

Lexical items moving up the tree

grammaticalization of ECM-verbs in Dutch (dialects)

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PLACEHOLDER
L O G O

Synopsis

main topic: identifying the different steps in the grammaticalization of verbs into discourse markers

central data:

- imperatives of ECM-verbs in Dutch dialects can be perception verbs and causative verbs

(1) Hoor hem es lachen!
hear hem PRT laugh
'Listen to him laugh!'

(2) Laat hem maar komen!
let him PRT come
'Let him come!'

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

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

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

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

main gist of the analysis: the examples in (3)-(5) illustrate three main stages of grammaticalization:

- lexical verbs that are inserted in their lexical position (cf. (3))
- lexical verbs merged in a functional position (cf. (4))
- functional elements merged in a functional position (cf. (5))

Background: grammaticalization

[?, ?]: discourse markers are typically derived from imperatives

[?]: grammaticalization is a change from a lexical to a functional category

characteristics of functional items vs. lexical ones (see [?, ?]):

- functional items can be phonologically reduced
- functional items have a semantically bleached meaning
- functional items permit only one complement, which is generally not an argument
- functional items form a closed class
- functional items can be morphologically defective

Properties of ECM-Verbs in Dutch dialects

- Phonological reduction:** neither regular imperatives nor inflected imperatives are phonologically reduced ζ_i some imperatives used as discourse markers are phonologically reduced

regular imperatives:

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

(7) Ik **kijk** naar televisie.
I loot to television
'I watch television.'

inflected imperatives:

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

imperatives as discourse markers:

(9) Zie-j t neu, z?!
see.you it now see,^{reduced}
'Do you see now?!' (Lapscheure Dutch, [?])

- Bleached meaning:** regular imperatives and inflected imperatives retain the basic lexical meaning of the verb ζ_i in imperatives used as discourse markers, the lexical meaning is lost

regular imperatives:

(10) #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!'

(11) #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:

(12) #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.'

(13) #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:

(14) Kijk / # Kijk-e die koeien door de verrekijker es
look / look-PL those cows through the binocular PRT
gek doen.
crazy do

'Look through the binoculars at those cows go crazy.'

imperatives as discourse markers:

(15) Kijk, je mag niet kijken.
look you may not look
'Look, you can't look.'

(16) 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 ζ_i neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers have imperative force

regular imperatives:

(17) 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!'

(18) 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:

(19) #Ik beveel je: laat-e deze mensen naar binnen gaan!
I order you let-PL these people to inside go

(20) #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:

(21) #Ik beveel je: kijk, die jongens gaan naar binnen.
I order you look those boys go to inside

(22) #Kijk, die kinderen doen raar en stop ze in hun bed.
look those children do weird and put them in their bed

- Lack of argument structure: regular imperatives have a (*pro*-)subject ζ_i neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers have a subject

regular imperatives:

(23) Kijk pro_i jezelf_i es gek doen!
look yourself PRT crazy do
'Look at yourself going crazy!'

(24) Laat pro_i die kinderen es ophouden door PRO_i ze
let those children PRT stop by them
te slaan!
to hit
'Make those children stop by hitting them!'

(25) Laat jij die kinderen es ophouden!
let you those children PRT stop
'You make those children stop!'

inflected imperatives:

(26) *Kijk-e jezelf es gek doen!
look-PL yourself PRT crazy do

(27) *Laat-e die kinderen es ophouden door ze te slaan!
let-PL those children PRT stop by them to hit

(28) *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

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

(30) #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:

(31) *Kijk, hij ziet jezelf.
look he sees yourself

(32) *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)

(33) *Kijk jij, die koeien doen gek.
look you those cows do crazy

- Closed class: regular imperatives are part of an open class ζ_i inflected imperatives and imperatives as discourse markers are part of a closed class

regular imperatives:

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

inflected imperatives:

(35) {Hoor-e / Kijk-e / Laat-e / *Voel-e / *Zie(n)-e /
hear-PL / look-PL / let-PL / feel-PL / see-PL /

*Doe(n)-e} die meeuwen een kabaal maken.
do-PL those seagulls a racket make
'Listen to/look at/let/feel/see/let those seagulls mak(e/ing) noise.'

imperatives as discourse markers:

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

- Morphological defectiveness: regular imperatives have a corresponding indicative form i_j ; neither inflected imperatives nor imperatives used as discourse markers can be used indicatively

regular imperatives:

(37) Ik hoor de mannen roepen.
I hear the men shout
'I hear the men shout.'

inflected imperatives:

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

imperatives as discourse markers:

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

Materials and Methods

Fusce magna risus, molestie ut porttitor in, consectetur sed mi. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Pellentesque consectetur blandit pellentesque. Sed odio justo, viverra nec porttitor vel, lacinia a nunc. Suspendisse pulvinar euismod arcu, sit amet accumsan enim fermentum quis. In id mauris ut dui feugiat egestas. Vestibulum ac turpis lacinia nisl commodo sagittis eget sit amet sapien. Phasellus imperdiet, tortor vitae congue bibendum, felis enim sagittis lorem, et volutpat ante orci sagittis mi. Morbi rutrum laoreet semper. Morbi accumsan enim nec tortor consectetur non commodo nisi sollicitudin. Proin sollicitudin. Pellentesque eget orci eros. Fusce ultricies, tellus et pellentesque fringilla, ante massa luctus libero, quis tristique purus urna nec nibh. Proin sollicitudin. Pellentesque eget orci eros. Fusce ultricies, tellus et pellentesque fringilla, ante massa luctus libero, quis tristique purus urna nec nibh.

