

Crossing the Lake: Motion verb constructions in Bodensee-Alemannic and Swiss German¹

Ellen Brandner & Martin Salzmann, University of Konstanz

Abstract

The Alemannic dialects spoken in Switzerland and in south-western Germany are structurally very similar. This seems to extend to the motion verb construction where the motion verb is obligatorily followed by an element *gi/go* followed by an infinitive. Upon closer inspection, however, intriguing asymmetries emerge. We account for these differences by treating *gi/go* as being of different categories in the contemporary languages. This can be related to different historical developments, as proposed by Lötscher (1993): both elements go back to the preposition *gen* ‘towards’ and developed into a functional head with purpose/goal semantics that combines with a non-finite verbal projection. We will show that while *gi* in Bodensee-Alemannic still heads this functional projection, *go* in Swiss German has been reanalyzed as a verbal element and is now integrated into the Verb Raising and Verb Projection Raising system.

1 Introduction

1.1. Background: Verb doubling in Swiss German

Motion verb constructions in Swiss German (CH) differ from their counterparts in the standard language (SG) in that – instead of using a bare infinitive, cf. (1b) – the dependent infinitive is preceded by an element² *go/ga*, cf. (1a).

- (1) a) Ich gang **go** de Unggle bsueche. b) Ich gehe den Onkel besuchen.
I go.1SG PRT the uncle visit.INF I go.1SG the uncle visit.INF
‘I will go visit the uncle.’ CH SG

This element is phonetically similar to the motion verb *gaa* ‘go’ (in most varieties, it corresponds to a shortened form of the infinitive).³ Both the descriptive and the generative literature have referred to the construction as ‘verb doubling’ (Hodler 1969, Lötscher 1993, Schönenberger & Penner 1995a/b, Nübling 1995, Schmidt 2000, van Riemsdijk 2002). As we will see presently, the term suggests properties that are in some cases different from those posited in the actual analyses.

As for the categorial status of *go*, there is a certain consensus that *go* is a non-finite verb that obligatorily occurs after motion verbs.⁴ The major argument (apart from the suggestive phonetic similarity) in favor of the verbal status of *go* comes from placement facts: *go* can appear in various positions within the verbal cluster as long as it precedes the infinitive:⁵

- (2) a) Ich gang [de Muetter en Struuss **go** chauffe].
b) [de Muetter **go** en Struuss chauffe].
c) [**go** de Muetter en Struuss chauffe].
I go.1SG PRT the.DAT mother PRT a bunch PRT buy.INF
‘I will go buy a bunch of flowers for my mother.’ CH

If *go* is analyzed as a verb, this is unsurprising as modals display the same kind of positional freedom:

- (3) a) Ich ha [de Muetter en Struuss **wele** chauffe]
b) [de Muetter **wele** en Struuss chauffe]
c) [**wele** de Muetter en Struuss chauffe]
I have.1SG want.INF the.DAT mother want.INF a bunch want.INF buy
‘I wanted to buy a bunch of flowers for my mother.’ CH

chain; Schönenberger & Penner (1995a/b) actually assume that the matrix verb is an expletive that is directly inserted into I to carry the inflectional features while *go* is the lexical verb that due to its defectivity remains in V.

This will be the background against which we discuss the properties of the element *gi* in Bodensee-Alemannic. In our analysis to be proposed in 5.2 below we will largely follow the previous work, but will be more explicit about the nature of the *go*-phrase and its complement.

1.2. *The element gi in Bodensee-Alemannic*

While the verb doubling construction in Swiss German has received quite some attention in the literature, it has hardly ever been mentioned that a very similar construction is found in Alemannic varieties in Southern Germany, Liechtenstein (LI) and Vorarlberg (VB). As in Swiss German, the infinitive is associated with an additional element which in these varieties appears as *gi*. Here is an example from Bodensee-Alemannic (BA), the variety spoken on the German side of Lake Constance.⁸

- (10) I gang **gi** de Onggl bsueche.
 I go.1SG PRT the uncle visit.INF
 ‘I will go visit the uncle’. BA

As we will see, the construction behaves like the Swiss German *go*-construction in many (esp. semantic) respects so that one is tempted to consider *gi* just a phonetic variant of Swiss German *go*. At the same time, however, there are also systematic formal and syntactic differences that argue against a completely uniform treatment. We will trace back these differences to different diachronic developments.

The paper is organized as follows. Section two discusses the properties of the motion verb construction that are shared by both varieties. Section three describes the differences between CH and BA. Section four sketches the historical development of *gi* and *go* including the various stages of the grammaticalization process from a directional preposition to a purpose/goal marker. Section five shows that the differences are the result of a further reanalysis of *go* in CH, namely into a verbal element. Section six contrasts the Alemannic varieties with Standard German by considering further diachronic issues, and section seven concludes the paper.

2. Shared properties

2.1 *Interpretive properties*

In this subsection we will list a number of common semantic properties of the *gi/go construction*. These properties also hold for the Standard German equivalent in (1b) where only a bare infinitive is used. For reasons of space, we will not provide separate SG examples.

First, the interpretation of the motion verb is not purely aspectual as e.g. in English *going to*. Rather, a (real) motion event is always implied. Consider the following example (cf. also Dutch *gaan*, which allows both the future as well as the motional interpretation):⁹

- (11) Ich gang **go** bügle.
 I go.1SG PRT iron.INF
 ‘I’ll go iron.’ CH(BA)

This sentence is only felicitous if the speaker actually goes to a different room to do the ironing. S/he could not utter the sentence with the ironing board in the same room. Note that the locational goal in a *gi/go construction* is not necessarily specific, i.e. *I gang gi/go d Söi fuettere* ‘I go *gi/go* the pigs feed’ is adequate even if the speaker does not know where the pigs actually are (e.g. either in the barn or somewhere outside). *Gi/go* thus does not necessarily specify a location in the literal sense but merely

requires a change of location, i.e. the matrix verb ‘go’ loses its atelic activity reading. Since the motion verb thus has clear semantic content, it cannot be an auxiliary; rather it seems best classified as a semi-lexical verb (cf. the contributions in Corver & van Riemsdijk 2001). The motion component is in fact a precondition for the use of *gi/go* (and the bare infinitive construction in SG). They cannot be licensed by stative verbs, as the following example shows:

- (12) Ich bi **uufblibe/ häiggange* go de Boxkampf luege.
 I am stayed.up/ gone.home PRT the boxing.match watch.INF
 ‘I stayed up/went home to watch the boxing match.’ CH (BA)

The verbs that occur most frequently in the construction are *gaa* ‘go’, *choo/khoo* ‘come’. Less frequently, in BA not at all, one finds verbs of manner of motion such as *räne/springe/lauffe* ‘run’. The object control/causative verb *schicke* ‘send’, on the other hand, is more frequent. *Gi/go*-phrases are thus lexically selected by verbs that express a motion event.¹⁰

Additionally, the entire construction can be shown to be interpreted as a single event. The going event entails the event expressed by the infinitival clause so that the latter cannot be negated separately (cf. Schönenberger & Penner 1995a: 297 for similar observations, Jaeggli & Hyams 1993 on the English *go* V-construction and Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001 on Marsalese):

- (13) Ich gang jede Taag go Gmües poschte, *aber es hät nie.
 I go.1SG every day PRT vegetables buy.INF but there has none
 ‘I go buy vegetables every day (but there never are any).’ CH (BA)

Finally, the subject must be capable of volitional/intentional action (cf. also Dobler 2002: 82f.):¹¹

- (14) a) * **De Gstank vom Restorant** gaat d Nachbere immer go ärgere.
 the smell of.the restaurant goes the neighbors always PRT annoy.INF
 lit.: ‘The smell of the restaurant always goes and annoys the neighbors.’
 b) **Oisi Chind** gönd d Nachbere immer go ärgere.
 our children go.PL the neighbors always PRT annoy.INF
 ‘Our children always go and annoy the neighbors.’ CH(BA)

