

# Towards a Minimalist Analysis of Imperatives in Afrikaans: A First Survey of the Empirical and Theoretical Terrain

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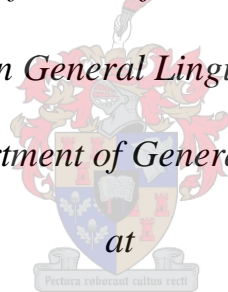
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## DECLARATION

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## ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this study is to provide a syntactic analysis of imperative constructions in Afrikaans, something which has not been done before. Imperatives are typically used to command the hearer to do something, or to give the hearer reason to complete some or other action. Imperative constructions are generally under-researched, and so this study contributes to the existing knowledge about imperatives, as well as to knowledge about the structure of Afrikaans. In order to address the aim of the study, a broad description of Afrikaans grammar is given, as well as the general features of imperative constructions in other West Germanic languages. In terms of the general characteristics of imperatives, the constituent order of imperatives often differs from that of other sentence types, imperatives usually use the base form of the verb, the subject of the imperative is usually left out, imperative verbs are required to refer to a controlled action, there is a restriction on tense, and most languages have dedicated prohibitive markers. The thesis provides a description of the features of Afrikaans imperatives, comparing them with imperatives in Dutch and English, as well as a syntactic account of the structure of imperatives in Afrikaans. This analysis is situated within Minimalism, and makes use of the Light Performative Hypothesis (LPH), as proposed by Alcázar & Saltarelli, (2014). According to the LPH, imperatives are characterised by a prescriptive light verb (*v*), and an [IMP] feature which is assigned to the sentence when the imperative verb moves to C. With regards to negative imperatives, the LPH claims that a [PROH] feature is assigned to a sentence when the Neg-element or the Neg-element combined with the prescriptive *v*, moves to C. In Afrikaans, as in English and Dutch, the imperative subject is rarely phonetically realised. It is, however, possible for a subject to be overt in Afrikaans imperatives, and the subject can occur before or after the verb. In Afrikaans imperatives, the bare stem of the verb is used, and the same form is used whether addressing one person or a group. Afrikaans imperatives often indicate distance in space, by differentiating between doing something close to the speaker or away from the speaker. Unlike in Dutch, Afrikaans imperatives do not allow for past tense reference, and only imperatives with future reference are acceptable. Afrikaans has a special marker *moenie* (“must not”) that is used instead of the first sentential negator *nie* (“not”) in negative imperative constructions. The LPH was used to analyse and make sense of canonical imperatives and negative imperatives / prohibitives in Afrikaans.

## OPSOMMING

Die hoofdoelmerk van hierdie studie is om 'n sintaktiese analise van imperatiewe konstruksies in Afrikaans voor te stel, iets wat nog nie vantevore gedoen is nie. Imperatiewe word tipies gebruik om 'n opdrag aan die hoorder te gee om iets te doen, of om vir die hoorder 'n rede te gee om een of ander aksie te voltooi. Imperatiewe konstruksies is onder-nagevors, en dus sal hierdie studie bydra tot die bestaande kennis van imperatiewe, asook tot kennis oor die struktuur van Afrikaans. Ten einde die doel van die studie aan te spreek, word 'n beskrywing van Afrikaanse grammatika gegee, asook die algemene eienskappe van imperatiewe konstruksies in ander Wes-Germaanse tale. Met betrekking tot die algemene kenmerke van imperatiewe, verskil die woordorde van imperatiewe gewoonlik van ander sinstipes, imperatiewe gebruik meestal die basis vorm van die werkwoord, die onderwerp van die imperatief word meestal uitgelaat, imperatiewe werkwoorde moet na 'n kontroleerbare aksie verwys, daar is 'n beperking op die tyd van die imperatief, en meeste tale het toegewyde merkers vir negatiewe imperatiewe. Die tesis verskaf 'n beskrywing van die eienskappe van Afrikaanse imperatiewe, en vergelyk hierdie eienskappe met dié in Nederlands en Engels, asook 'n sintaktiese verklaring van die struktuur van imperatiewe vorme in Afrikaans. Hierdie analise was gedoen binne die teoretiese raamwerk van Minimalisme, en maak gebruik van die "Light Performative Hypothesis" (LPH), soos uiteengesit deur Alcázar & Saltarelli (2014). Volgens die LPH word imperatiewe gekarakteriseer deur 'n preskriptiewe ligte werkwoord (*v*), en 'n [IMP] eienskap wat toegeken word aan die sin wanneer die imperatiewe werkwoord na C toe skuif. Met betrekking tot negatiewe imperatiewe beweer die LPH dat 'n [PROH] eienskap toegeken word aan die sin wanneer die Neg-element of die Neg-element gekombineer met die preskriptiewe *v*, na C toe skuif. In Afrikaans, soos in Engels en Nederlands, word die onderwerp selde foneties gerealiseer. Dit is tog moontlik vir 'n onderwerp in Afrikaanse imperatiewe om gerealiseer te word, en die onderwerp kan voor of na die werkwoord voorkom. In Afrikaanse imperatiewe word die stam van die werkwoord gebruik en dieselfde vorm word gebruik wanneer daar met een persoon of 'n groep mense gepraat word. Afrikaanse imperatiewe dui gereeld afstand aan, deur 'n onderskeiding te tref tussen om iets na aan die spreker te doen of iets weg van die spreker te doen. Anders as in Nederlands, laat Afrikaanse imperatiewe nie verledetydsverwysing toe nie, en slegs imperatiewe met 'n verwysing na

