i>bloot</i>   | 'nude'   | <i>ont-bloot-en</i> | 'uncover'    |
| <i>ont-</i> | N | <i>hoofd</i>   | 'head'   | <i>ont-hoofd-en</i> | 'decapitate' |
| <i>ont-</i> | V | <i>kennen</i>  | 'know'   | <i>ont-kennen</i>   | 'deny'       |

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| P-          | A | <i>slank</i>   | 'slim'    | <i>af-slank-en</i>  | 'slim'       |
| P-          | N | <i>burger</i>  | 'citizen' | <i>in-burger-en</i> | 'integrate'  |
| P-          | V | <i>gooi-en</i> | 'throw'   | <i>in-gooi-en</i>   | 'throw in'   |

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**Two views on prefixed verbs**

Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

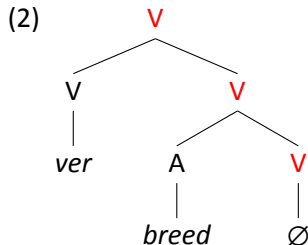
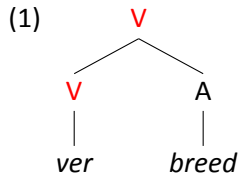
Beyond  $\emptyset$  morphemes: phrasal lexicalisation

What is the prefix?

Conclusion

## Two views on prefixed verbs

1. The left-headed view:  
*ver-*, *be-*, *ont-* are verbalising prefixes (De Haas and Trommelen 1993)
2. The right-headed view:  
there is an (invisible) verbalising  $\emptyset$ -suffix (Neeleman and Schipper 1993)



## Our view

- ▶ we defend a version of the second (right-headed) view
- ▶ focusing on *ver-*, we show that it has no constant properties
  - ▶ syntactically
  - ▶ semantically
- ▶ the verbal properties of derived verbs come from the right-hand member

## An argument for the right-headed view

- ▶ *ver-* can also combine with verbal roots.

(3) V    *doen*        'do'  
      V    *ver-doen*    'waste'

- ▶ under a left-headed view, one would need to postulate two homophonous types of *ver-*, one verbalising, and one category-neutral.
- ▶ Occam's razor leads us to conclude that the prefix is not verbalising.

## A problem for the right-headed view

- ▶ The intermediate step in the derivation (the zero-derived verb) does not always exist

|     |   |                        |         |
|-----|---|------------------------|---------|
| (4) | A | breed                  | 'wide'  |
|     | V | *breed- $\emptyset$    | 'widen' |
|     | V | ver-breed- $\emptyset$ | 'widen' |

| A               | ∅         | be-         | ver-              | ont-       | P              | gloss        |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
| aangenaam       |           |             | veraangenen       |            |                | 'pleasant'   |
| aanschouw-elijk |           |             | veraanschouwelijk |            |                | 'visual'     |
| algemeen        |           |             | veralgemeenen     |            |                | 'general'    |
| angst-ig        |           | beangstigen |                   |            |                | 'frightened' |
| arm             |           |             | verarmen          |            |                | 'poor'       |
| bet-er          | beteren   |             | verbeteren        |            |                | 'better'     |
| bleek           | bleken    |             | verbleken         |            |                | 'pale'       |
| blind           |           |             | (verblinden)      |            |                | 'blind'      |
| bloot           |           |             |                   | ontbloten  |                | 'nude'       |
| breed           |           |             | verbreden         |            |                | 'wide'       |
| dartel          | dartelen  |             |                   |            |                | 'playful'    |
| dicht           | dichten   |             | verdichten        |            | af-            | 'dense'      |
| diep            | diepen    |             | verdiepen         |            | uit-           | 'deep'       |
| dik             | dikken    |             | verdikken         |            | aan-, in-      | 'fat'        |
| droog           | drogen    |             | verdrogen         |            | af-, uit-, op- | 'dry'        |
| donker          |           |             | verdonkeren       |            |                | 'dark'       |
| doof            |           |             | (verdoven)        |            |                | 'deaf'       |
| dubbel          | dubbelen  |             | verdubbelen       | dubbelen   |                | 'double'     |
| duid-elijk      |           |             | verduidelijken    |            |                | 'clear'      |
| dun             | dunnen    |             | verdunnen         |            | uit-           | 'thin'       |
| duister         | duisteren |             | verduisteren      |            |                | 'dark'       |
| edel            |           |             | (veredelen)       |            |                | 'noble'      |
| erg             |           |             | vererg(er)en      |            |                | 'bad'        |
| fijn            |           |             | (verfijnen)       |            |                | 'fine'       |
| geel            |           |             | vergelen          |            |                | 'yellow'     |
| gemakk-elijk    |           |             | vergemakkelijken  |            |                | 'easy'       |
| groen           |           |             | vergroenen        | ontgroenen |                | 'green'      |
| groot           |           | (begroten)  | vergroten         |            |                | 'big'        |