Importantly, this is not due to selectional properties of motion verbs. Outside the construction with *gi/go*, non-agentive//non-volitional/inanimate subjects are possible:

- (15) **Dëë Brief** gaat uf/chunnt us Amerika.
 this letter goes on comes from America
 ‘This letter goes to/comes from the United States.’ CH(BA)

The semantic restriction is thus specific to the motion verb construction. In 2.5, we will derive it from the semantics of the infinitival complement of motion verbs. Related to the agentivity/volitionality restriction on subjects is the observation that the infinitive must allow for an agentive interpretation as well, cf. 16:

- (16) a) *Er isch schnäll us de Bäiz useggange [go Luft überchoo].
 He is quickly out.of the bar gone.out PRT air get.INF
 ‘He quickly went out of the bar to get some air.’ CH (BA)
 b) *Er isch ziiitig ggange [go de Bus verwütsche]
 He is early.enough left PRT the bus catch.INF
 ‘He left early to catch the bus.’ CH (BA)

The contrast can be made very clear with a pair of verbs related to ‘seeing’ that differ in the intentionality of the subject. While *luege* ‘look (at), watch’ requires an intentional subject, *gsee* ‘see’

does not. As a consequence, the *gi/go construction* is only compatible with *luege* (note that both verbs are compatible with a direct object):

- (17) Ich gang de film nöd go *gsee/luege.
 I go.1SG the movie not PRT see.INF/watch.INF
 ‘I do not go watch the movie.’ CH (BA)

2.2 The category of the infinitival complement

There is clear evidence that the phrase including *gi/go* + infinitive consists merely of a bare VP. This implies that elements that are licensed in higher (functional) positions are impossible within the *gi/go*-phrase. First, sentential negation and negative quantifiers have to occur outside the *gi/go*-phrase.¹²

- (18) a) *Ich gang [go **nöd** hälffe]. b) Ich gang **nöd** [go hälffe]. CH
 I go.1SG PRT not help.INF I go.1SG not PRT help.INF (BA)
- (19) a) *Ich gang [go **niemertem** hälffe]. b) Ich gang **niemertem** [go hälffe].
 I go.1SG PRT no.one.DAT help.INF I go.1SGno.one.DAT PRT help.INF

Second, subject-related depictives, which would require a vP, are equally impossible within the *gi/go*-phrase.¹³

- (20) Er isch **bsoffe** [go ***bsoffe** poschte (ggange)].
 he is drunk PRT drunk do.shopping.INF gone
 ‘He went shopping drunk.’ CH (BA)

Third, high modifiers such as sentential or temporal adverbs are ruled out within the *gi/go*-phrase (cf. also Lötscher 1993: 198). In contrast, low adverbs, which are arguably adjoined somewhere within the VP, are possible, cf. (21c):

- (21) a) Ich gang **wahrschiinlich** [go ***wahrschiinlich** en Film luege].
 I go.1SG probably PRT probably a film watch.INF
 ‘I will probably go see a movie.’ CH (BA)
- b) Er gaat **morn** [go ***morn** d Muetter bsueche].
 he goes tomorrow PRT tomorrow the mother visit.INF
 ‘He will go to visit his mother tomorrow.’ CH (BA)
- c) Mer gönd (**gmüetlich**) [go (**gmüetlich**) es Bier trinke].
 we go.PL relaxed PRT relaxed a beer drink.INF
 ‘We will go to leisurely have a beer.’ CH (BA)

To summarize, all tests that would hint at a functional projection above VP inside the infinitival complement fail. The only possible conclusion is that the infinitival complement does not project more levels than a VP. *Gi/go* takes the infinitival VP as its complement and forms a constituent with it, as the following topicalization facts show:

- (22) a) dass i gang [go poschte]
 that I go.1SG PRT do.shopping.INF baseline CH (BA)
- b) [Go poschte] gang i nöd.
 PRT do.shopping.INF go.1SG I not topicalization CH (BA)

We assume that these facts also hold for SG, but in the absence of a ‘boundary signal’ like *gi/go* in the middle field, it is impossible to construct ungrammatical examples – the negation/the adverbials can always be interpreted as modifying the matrix verb, or rather the event as a whole.

2.3 Structural position of the *gi/go*-phrase

Extraction out of the infinitival complement is possible. This suggests that the *gi/go*-phrase is in a complement position (cf. also Dobler & Rothmayer 2001: 23 on VB):

- (23) Was₁ gaasch [go__₁ poschte]?
 what go.2SG PRT do.shopping.INF
 ‘What do you go buy?’ CH (BA)

Bare motion verbs typically select for goal arguments, therefore the most natural solution would be to analyze the *gi/go*-phrase as actually expressing the goal of the motion event and therefore it would be located in a complement position. But this cannot be the whole story since the *gi/go*-phrase can co-occur with a prepositional goal argument (see section 6.1. for further discussion):

- (24) Ich gang [id Stadt] [go de Unggle bsueche].
 I go.1SG to.the town PRT the uncle visit.INF
 ‘I’ll go to town to visit the uncle.’ CH(BA)

And even in this case, extraction from the infinitival complement is possible:

- (25) Wëer₁ gaasch id Stadt go ___₁ bsueche?
 who go.2SG to.the town PRT visit.INF
 ‘Who are you going to town to visit?’ CH(BA)

Obviously, the *gi/go*-phrase is generally transparent for extraction. Given the reordering possibilities in CH discussed in (2)-(6) this is not surprising (the situation is more complex in BA, cf. 3.2.). This shows that the *gi/go*-phrase is in a complement position, in addition to the goal PP, i.e. ‘go’ may select for two complements within its VP.¹⁴ Again, these facts also hold for the motion verb construction in SG.

2.4 Infinitival complements with *zum*: a clausal complement

Before proceeding to the analysis of the *gi/go construction*, it is instructive to compare it with a semantically very similar motion verb construction where *zum* ‘to’, literally ‘to the’ (*für zum* ‘for to’ in some varieties), introduces the non-finite complement. Several of the restrictions on the *gi/go construction* discussed above do not apply in this case. First, there is no agentivity restriction on the embedded verb. As a consequence, (16a/b) become perfect:

- (26) a) Er isch us de Bäiz useggange [zum Luft überchoo].
 He is out.of the bar gone.out to.the air catch.INF
 ‘He went out of the bar to get some air.’ CH (BA)
 b) Er isch ziiitig ggange [zum de Bus verwütsche].
 He is early.enough left to.the the bus catch.INF
 ‘He left early to catch the bus.’ CH (BA)

Second, there is not necessarily a single-event interpretation. The event expressed by the infinitive can be separately negated:

- (27) Ich bi immer grännt, [zum no früsches Gmües überchoo],
 I am always run to still fresh vegetables get.INF

aber es hät nie ghaa].
 but there has never had
 ‘I always ran to get fresh vegetables, but there never were any.’ CH (BA)

Third, subject-related depictives and (certain) high adverbs are possible:

- (28) a) Ich bi früe häiggange, [zum **am Taag druf** chöne pünktlich abfaare].
 I am early gone.home to.the the day next can.INF on.time leave.INF
 ‘I went home early to be able to leave on time the next day.’ CH (BA)
 b) Ich bi häiggange [zum de Film **eläi** chöne luege].
 I am gone.home to the film alone can.INF watch.INF
 ‘I went home to be able to watch the movie by myself.’ CH (BA)

The *zum*-construction thus obviously involves more structure; *zum* introduces a full infinitival CP-complement, see Brandner (2006).¹⁵ We can conclude from this that motion verbs can occur with infinitival complements of different size, i.e. VP or CP. Semantically, these complements both express the rather abstract notion of ‘purpose’ or ‘goal’, see section 6.1 where we will distinguish the two. For the moment, be it sufficient that they both clearly differ semantically from the concrete spatial goal-PP. Note that *zum*-clauses selected by a motion verb differ from ‘genuine’ purpose clauses (which may combine with any type of matrix verb, cf. (29)), in that they are nevertheless transparent for extraction, cf. (30a) vs. (30b):¹⁶