Mathematical Section

Nulla vel nisl sed mauris auctor mollis non sed.

$$E = mc^2 \quad (1)$$

Curabitur mi sem, pulvinar quis aliquam rutrum. (1) edf (2), $\Omega = [-1, 1]^3$, maecenas leo est, ornare at. $z = -1$ edf $z = 1$ sed interdum felis dapibus sem. x set y truem. Turpis j amet accumsan enim y -lacinia; ref k -viverra nec porttitor x -lacinia.

Vestibulum ac diam a odio tempus congue. Vivamus id enim nisi:

$$\begin{aligned} \cos \bar{\phi}_k Q_{j,k+1,t} + Q_{j,k+1,x} + \frac{\sin^2 \bar{\phi}_k}{T \cos \bar{\phi}_k} Q_{j,k+1} = \\ - \cos \phi_k Q_{j,k,t} + Q_{j,k,x} - \frac{\sin^2 \phi_k}{T \cos \phi_k} Q_{j,k} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

and

$$\begin{aligned} \cos \bar{\phi}_j Q_{j+1,k,t} + Q_{j+1,k,y} + \frac{\sin^2 \bar{\phi}_j}{T \cos \bar{\phi}_j} Q_{j+1,k} = \\ - \cos \phi_j Q_{j,k,t} + Q_{j,k,y} - \frac{\sin^2 \phi_j}{T \cos \phi_j} Q_{j,k}. \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

Nulla sed arcu arcu. Duis et ante gravida orci venenatis tincidunt. Fusce vitae lacinia metus. Pellentesque habitant morbi. $A \underline{\xi} = \beta \underline{Vim} \underline{\xi}$ enum nidi $3(P+2)^2$ lacinia. Id feugain **A** nun quis; magno. Fusce convallis rutrum turpis, quis aliquet enim accumsan id. Vestibulum ullamcorper porttitor convallis. Integer sagittis interdum malesuada. Class aptent taciti sociosqu ad litora torquent per conubia nostra, per inceptos himenaeos. Sed adipiscing tristique orci at ullamcorper. Morbi accumsan, urna et porttitor pulvinar, lacus risus dignissim massa. Proin sollicitudin. Pellentesque eget orci eros. Fusce ultricies, tellus et pellentesque fringilla, ante massa luctus libero, quis tristique purus urna nec nibh.

Results

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Treatments	Response 1	Response 2
Treatment 1	0.0003262	0.562
Treatment 2	0.0015681	0.910
Treatment 3	0.0009271	0.296

Table 1: Table caption

Phasellus imperdiet, tortor vitae congue bibendum, felis enim sagittis lorem, et volutpat ante orci sagittis mi. Morbi rutrum laoreet semper. Morbi accumsan enim

nec tortor consectetur non commodo nisi sollicitudin. Proin sollicitudin. Pellentesque eget orci eros. Fusce ultricies, tellus et pellentesque fringilla, ante massa luctus libero, quis tristique purus urna nec nibh.

Nulla ut porttitor enim. Suspendisse venenatis dui eget eros gravida tempor. Mauris feugiat elit et augue placerat ultrices. Morbi accumsan enim nec tortor consectetur non commodo. Pellentesque condimentum dui. Etiam sagittis purus non tellus tempor volutpat. Donec et dui non massa tristique adipiscing. Quisque vestibulum eros eu. Phasellus imperdiet, tortor vitae congue bibendum, felis enim sagittis lorem, et volutpat ante orci sagittis mi. Morbi rutrum laoreet semper. Morbi accumsan enim nec tortor consectetur non commodo nisi sollicitudin.



Figure 1: Figure caption

In hac habitasse platea dictumst. Etiam placerat, risus ac.

Adipiscing lectus in magna blandit:

Treatments	Response 1	Response 2
Treatment 1	0.0003262	0.562
Treatment 2	0.0015681	0.910
Treatment 3	0.0009271	0.296

Table 2: Table caption

Vivamus sed nibh ac metus tristique tristique a vitae ante. Sed lobortis mi ut arcu fringilla et adipiscing ligula rutrum. Aenean turpis velit, placerat eget tincidunt nec, ornare in nisl. In placerat.

Placeholder
Image

Figure 2: Figure caption

Conclusions

- Pellentesque eget orci eros. Fusce ultricies, tellus et pellentesque fringilla, ante massa luctus libero, quis tristique purus urna nec nibh. Phasellus fermentum rutrum elementum. Nam quis justo lectus.
- Vestibulum sem ante, hendrerit a gravida ac, blandit quis magna.
- Donec sem metus, facilisis at condimentum eget, vehicula ut massa. Morbi consequat, diam sed convallis tincidunt, arcu nunc.
- Nunc at convallis urna. isus ante. Pellentesque condimentum dui. Etiam sagittis purus non tellus tempor volutpat. Donec et dui non massa tristique adipiscing.

Forthcoming Research

Vivamus molestie, risus tempor vehicula mattis, libero arcu volutpat purus, sed blandit sem nibh eget turpis. Maecenas rutrum dui blandit lorem vulputate gravida. Praesent venenatis mi vel lorem tempor at varius diam sagittis. Nam eu leo id turpis interdum luctus a sed augue. Nam tellus.

References

- A. B. Jones and J. M. Smith. Article Title. *Journal title*, 13(52):123–456, March 2013.
- J. M. Smith and A. B. Jones. *Book Title*. Publisher, 7th edition, 2012.

Acknowledgements

Etiam fermentum, arcu ut gravida fringilla, dolor arcu laoreet justo, ut imperdiet urna arcu a arcu. Donec nec ante a dui tempus consectetur. Cras nisi turpis, dapibus sit amet mattis sed, laoreet.