## Solution (Reece Allen 1978)

- ▶ morphology overgenerates
- ▶ possible (but nonexistent) words can be the input to further derivation

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|     |    |              |           |              |             |
|-----|----|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| (5) | a. | nat          | 'wet'     | naar         | 'nasty'     |
|     | b. | natt-ig      | 'wettish' | *naar-ig     |             |
|     | c. | natt-ig-heid | 'damp'    | naar-ig-heid | 'nastiness' |



# Semantics

|                  |          |                 |             |
|------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|
| BECOME/MAKE A    | breed    | verbreden       | 'wide'      |
|                  | arm      | verarmen        | 'poor'      |
|                  | groot    | vergrooten      | 'big'       |
| BECOME/MAKE N    | damp     | verdampen       | 'vapour'    |
|                  | film     | verfilmen       | 'film'      |
|                  | kruimel  | verkruimelen    | 'crumb'     |
| GET/GIVE (NEW) N | vel      | vervellen       | 'skin'      |
|                  | luier    | verluieren      | 'diaper'    |
| V AWAY           | gokken   | vergokken       | 'gamble'    |
|                  | gooien   | vergooien       | 'throw'     |
| V TOGETHER       | groeien  | vergroeien      | 'grow'      |
| V OTHER          | plaatsen | verplaatsen     | 'put'       |
|                  | leggen   | verleggen       | 'lay'       |
| V BAD/WRONG      | leggen   | verleggen       | 'lay'       |
|                  | spreken  | zich verspreken | 'speak'     |
| TRANSITIVISE V   | vloeken  | vervloeken      | 'curse'     |
|                  | zwijgen  | verzwijgen      | 'be silent' |
|                  | handelen | verhandelen     | 'trade'     |

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- (6) a. The mug **broke**.  
b. Linnea **broke** the mug.

INCHOATIVE

CAUSATIVE

## Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

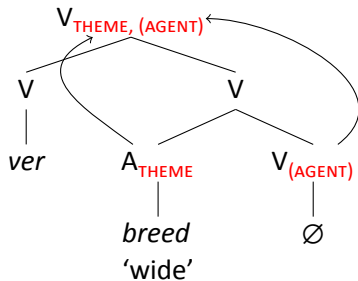
- (7) a. De weg ver-**breed**-t in de vallei. INCHOATIVE  
The road VER-wide-AGR in the valley  
'The road widens in the valley.'
- b. De arbeiders ver-**breed**-d-en de weg. CAUSATIVE  
the workers VER-wide-PST-AGR the road  
'The workers widened the road.'

## Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

- (8) a. Het water ver-damp-te. INCHOATIVE  
the water VER-vapour-PST  
'The water evaporated.'
- b. De zon ver-damp-te het water. CAUSAUSATIVE  
the sun VER-vapour-PST the water  
'The sun evaporated the water.'

# Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

(9) Neeleman and Schipper (1993)



## Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

- (10)  $[\text{V ver-breed}]_{\text{CAUS}} = [\text{cause to become } [\text{A breed}]]$   
 $[\text{V ver-breed}]_{\text{INCH}} = [\text{to become } [\text{A breed}]]$



## Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

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(11) Causational Entailment (Lundquist et al. 2016: 2)  
CAUSATIVE  $\rightarrow$  INCHOATIVE

## Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

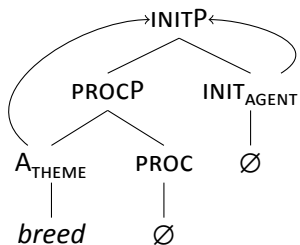
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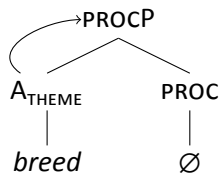
(12)#John **broke** the glass, but the glass didn't **break**.

# Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

(13)



(14)



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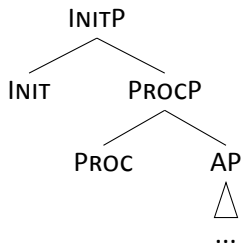
**Beyond  $\emptyset$  morphemes: phrasal lexicalisation**

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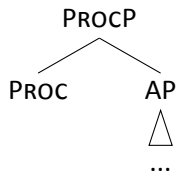
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(15) CAUSATIVE

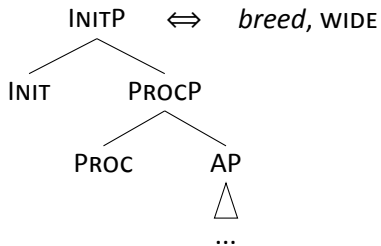


(16) INCHOATIVE



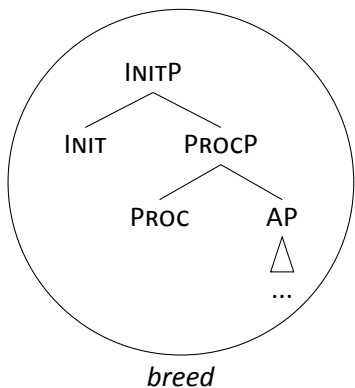
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(17) Lexicon

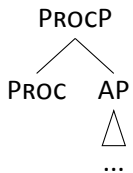


## Beyond $\emptyset$ morphemes: phrasal lexicalisation

(18)



(19) a. INCHOATIVE VERB



b. ADJECTIVE

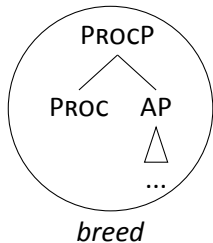




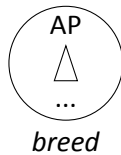
(20) *Superset Principle* (Starke 2009)

A lexically stored tree L matches a syntactic node S iff L contains the syntactic tree dominated by S as a subtree

(21) a. INCHOATIVE VERB



b. ADJECTIVE



# Outline

Derived verbs

Two views on prefixed verbs

Causative-Inchoative ambiguity

Beyond  $\emptyset$  morphemes: phrasal lexicalisation

**What is the prefix?**

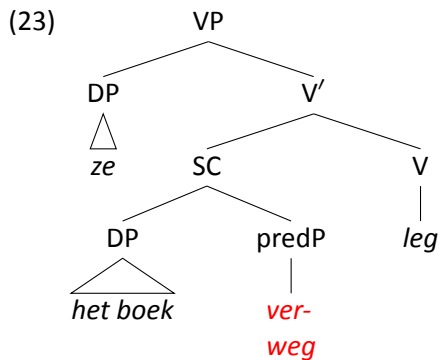
Conclusion

## What is the prefix?

- ▶ the predicate of a resultative small clause (Hoekstra et al. 1987)

- (22) a. dat ze het boek **ver**-legde.  
that she the book VER-put  
'... that she put the book elsewhere.'
- b. dat ze het boek **weg** legde.  
that she the book away put  
'... that she put the book away.'
- c. \*dat ze het boek **weg ver**-legde.  
that she the book away VER-put.

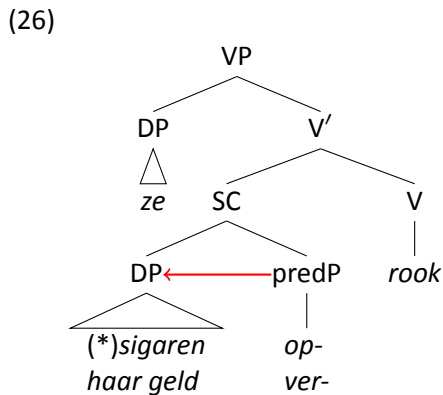
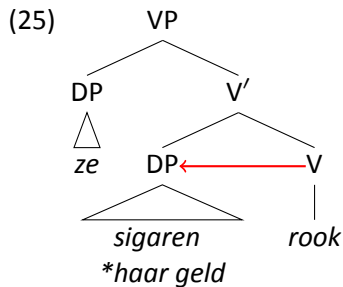
## What is the prefix?



## Selection restrictions

- (24) a. dat ze sigaren rookt  
that she cigars smokes  
'that she smokes cigars.'
- b. \*dat ze haar geld rookt.  
that she her money smokes
- c. \*dat ze sigaren ver-rookt.  
that she cigars VER-smokes
- d. dat ze haar geld ver-rookt  
that she her money VER-smokes  
'that she spends her money on smoking.'
- e. dat ze sigaren op-rookt.  
that she cigars up-smokes  
'that she smokes cigars to the finish.'
- f. dat ze haar geld op-rookt  
that she her money up-smokes  
'that she spends her money on smoking.'

## Selection restrictions



# Outline

Derived verbs

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**Conclusion**



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- ▶ the prefix is a small clause predicate

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