- (29) Ich han extra nüüt trunke [zum de Film nüechter chöne luege].
 I have.1sg on.purpose nothing drunk to.the the film sober can watch
 ‘I didn’t drink anything on purpose to be able to watch the movie sober.’ CH (BA)
- (30) a) ? Was₁ bisch nomal zruggange [zum ___₁ hole]?
 What are.2SG again gone.back in.order ___ get.INF
 ‘What did you go back again in order to get?’ CH (BA)
 b) * Wäär₁ häsch ‘Chrieg und Friede’ gläse [zum ___₁ beiidrucke]?
 Who have.2SG ‘War and Peace’ read in.order ___ impress.INF
 lit.: ‘Who did you read *War and Peace* in order to impress?’ CH (BA)

For this reason, we will assume that *zum*-clauses under a motion verb are in a complement position as well, just like their *gi/go*-phrase counterparts. *Zum*-clauses must be used if the complement contains a non-agentive verb and/or if two separate events are to be expressed. In this case, a CP structure is necessary. If, however, a single event is to be expressed, a VP is chosen over a CP. Even though in theory it would be possible to express a single event by means of a CP-complement (under the provision that the dependent *v* is “controlled” by the matrix *v*) the *gi/go construction* is preferred for reasons of projective economy.

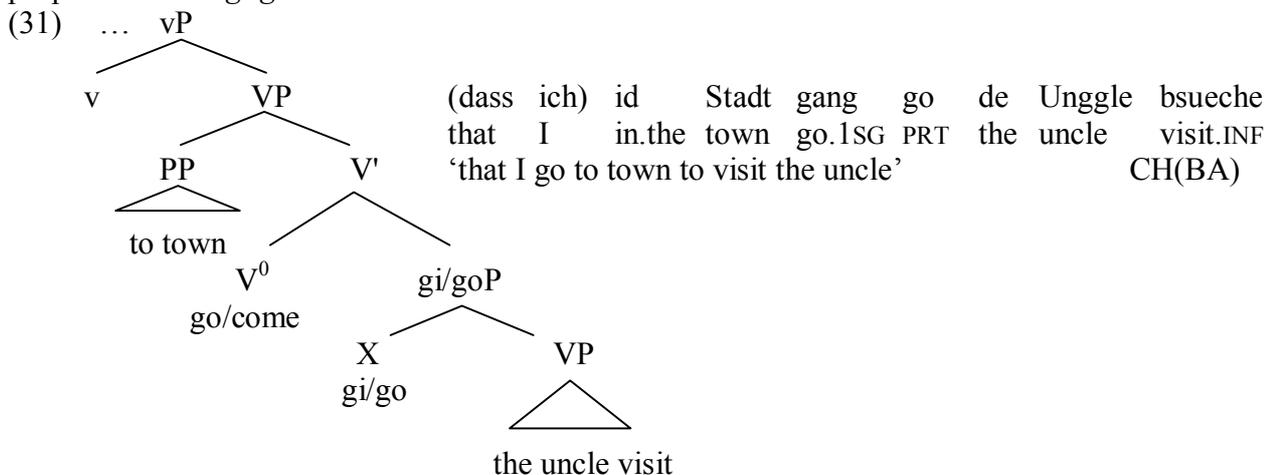
Recall from section 1 that the SG equivalent of the *gi/go construction* are bare infinitives; the SG equivalent of the *zum*-construction are purpose clauses headed by *um...zu* ‘in order to’. The latter behave like *zum*-clauses with respect to the properties under discussion.

The lexical entry of ‘go’ thus allows several types of complements and combinations thereof:

Table 1: lexical entry of <i>gaa</i> ‘go’		
<i>argument</i>	<i>realization</i>	<i>semantics</i>
–	–	intransitive non-telic motion event: SG, CH, BA.
(spatial) goal	PP	telic motion event: SG, CH, BA
purpose/goal	∅ + VP	single complex event: SG
purpose/goal	<i>gi/go</i> + VP	single complex event: CH, BA
purpose	<i>um ... zu, zum</i>	two separate events: SG, CH, BA
(spatial) goal + purpose/goal	PP + (<i>gi/go</i> +)VP/CP	telic motion event; one or two events: SG, CH, BA

2.5 The structure

We will propose the following structure as an initial hypothesis to account for the behavioral properties of the *gi/go construction* that both varieties share:



We have provisionally labeled the projection headed by *gi* or *go* as *gi/goP*. The syntactic category is left unspecified – for reasons that will become clear in section 4.

The structure accounts immediately for the constituency facts (22) and the co-occurrence of goal-PP and purpose/goal complements, cf. (24). Since motion verbs can select a purpose/goal complement, the agentivity/volitionality restriction on the matrix subject noted in (14) finds a natural explanation. Even if ‘go’ and ‘come’ can have a non-agentive/non-volitional subject by themselves, as in (15), as soon as the purpose phrase is present, the subject of the selecting verb must be agentive/volitional. Otherwise the (lexico-semantic) requirements of a purpose reading are not met. This is a general property of subjects of clauses on which a purpose clause depends. Here is a pair from English that illustrates this:

- (32) a) *I was sitting to watch the children play.
 b) I sat down to watch the children play.

The agentivity restriction for the embedded verb (16), however, does not follow from the semantics of purpose clauses since the (implicit) subjects of *zum*-clauses (and their SG or English equivalents) need not be agentive, cf. (26). Instead, the restriction follows from the lack of a separate vP-layer (and thus a subject position) within the *gi/go*-phrase. The dependent verb simply cannot license different properties of the subject; and since subjects of clauses that are modified by a purpose clause must be agentive/volitional, cf. (32), this also holds for the subject of the infinitive. In the case of *zum*-complements things are different because there is a separate vP-layer so that the dependent verb can determine the properties of its subject independently.

The presence of only one vP-layer in the *gi/go construction* also explains the single-event interpretation (13) and the ban on elements related to structurally higher positions (high adverbials, negative elements, subject related depictives, (18)-(21)). Since the purpose clause is merged as a complement, it is correctly predicted to be transparent for extraction (23).

3 Differences between CH-Alemannic and DE-Alemannic

While the previous section suggests that we are basically dealing with the same construction in both varieties (and in SG), there are a number of striking asymmetries in the behavior of the particle that remain unaccounted for under the structure postulated in (31). These are the topic of this section.

3.1 No integration into the VR/VPR-system

While *go* in CH can occur in various positions within the verbal cluster and thus behaves like a verbal element that participates in VR and VPR, cf. (2), the placement of *gi* is much more restricted: it has to be placed at the beginning of the infinitival clause, with the only exception that datives can occur immediately before *gi* (cf. also Dobler 2002, Dobler & Rothmayer 2001, Schallert to appear):

- (33) a) I gang [gi da Muetter an Struuss kofe].
 b) ?I gang [da Muetter gi an Struuss kofe].
 c) *I gang [da Muetter an Struuss gi kofe].
 I go.1SG PRT the.DAT mother PRT a bunch PRT buy BA

3.2 Reordering possibilities

Another area where BA differs significantly from CH are the reordering possibilities. While CH shows all the monosentential hallmarks familiar from restructuring, reordering is much more restricted in BA. First, pronoun fronting is optional:

- (34) a) Ich gang [gi s abhole]. b) Ich gang s₁ [gi ___₁ abhole].
 I go.1SG PRT it get.INF I go.1SG it PRT get.INF
 'I'll go get it.' BA

Second, reordering of arguments seems to be limited to dative arguments (see also Dobler & Rothmayer 2001 and Dobler 2002 for Vorarlberg German):

- (35) a) I gang [em Vatter]₁ [gi ___₁ en Kuecha bringa].
 I go.1SG the.DAT father PRT a cake bring.INF
 'I'll go bring the father a cake.' BA
 b) ?? I gang [s Fahrrad]₁ [gi ___₁ hole].
 I go.1SG the bicycle PRT get.INF
 'I go and get the bicycle.' BA

Dative reordering seems to be restricted to the projection of *gi*: reordering datives with elements of the matrix clause is strongly degraded:

- (36) ??/*Es goot [de Mueter]₁/ [ere]₁ neamed [gi ___₁ hälffe].
 It goes the.DAT mother her.DAT nobody PRT help.INF
 'Nobody goes to help mother.' BA

This shows that the reordering we find in BA is to be distinguished from restructuring. Recall, though, that the limited reordering possibilities cannot be due to the structural position of the *gi*-phrase since A'-extraction is possible, recall (23), (25).

SG works like CH with respect to reordering in that weak pronoun fronting and DP-scrambling is possible (we take pronoun fronting to be obligatory, but in the absence of *gi/go* this cannot be shown):

- (37) weil er es/das Päckchen gleich abholen ging
 because he it/the package immediately get.INF went
 'because he went to get it/the package immediately'

SG differs from CH in that the motion verb construction is obligatorily coherent, i.e. extraposition of the infinitival complement is completely impossible:

- (38) * weil er ging [Brötchen holen]
 because he went rolls get.INF
 ‘because he went to get rolls’

However, this is not surprising since unlike BA/CH, Standard German does not allow extraposition of bare infinitives; for relevant data from BA, see Brandner (2006).

3.3 No verbal doubling in BA

While there is quite some evidence for a kind of verb doubling in CH, such evidence is missing in BA. Apart from the lack of phonetic similarity between *gi* and the infinitive of ‘go’, which is normally *goo*, BA also lacks all the other doubling properties found in CH:

First, as opposed to CH (7), BA does not allow more than one instance of *gi*:

- (39) I gang [**gi** de Muetter (***gi**) en Struuss kofe].
 I go.1SG PRT the.DAT mother PRT a bunch buy.INF BA

Second, the particle invariably shows up as ‘gi’ in BA. There is no doubling of ‘come’ or other verbs, cf. (9):

- (40) Kunsch zu üüs ***cho/gi** essa?
 come.2SG to us PRT eat.INF
 ‘Are you coming to us for dinner?’ BA

While the properties discussed in section 2 show that *gi* and *go* have the same meaning and external syntax, the facts reviewed in this section suggest that *gi* differs from *go* in fundamental respects. There are no signs of integration into the verbal system and no signs of (verbal) doubling.¹⁷

4 The historical development

In this section we will sketch the historical development for both *gi* and *go* which helps understand the similarities and differences between them. We will thereby adopt and extend insights from Lötscher (1993).

4.1 The prepositional origin of *gi/go*

According to Lötscher (1993: 187ff.) both *gi* and *go* originate from the preposition *gen* which is a shortened version of *gegen* ‘towards’. It occurred as *ge(n)*, *ga(n)* and *go(n)* and existed already in Middle High German (Deutsches Wörterbuch 5, 3342, 2c; 5, 2194, 62, 3c/d). *Gen* was used preferably with place names (*gen Venedig* = ‘towards Venice’) and with directions (*gen Westen* = ‘towards the west’). This is still true for some varieties that use *gi*, e.g. Liechtenstein German or Swabian, and Vorarlberg German, cf. Dobler (2002), Dobler & Rothmayer (2001), Schallert (to appear).¹⁸

- (41) I gang gi Venedig.
 I go.1SG to Venice
 ‘I go to Venice.’ LI/VB

There is an obvious conceptual closeness between directional prepositions with their meaning ‘motion towards a goal’ and the more abstract notion of ‘purpose’. It is therefore unsurprising that there is a frequently attested grammaticalization path from directional preposition to complementizer of purpose clauses, see Rice and Kabata (2007) and Schmidtke-Bode (2009). Assuming for the moment that the *gi/go*-phrase is a realization of an infinitival purpose clause (but see section 6 for refinement), the

- (46) a) Ich gehe zum Marktplatz. SG
 I go.1SG to.the market.place
 ‘I go to the market place.’
- b) Ich lud sie ein zum Fischessen/*zum die frischen Fische essen.
 I invited them PRT to fish.eating/ to the fresh fish eat.INF
 ‘I invited them to a fish dinner.’/‘I invited them to eat the fresh fish.’

As was shown in section 2.4, *zum* in BA has undergone stage (b) as well. This brings us back to the purpose usage of *zum* in (26)-(28), where we showed that *zum* introduces a full-fledged infinitival CP, even if it is the complement of a motion verb. It is thus undoubtedly of the category C. The question then is of what category the particle *gi/go* is at stages (b) and (c). Lötscher (1993: 187) calls it a “verbal preposition”. But note that an analysis in terms of preposition is undesirable given the possibility to extract, cf. 2.3 (PPs are strong islands in CH and BA). Conversely, an analysis as a complementizer would fail to account for the asymmetries between *gi/go* on the one hand and *zum* on the other (cf. 2.4.). We will thus remain neutral as to the exact specification because we think that this would not do justice to the grammaticalization process (cf. also Dobler 2002: 92). We will instead suggest that *gi* in BA is a particle that heads a functional projection above VP and overtly expresses the purpose/goal-interpretation, see section 6.1. for further discussion.

4.2. The emergence of verb doubling in Swiss German

While *gi* is synchronically still best analyzed as a functional head in BA, *go* in CH underwent a further development: the functional head was reinterpreted as a doubled verb. According to Lötscher (1993: 190f.) there were two crucial parts: First, the infinitive of ‘go’, realized as *gaa(n)/goo(n)*, was weakened/shortened when occurring before a dependent infinitive. Due to the ascending order in the verbal complex in Alemannic (Lötscher 1978) such configurations obtained quite frequently:

- (47) Ich muess gaan essen. (hypothetical example)
 I must.1SG go.INF eat.INF
 ‘I must go eat.’

Second, in Swiss German the equivalent of *gi* was *ga(n)/go(n)* (cf. Idiotikon II, 322) and thus phonetically practically identical to the shortened verb form. As discussed above, this functional head could combine with infinitives; cf. the stages (a-c), so that structures like the following obtained:

- (48) Ich gan weder gan predigen nog gan toufen (a.1525) Idiotikon 2, 326.
 I go.1SG neither PRT preach.INF nor PRT baptize.INF
 ‘I neither go to preach nor to baptize.’

The functional head was thus very similar to the infinitive as well as to the first person singular of ‘go’ after which it arguably occurred quite frequently. This led to a reinterpretation of it as a verbal element and, given cases like (48), as a doubling form of the verb.¹⁹ In a final step, this doubling rule was then extended to other verbs, recall the facts from (8)-(9). According to Lötscher (1993: 182f.), the geographical and diachronic facts neatly converge with this scenario: *go* is the most widely used particle, occurring practically everywhere in Swiss German, while *cho*, *la* and *afa* occur in more restricted areas. *Go* is also the earliest attested doubling form, dating back to at least the 16th century. In sum, while BA *gi* heads a distinct functional projection, Swiss German *go* has been reanalyzed as a verbal head and is now integrated into the verbal system. In the next section, we will show how this difference in category can explain the differences observed in section 3.

5. Accounting for the differences

5.1 *Gi* in BA

Since *gi* in BA heads a functional projection above VP of its own, several of the properties observed in section 3 follow immediately. First, *gi* can occur only once; second, this occurrence is restricted to the left of VP (with the exception of datives, cf. below for discussion). Third, doubling with other verbs cannot occur since *gi* simply has never been interpreted as a (verbal) double. That weak pronouns can cliticize on it is also expected since *gi* occupies a functional head and can thus serve as a clitic host. The question then is how we can account for those cases where the pronoun is cliticized onto the matrix verb as in (34b), repeated here for convenience:

- (49) Ich gang s₁ [gi __₁ abhole].
 I go.1SG it PRT get.INF
 ‘I’ll go get it.’ BA

We cannot say that this is an instance of restructuring proper since DP-reordering is impossible (recall the facts from 3.2). Rather, we submit that the *gi*-construction instantiates a case of what Wurmbrand (2001: 273ff.) calls ‘reduced non-restructuring’ within a system of ‘graded (non-)restructuring’: in our case it would be an infinitival complement that is larger than a pure restructuring complement (namely the VP plus the functional layer headed by *gi*) but smaller than an infinitival CP-complement. In reduced non-restructuring contexts, pronoun fronting and A'-movement operations are licit, in contrast to scrambling and long passive.

The fact that datives can precede *gi* (35a), however, remains unclear so far. We will provisionally assume that they move to the specifier of *gi*, but crucially do not leave the projection of *gi*. This is in accordance with the fact that datives cannot reorder with elements of the matrix clause, (36). Additionally, topicalization of the *gi*-phrase, while leaving the dative behind, leads to strong ungrammaticality (50a). On the other hand, the *gi*-phrase can be topicalized together with the dative, if it precedes *gi* (50b). This shows that the dative does not leave the *gi*-constituent:

- (50) a) *[Gi helffe]₁ isch er **em** **Vatter** __₁ gange.
 PRT help.INF is he the.DAT father gone BA
 b) [Em Vatter gi helffe]₁ isch er gange __₁.
 the.DAT father PRT help.INF is he gone BA
 ‘He’s gone to help his father.’ BA

In a restructuring configuration with a modal, an argument can be stranded, compare (50a) with (51):

- (51) [__₁ Lese solle] hätt er [de Brief]₁ halt scho.
 read.INF should.INF has he the letters PRT PRT
 ‘He should have read this letters.’ BA (CH)

One reviewer suggests making use of Larsonian shells in order to provide an additional specifier position for datives; however, this does not seem to be an option as it presupposes that *gi* in BA is verbal. If, on the other hand, *gi* indeed heads a functional projection that can be termed as purpose/goal, moving the dative argument to its specifier would at least be compatible with the semantics since datives canonically express goals. But since it is unclear to us how such an analysis could be argued for on independent grounds we have to leave this issue for future work.

5.2 Go in CH

As we showed at the beginning, there is good reason to believe that *go* is a non-finite verbal element in CH. We follow this tradition but would like to be somewhat more explicit about this. Concretely, we propose that *go* heads its own VP and selects a non-finite VP.²⁰

(52) ‘go’/‘come’ [_{VP} go [_{VP} Inf]]

That the complement is a big VP has been shown in 2.2.²¹ Evidence that *go* heads its own projection comes from the fact it can be topicalized together with constituents in its specifier. Since in those cases it need not be adjacent to the infinitive, it cannot be reanalyzed as an infinitive marker (like e.g. SG *zu* ‘to’):

(53) [De Muetter go en Struuss chauffe]_I gang i nöd ____I.
the.DAT mother PRT a bunch buy.INF go.1SG I not

We thus assume that *go* is an independent element and not a spelled-out (bottom) copy of the chain of the motion verb, i.e. there is no doubling in a technical sense (even though there arguably was a productive doubling rule at some earlier point). As pointed out in van Riemsdijk (2002: 160, fn. 22), under a spell-out analysis, it would be far from clear what kind of movement of the matrix verb would be involved, especially in V-final structures like (22a) where V is normally assumed to stay in V. Inversely, we assume that the inflected motion verb is not an expletive in I as in Schönenberger & Penner (1995a/b) but a fully-fledged verb that heads its own VP/vP. The major piece of evidence for this is the fact that the *go*-construction is also licensed by infinitival (or participial) motion verbs (*pace* Schönenberger & Penner 1995b: 300; admittedly, ellipsis of the motion verb is preferred for many speakers in that case, cf. fn. 10). Here one cannot argue that the infinitival motion verb is inserted to pick up inflectional features in I; additionally, if the infinitive is omitted, one cannot argue that the modal licenses the *go*-construction since *wele* is non-finite as well.

(54) dass de Hans hät wele uf Bern (**gaa**) go de Match luege.
that the John has want.INF to Bern go.INF PRT the match watch
‘that John wanted to go to Bern to watch the match’

What remains unexplained so far is the spreading of the particle (7). We do not have a proper explanation yet and will only offer the following speculation: since *go* is verbal in CH and neither has lexical content nor arguments of its own and only subcategorizes for a VP, nothing in principle rules out merging several such verbal elements in the verbal cluster. According to the intuitions of native speakers, these additional *gos* can be used for prosodic structuring and to avoid stress clashes. This is not possible in BA where *gi* is not verbal, but occupies a functional head and expresses purpose/goal.²²

6 Why is *gi/go* limited to Alemannic varieties?

6.1. Historical issues

Having discussed the syntactic properties of *gi* and *go* in BA and CH, it is a legitimate question why this particle shows up at all in these Alemannic varieties. This is particularly puzzling given that the preposition *gen*, from which both elements are derived, had a much wider areal distribution (cf. Deutsches Wörterbuch, 5, 3342, 23). It is therefore worthwhile to have a look at motion verb constructions in Standard German and its predecessors. As was mentioned throughout the paper, Modern Standard German uses a bare infinitive with motion verbs. Nevertheless, the semantic interpretation as purpose/goal and the syntactic behavior (e.g. transparency for extraction) are as in the

Alemannic construction with *gi/go*. So we can rather safely assume that the underlying structure is basically identical with the only difference that SG motion verbs directly select for a VP without the functional layer we identified for Alemannic. Looking back into the history of German, we find that the SG construction with a bare infinitive is obviously the older construction. It dates back even to Gothic. Paul (1920: 95ff) provides the following examples from Gothic (55a, Kor, 1.17) and Middle High German (55b, Hartmann, Iwein):²³

- (55) a) insandida mik ...daupjan b) dise fuoren sehen frouwen...
 sent me ...baptize.INF these went see.INF women
 ‘sent me to baptize’ ‘they went to see women’

Returning to the question posed at the beginning, the data in (55) show that the purpose/goal interpretation in itself is not dependent on any type of particle but rather inherent to the combination [motion verb + bare infinitive]. Thus, the use of *gi/go* is clearly an Alemannic innovation; according to Lötscher (1993), the first attested appearance dates back to the 16th century. In light of (55) and the many other German dialects that do not use a particle or complementizer in motion verb constructions, the particle seems to be superfluous, in fact redundant.

But if we consider further infinitival constructions in Alemannic, we can detect a pattern into which the *gi/go construction* fits very well. In order to see this, we briefly have to go back to the *zum*-construction. Recall from above that there is an alternative to the *gi/go construction*, namely *zum*-CP purpose clauses. In BA *zum* has been desemanticized further to a pure left peripheral infinitival complementizer that can now be used to introduce infinitives of all types, cf. Brandner (2006):

- (56) a) I ha vergesse *zum* de Block zuemache.
 I have.1SG forgotten to.the the greenhouse close.INF
 ‘I forgot to close the greenhouse.’ BA
 b) I ha koa Zii *zum* mit dir schpile.
 I have.1SG no time to.the with you play.INF
 ‘I have no time to play with you.’ BA (CH)

Note that there is no infinitival marker before the non-finite verb itself, as it would be the case in SG. We can thus draw the conclusion that the pattern [left peripheral particle + bare infinitive] is a common pattern in BA. With this in mind, the construction [*gi* + bare infinitive] can simply be seen as another instance of the general infinitival structure available in this language. Whether this can be attributed to a tendency towards uniformity of clause types in the sense of ‘analogy in syntax’ will be left open here. But what we can see is that BA has the structural preconditions to grammaticalize prepositions directly to infinitival complementizers. This is different in SG where infinitives are not marked at the left edge – with the sole exception of infinitival purpose clauses with *um ... zu*.

In the discussion above we referred to the semantic role of the *gi/go*-phrase ambiguously as purpose/goal. This is no accident since these notions are conceptually quite close. In fact they overlap in the sense that ‘goal’ can be seen as a subtype of ‘purpose’. ‘Goal’ involves physical motion towards a location and is thus intimately tied to the agent of the matrix verb. ‘Purpose’ is more general: it need not involve a motion event and it can entail that some other referent will be affected. In the following, we will sketch very briefly how these notions can be brought together with the various syntactic realizations of motion verb complements that we have seen until now.

There is one clear case, namely the spatial location of a goal, realized invariably by a PP. This goal reading was transferred to activities, realized by a bare infinitive, cf. the data from Gothic, MHG and SG, see Paul (1920). Alemannic marks this reading overtly by grammaticalizing the rather specific directional preposition *gen*. These are the cases exemplified under (1). Recall that a physical motion event is necessary for *gi/go* in order to be licensed, cf. the discussion around (11).

In 2.4., we showed that infinitives under motion verbs that are marked with *zum/um...zu* are not as much semantically restricted as the motion verbs with bare infinitives (no single event reading

required, no agentivity restriction) and we argued that in this case the complement is a full-fledged CP, i.e. a purpose clause.

‘Genuine’ modifying purpose clauses have a very different history: they were realized as finite clauses until Early New High German. Only from then on do we find infinitival purpose clauses, marked with *um...zu*, see Paul (1920: 120ff). We even find early occurrences of *umb ... zu* with motion verbs as in Steinhöwel’s translations of Aesop at around 1480:

- (57) Esopus gieng umb ze suchen (Steinhöwel, Aesop 55,
E. went in.order to search.INF cited after Paul 1920: 121)

In modern German (57) would be expressed by means of a bare infinitive. This suggests that *umb ... zu* was compatible with a single event reading. So it seems as if there is an overlap between goal and purpose not only in conceptual terms but also in the syntactic forms since both can be realized by means of an *um ... zu*-construction. In contemporary SG, the functions are marked differently again, goals by means of bare infinitives and purpose clauses by means of *um ... zu*.

A final question remains and this is how it is possible that a verb may select for two goals at the same time, cf. cases like e.g. (44) where a spatial PP and a *gi/go*-phrase occur within the same clause? The answer is that this is possible if the two goals end up conceptually as one event,²⁴ i.e. ‘go to town’ and ‘buy books there’. In this sense, it is conceptually more like a coordination, although structurally, the two ‘sub-goals’ occur in different slots.

6.2. The case of West Flemish

Interestingly, there is one area outside Alemannic where a similar verb doubling phenomenon can be found, viz. West Flemish (WF) (Haegeman 1990). The motional auxiliary *goan* obligatorily occurs after motion verbs:

- (58) Me gingen vroeger atent *(goan) picknikken no den lak.
we went formerly always PRT picknick.inf to the lake
‘We used to go to the lake on a picknick.’ (Haegeman 1990: 81)

It seems to make the same semantic contribution as *go*, is also licensed after modal verbs and even shows tripling (van Riemsdijk 2002: 182, recall fn. 17). It differs from *go* in that it only allows VR but not VPR, i.e. it always has to be adjacent to the infinitive (modulo incorporated X^o-elements). For our purposes it suffices to note that the major difference is that *goan* is lexically marked as a prefix which the infinitive has to incorporate into.

Since as far as we can assess *goan* is not of prepositional origin, the presence of verb doubling in WF raises questions for the scenario proposed here. We can only speculate, but it seems that verb doubling has evolved spontaneously without the mediation of a directional preposition. The process involving the direct transition from motion verb to purpose/goal marker is in fact crosslinguistically not unheard of, it is frequently found in languages with serial verbs. Here are data from Carribean English Creole (Winford 1990: 127); parallel data are found in Kouwenberg (1994: 307ff.) on Berbice Dutch.

- (59) a) Yu beta go hoom **go** sii bau cha chilan.
you better go home go see about your children
‘You better go home to look after your children’
b) Di hosban kom in **ko(m)** luk biebi.
the husband came in come look baby
‘The husband came in to have a look at the baby.’

Intriguingly, both Winford (1990: 130) and Kouwenberg (1994: 307ff.) mention that the second occurrence of the motion verb is phonologically reduced and does not bear any TMA-marking. We intend to pursue a detailed evaluation of this option for WF in future work.²⁵

7 Conclusion

In this paper we have compared motion verb constructions in two Alemannic varieties, namely in Bodensee-Alemannic and Swiss German, where a special particle introduces the infinitival complement that depends on the motion verb. At first sight the two varieties only seem to differ with respect to the form of the particle. Upon closer inspection, however, a number of striking asymmetries emerge. We have shown that the asymmetries can be reduced to the categorial status of the particle in the two varieties. It was originally a preposition and has developed into a purpose/goal marker in Bodensee-Alemannic. In Swiss German, however, the purpose/goal marker has been reanalyzed as a verbal element and has been integrated into the Verb Raising/Verb Projection Raising system.

References

- Badisches Wörterbuch. Ed. by E. Ochs, continued by K.-F. Müller and G.W. Bauer. Lahr, 1925ff.
- Barbiers, S., Koenenman O., Lekakou M., and Ham M. van der. 2008. *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*. Bingley: Emerald.
- Brandner, E. 2006. Bare Infinitives in Alemannic and the categorial Status of Infinitival Complements. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 6: 203-269.
- Brandner, E. and Salzmann, M. 2009. Crossing the Lake: Motion verb constructions in Bodensee-Alemannic and Swiss German. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 48: 81-113.
- Bucheli, C. and Salzmann, M. (in prep.). From directional preposition to purpose marker to infinitive marker – on the diachrony and geography of the particles introducing complements of motion verbs in Alemannic. Ms. University of Zurich.
- Burgmeier, M. 2006. I gang go schaffa – Zur Vorkommensweise der Infinitivpartikel ‚go‘ in alemannischen Dialekten. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Zurich.
- Carden, G. and Pesetsky, D. 1979. Double Verb Constructions, Markedness, and a Fake Coordination. *Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*: 82-92.
- Cardinaletti, A. and Giusti, G. 2001. Semi-lexical motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In *Semi-lexical categories. On the function of content words and the content of function words*, N. Corver and H. van Riemsdijk (eds), 371-414. Berlin: Mouton.
- Cinque, G. 2006. Restructuring and functional structure. In *Restructuring and functional heads: The cartography of syntactic structures volume 4*, G. Cinque (ed), 11-63. New York: OUP.
- Corver, N. and Riemsdijk, H. van. 2001. *Semi-lexical categories. On the function of content words and the content of function words*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Deutsches Wörterbuch, edited by J. and W. Grimm. 1854-1961.
- Dikken, M. den. 1996. The minimal links of Verb (Projection) Raising. In *Minimal Ideas. Syntactic Studies in the Minimalist Framework*, W. Abraham, S. D. Epstein, H. Thráinsson and J.-W. Zwart (eds), 67-96. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dobler, E. 2002. *Gi-Infinitive im Vorarlbergischen*. MA dissertation, University of Vienna.

- Dobler, E. and Rothmayer, A. 2001. The gi+inf construction in Vorarlberg German. *Wiener Linguistische Gazette* 67-69: 1-24.
- Embick, D. and Noyer, R. 2001. Movement Operations after Syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 555-595.
- Gelderen, E. van. 2004. *Grammaticalization as economy*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Haegeman, L. 1990. The syntax of motional goan in West Flemish. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1990*, R. Bok-Bennema and P. Coopmans (eds), 81-90. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Haegeman, L. 2009. Linguistic variation in Belgium: dialects and tussentaal. A case study: West Flemish negation. Paper presented at the Meertens Institute, 17. 9. 2009.
- Haegeman, L. and Riemsdijk, H. van. 1986. Verb Projection Raising, scope, and the typology of rules affecting verbs. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17: 417-466.
- Hodler, W. 1969. *Berndeutsche Syntax*. Tübingen: Francke.
- Idiotikon. Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache. Frauenfeld: Huber. 1881ff.
- Jaeggli, O. A. and Hyams, N. M. 1993. On the independence and interdependence of syntactic and morphological properties: English aspectual come and go. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11, 313-346.
- Kouwenberg, S. 1994. *A Grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Lötscher, A. 1978. Zur Verbstellung im Zürichdeutschen und in anderen Varianten des Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 1: 1-29.
- Lötscher, A. 1993. Zur Genese der Verbverdoppelung bei gaa, choo, laa, aafaa ("gehen", "kommen", "lassen", "anfangen") im Schweizerdeutschen. In *Dialektsyntax*, W. Abraham and J. Bayer (eds), 180-200. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Marti, W. 1985. *Berndeutsche Grammatik für die heutige Mundart zwischen Thun und Jura*. Bern: Cosmos.
- Noth, H. 1993. *Alemannisches Dialekthandbuch vom Kaiserstuhl und seiner Umgebung*. Freiburg: Schillinger Verlag.
- Noth, H. 2002. *Breisgauer alemannische Kurzgrammatik*. <http://www.noth.net> cited 30.12.2008.
- Nübling, D. 1995. Die Kurzverben im Schweizerdeutschen. In der Kürze liegt die Würze oder Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Reduktion und Differenzierung. In *Alemannische Dialektforschung. Bilanz und Perspektiven. Beiträge zur 11. Arbeitstagung alemannischer Dialektologen*, H. Löffler (ed), 165-179. Tübingen/Basel: Francke.
- Paul, H. 1920. *Deutsche Grammatik IV*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Riemsdijk, H. van. 2002. The unbearable lightness of GOing. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 5: 143-196.

- Rice, S. and Kabata, K. 2007. Crosslinguistic grammaticalization patterns of the allative. *Linguistic Typology* 11: 451-514.
- Roberts, I G. and Roussou, A. 2003. *Syntactic change a minimalist approach to grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salzmann, M. 2010. An Alemannic challenge to the FOFC. Paper presented at the linearization workshop at the DGfS meeting, February 2010, Berlin.
- Salzmann, M. to appear. On a movement paradox in Verb Projection Raising. To appear in the Proceedings of CSSP 2009 (*Empirical issues in syntax and semantics* 8).
- Schallert, O. (to appear): Syntax des Vorarlberger Alemannischen. To appear in *Montfort*.
- Schmidt, C. 2000. Die Verbverdoppelung im Zürichdeutschen. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Freiburg im Breisgau.
- Schmidtke-Bode, K. 2009. *A typology of purpose clauses*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Schmid, T. and Vogel, R. 2004. Dialectal Variation in German 3-Verb Clusters: A Surface-Oriented Optimality Theoretic Account. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7: 235-274.
- Schönenberger, M. and Penner, Z. 1995a. Cross-Dialectal Variation in Swiss German: Doubling Verbs, Verb Projection Raising, Barrierhood, and LF Movement. In *Studies in comparative Germanic Syntax*, H. Haider, S. Olson and S. Vikner (eds), 285-305. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Schönenberger, M. and Penner, Z. 1995b. Probing Swiss-German Clause Structure by means of the Placement of Verbal Expletives: Tun "do" and Verb Doubling. In *Topics in Swiss German Syntax*, Z. Penner (ed), 291-330. Bern etc.: Peter Lang.
- Seidelmann, E. 2000. Karte III/1.401. Infinitivpartikeln: "ich gehe ... essen" u.ä. Gesamtkarte. In *Kommentare zum Südwestdeutschen Sprachatlas. 2. Lieferung*, U. Knoop, V. Schupp and H. Steger (eds). Marburg: Elwert.
- Simpson, A. and Wu, Z. 2002. From D to T – Determiner Incorporation and the Creation of Tense. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 11: 169-209.
- Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz (SDS). 1962-1997. Founded by H. Baumgartner and R. Hotzenköcherle. In collaboration with K. Lobeck, R. Schläpfer, R. Trüb and under cooperation with P. Zinsli edited by R. Hotzenköcherle. Bern, Volume VII and VIII Basel: Francke.
- Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas. 1989ff. ed. by H. Steger, E. Gabriel and V. Schupp. Marburg: Elwert.
- Suter, R. 1976. *Baseldeutsch-Grammatik*. Basel: Merian.
- Truswell, R. 2008. *A semantic constraint on wh-movement. Extended events and extraction from in order clause*. Proceedings of ConSOLE XV, 2008, 321-340 <http://www.sole.leidenuniv.nl>
- Weber, A. 1964. *Zürichdeutsche Grammatik: Ein Wegweiser zur Guten Mundart*. Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel Verlag.
- Winford, D. 1990. Serial verb constructions and motion events in Caribbean English creoles. In *When Verbs Collide*, B. D. Joseph and A. Zwicky (eds), 109-148. Ohio State University.

¹ Earlier versions of this research were presented at the Edisyn workshop in Venice (September 2008), at the Syntax Colloquium in Konstanz (January 2009), and at the SWIGG Workshop in Neuchâtel (May 2009). We thank Sjeff Barbiers, Josef Bayer, Hans Bennis, Chiara Gianollo, Anne Kjeldahl, Marika Lekakou, Doris Penka, Cecilia Poletto, Eva-Maria Remberger, Luigi Rizzi, and Ur Shlonsky for helpful discussion. We would also like to thank Claudia Bucheli Berger for detailed comments on an earlier version of this paper. Finally, we would like to thank three anonymous reviewers whose comments and suggestions have led to a substantial improvement of the paper. An earlier version of parts of this research appeared as Brandner & Salzmann (2009).

² For ease of readability we gloss *go/ga* (and *gi* below) consistently as ‘particle’ to distinguish it clearly from the lexical motion verb. Its precise categorial status is addressed in 1.1 and sections 4 and 5.

³ A map with the distribution of *go* can be found in the language atlas of German-speaking Switzerland (Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz, SDS 3, 265). The Swiss German examples in this paper are drawn from Zurich German. Verb doubling is also found in West Flemish (WF) (Haegeman 1990). We briefly address WF in section 6 below.

A useful overview over the descriptive literature on the *go*-construction can be found in Burgmeier (2006).

⁴ One exception is van Riemsdijk (2002: 153) who remains non-committal and calls it a ‘verbal infinitive marker’. This may be linked to the fact that van Riemsdijk only provides examples where *go* immediately precedes the infinitive. As we will see presently, this is not always the case.

⁵ Note that we adopt a right-branching structure for the verbal complex as e.g. den Dikken (1996) while we adhere to an OV-structure for DP- and PP arguments; this leads to a mixed system as e.g. in Schmid & Vogel (2004). This choice is largely made for expository purposes. The data we discuss here are in principle also compatible with a consistently right- or left-branching analysis. There are, however, interesting asymmetries between ascending and descending orders w.r.t. *go* which are taken as evidence for a right-branching basis in Salzmann (2010).

⁶ We use movement notation for A-dependencies for expository purposes only. We remain neutral as to whether such reorderings involve movement or base-generation since this issue is orthogonal to our goals. But see Salzmann (to appear) for arguments in favor of base-generation.

⁷ Not all Swiss German dialects allow doubling with *cho*. Instead, *go* is used after *choo* ‘come’. This can be seen on the SDS map 3, 265. However, since the map involves the idiomatic expression “it comes raining” the results may be distorted. An explicit statement that *cho*-doubling is impossible can e.g. be found in Suter (1976: 150) on Basle German. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as ‘cross-doubling’. Cf. Bucheli & Salzmann (in prep.) for new geographical data.

As pointed out in van Riemsdijk (2002: 156), cross-doubling is also possible in dialects that in principle allow *cho*-doubling. In that case, the choice of the particle is semantically determined:

- i) Chunnsch *cho/go ässe*
come.2sg PRT eat.INF

‘Are you coming {to me to eat/along to eat}?’

If *go* is chosen, the hearer comes to the speaker and the two go to a different place to eat. If *cho* is used the hearer comes to the speaker and the two eat there. Finally, *la*- and *afe*-doubling are also restricted to certain varieties, cf. Lötscher (1993), Bucheli & Salzmann (in prep.) and the discussion in 4.2 below.

⁸ A detailed map showing the distribution in South-Western Germany can be found in the language atlas of south-western Germany (Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas, SSA III/1.401). *Gi* is also found in a few locations in Switzerland such as the cantons of Appenzell and the Rhine Valley, cf. SDS 3, 265. Conversely, the map in the SSA shows that there are some varieties in Southern Germany that use *go*, cf. also Noth (1992, 2002).

We do not know in all cases whether identity of form implies identical (categorical and with it syntactic) properties. There is some evidence that this is not always the case, cf. Brandner & Salzmann (2009: 88ff., fn. 15–17). What is crucial, though, is that the form *go* is a necessary precondition for the reanalysis process described in 5.2. Despite these complications, the attribution *gi* = spoken in Germany and *go* = spoken in Switzerland nevertheless reflects the actual situation reasonably well for the purpose of this paper. Even though there is good reason to believe that *gi* in Vorarlberg, Liechtenstein and Southern Germany is the same type of element, we restrict our claims about *gi* to BA because this is the variety we draw our data from.

⁹ Where the varieties do not differ, we will provide only examples from one variety. The notation CH(BA) indicates that the example is from Swiss German and that Bodensee-Alemannic patterns the same.

¹⁰ In Alemannic varieties belonging to the Upper Rhine branch, the *gi/go* construction is possible with stative matrix verbs such as *bliibe* ‘stay’ or *sitze* ‘sit’, cf. Noth (1993: 338):

- i) Dr sidzd uf dr schdäägä **go** äweng frisch Lufd schnabbä.
he sits on the stairs PRT a.bit fresh air catch.INF
‘He is sitting on the stairs to get some fresh air.’

In Swiss German this is categorically ruled out (the judgments in BA are not systematic and require further investigation). More examples of this can be found in Noth (2002: 6) and in the Dictionary of Baden (Badisches Wörterbuch, 2, 322).

There is one exception that is found in both BA and CH. It involves ‘be’ as a full verb:

- ii) Ich bin im Stall **gsii** [go d Söi fuettere].
I am in.the stable been PRT the pigs feed.INF
‘I have been in the stable to feed the pigs.’

No motion event is expressed here. Rather, the matrix event refers to having being in a location. We have no explanation for this exception so far. One might argue that having been somewhere to do something implies having gone there to do something; this would mean that *go* would be licensed by pragmatic conditions. We leave this for further research (note that this holds also for Standard German).

Finally, the particle also appears where an infinitive or participle of a motion verb has been elided (or a silent motion verb occurs, cf. van Riemsdijk 2002):

- iii) Ich bi go poschte (ggange). iv) Ich sött go poschte (gaa).
I am PRT do.shopping.INF gone I should PRT do.shopping go.INF
‘I went shopping.’ ‘I should go shopping.’

¹¹ There is one systematic exception that is found in most dialects except in some German varieties: It is possible to use the *gi/go construction* with weather-verbs:

- (i) Es kunnt gi ränge.
it comes PRT rain.INF

Since this example is lexicalized this does not challenge the generalization in the text. In the English *go V, try ‘n V, be sure ‘n V* constructions a similar agentivity restriction holds, cf. Carden & Pesetsky (1979), Jaeggli & Hyams (1993: 321). In Marsalese, a Western Sicilian dialect, on the other hand, it does not, cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001).

¹² For us only constituent negation is possible in a-cases. Lötscher (1993: 197f.) and Schönenberger & Penner (1995: 290) consider the a-examples grammatical, but do not indicate whether this holds under sentential or constituent negation. What Dobler (2002: 84, ex. 16c/d, 90f.) and Dobler & Rothmayer (2001: 19) report on Vorarlberg German converges with our observations about CH and BA.

¹³ One of the reviewers reminded us that the diagnostic power of depictives (and floating quantifiers) is often called into question. We agree that the presence of a depictive cannot always be interpreted as indicating a particular structural position, especially because they are often not licensed in the base position of the XP they quantify over. However, in the case at hand, there is a clear contrast between the *gi/go construction* and regular control constructions (and VPR involving modals, cf. fn. 20): the latter readily allow depictives in the infinitival complement, which can be related to the fact that they arguably involve more structure (TP or CP). Thus, at the very least, the facts show that the complement is smaller than TP.

¹⁴ The data in (25) argue against Cinque (2006) who claims that infinitival dependents of motion verbs are merged as adjuncts and thus become opaque once the motion verb takes a directional complement. See Brandner & Salzmann (2009: 105–109) for discussion.

¹⁵ Two of the reviewers have pointed out to us that a *go*-phrase can appear inside a *zum*-construction:

- i) De Hans hät früener fertig gmacht zum go jasse.
the John has earlier completed made to PRT play.cards
‘John stopped working earlier to go play cards.’ (offered by a reviewer)

These examples can be interpreted as involving ellipsis of a motion verb (or, as in van Riemsdijk 2002, a silent motion verb). More examples can be found in Schmidt (2000: 33) and Suter (1976: 184).

¹⁶ On extraction from purpose clauses, see also Truswell (2008).

¹⁷ A further difference concerns what is often referred to as tripling, i.e. instances where *go* seems to be followed by an even more reduced form of ‘go’, viz. *goge*. This form is only found in CH (e.g. Weber 1964: 245f.). Since its diachrony is unclear to us (pace Lötscher 1993), we will leave it aside in what follows.

¹⁸ The prepositional function used to be widespread in CH as well. Nowadays it is predominantly found in the varieties that use *gi*, but to a lesser extent also in other varieties. Marti (1985: 172), for instance, mentions that it is used by older speakers of Bernese. Cf. also Idiotikon II, 322.

¹⁹ The first singular of the matrix verb appears as *gang* in this paper. Importantly, though, this is a newer development and arguably more a peculiarity of modern Zurich German. Weber (1964: 180) still gives the form *gaa* and this also holds for many other Swiss dialects, cf. SDS III, 56.

²⁰ Complements of modals in VPR are larger than VP, a fact pointed out in den Dikken (1996: 77f, 89) and Haegeman & van Riemsdijk (1986: 445). For instance, they can contain subject-related depictives:

- i) Er het sölle *nüechter* is Bett gaa
he had.3.SG.SUBJ sober to bed go.inf
'He should have gone to bed sober.'

We are thus at least dealing with a vP, den Dikken in fact argues in favor of a TP, cf. also Salzmann (to appear). Why *go* has not been fully assimilated syntactically to modals is a question we intend to pursue in future research.

²¹ The fact that objects can appear in the complement of *go*, which is just a VP, has certain implications for case-licensing: Normally, one would expect there to be at least a vP or an AgrOP. But since there is no evidence for a subject position in the complement of *go* (which both vP and AgrOP presuppose) this cannot be correct. Since the matrix *v* arguably does not have a case-feature, we have to conclude that objects in the complement of *go* are licensed by V.

²² As a consequence, this implies that *go* in CH has lost some of its purpose semantics. Bucheli & Salzmann (in prep.) provide additional arguments to that effect, for instance that *go* can also appear in contexts where neither motion nor purpose is involved; *go* is similar to an infinitival marker in such cases:

- i) S isch nüd schön, d Lüüt eso go verschrecke.
it is not nice the people thus PRT scare

'It is not nice to scare people that much.'

CH (Weber 1964: 307)

In this respect *go* seems to undergo a similar process like *zum* in BA which also seems to have lost its purpose meaning given that it can occur under verbs like 'forget', cf. below (56).

²³ He also notes that a bare infinitive dependent on the verb *bleiben* 'stay' is a much younger construction. This may explain why only some Alemannic varieties can use *gi/go* after non-motion verbs, recall fn. 10.

²⁴ This is reminiscent of Truswell's (2008) idea of 'extended event'. However, we will refrain from a detailed discussion for reasons of space.

²⁵ A very different but particularly interesting alternative is explored in Haegeman (2009) where verb doubling is linked to language contact, i.e. the influence of French with its rich use of functional *aller* 'go'. Unfortunately, we have no evidence in favor or against this proposal (for either WF or CH) and therefore have to leave discussion of it for future research.