toekomstige tyd is aanvaarbaar. Afrikaans het 'n spesiale merker *moenie* wat gebruik word in plaas van die eerste negatiewe element *nie* in negatiewe imperatiewe konstruksies. Die LPH was gebruik om kanoniese imperatiewe asook negatiewe imperatiewe in Afrikaans te analiseer en om sin te maak van die struktuur.

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## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Imperatives are the linguistic “tool” that we use when we want to make sure someone understands that we want them to fulfil some or other command. Imperative constructions have various features that distinguish them from the other two main sentence types, declaratives and interrogatives. According to Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014: 5), beyond some consensus on what comprises imperative constructions, there is not much agreement about which of the unique features of imperatives can be syntactically analysed, or how. Over the years, researchers have attributed the unique features of imperative constructions to contextual constraints (van der Wurff, 2007). However, various aspects of imperatives have been found to be independent of context, and this has led to more research into how imperative constructions function syntactically (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 5). Many of the characteristics of imperative constructions indicate meticulous attention to grammatical principles in the syntax, and therefore, require full attention to their syntactic analysis (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014:7).

As Aikhenvald (2010: 2) points out, it is important to ask how imperatives are used and why we should be interested in their structures. Very often, and in many languages, imperatives create the illusion of being very simple, but this sentence type can be intimidatingly intricate. It is important to note that all languages have a way of telling someone to do something, and that is why it is really important to investigate how this is done (Aikhenvald, 2010: 1). To date, there have been very few syntactic studies of imperative constructions in general, and, as far as I could ascertain, none on imperatives in Afrikaans. The studies that have been done on imperatives have mostly been descriptive in nature, but even the descriptive studies of Afrikaans imperatives have not been given extensive attention.

The goal of this thesis is to analyse and make sense of the syntactic structure of imperatives in Afrikaans. This research will address an important gap in linguistic research, and help us to understand the structure of Afrikaans better. It is important to mention, considering that there has been no traceable research on the structure of Afrikaans imperatives, that I do not consider

my proposal to be the final word on the topic, but rather an initial proposal, and an encouragement for further research on the topic.

This study is situated within the theoretical framework of Minimalism, and one of the most recent proposals regarding the syntax of imperative constructions is the Light Performative Hypothesis, or LPH (Alcázar & Saltarelli, 2014). I will consider this hypothesis when analysing the structure of imperatives in Afrikaans.

In order to determine and analyse the syntactic structure of imperative in Afrikaans, I will have to answer the following three questions:

- (1) What are the characteristics of imperatives and negative imperatives in Afrikaans?
- (2) How do negative imperatives differ from canonical imperatives in Afrikaans?
- (3) How can Afrikaans imperatives be accounted for within the LPH?

I will answer the first question by considering and comparing the features of Dutch and English imperatives to those of Afrikaans, as described in previous research, as well as by using my own L1 speaker intuitions to determine the various features of Afrikaans imperatives. The second question will be answered by considering the various features mentioned with regards to the first question, as well as considering how these two structures can be derived syntactically. Question 3 will also be answered by taking into account the syntactic derivations of Afrikaans imperatives (and negative imperatives or prohibitives) and then considering how the LPH makes sense of Afrikaans imperatives, or not.

This thesis consists of seven chapters, of which the current chapter is the first. In Chapter 2, I will situate my research within the theoretical framework of Minimalism, as well as the Light Performative Hypothesis. Within this chapter, I will give a broad outline of the main assumptions of Minimalism, explain the basic structure of the derivational process, as well as the basic syntactic structure that Minimalism assumes. The second part of this chapter will consider the Light Performative Hypothesis, which is the theoretical framework for imperative constructions specifically.

The third chapter will provide a description of Afrikaans grammar. This chapter will serve an important purpose of contextualising the rest of the study within the grammar of Afrikaans. Chapter 3 will look at the origin of Afrikaans, the typical word order found in Afrikaans, characteristics of verbs in Afrikaans, and negation in Afrikaans. The section on negation will inform the understanding of the derivation of negative imperatives in Afrikaans.

Chapter 4 deals with the characteristics of imperatives. A description of imperatives will be provided, which includes a discussion on the uniqueness of imperatives as a sentence type and when imperatives are usually used. This chapter will also consider the distinguishing features of imperatives, with specific reference to Dutch and English – two languages that, like Afrikaans, belong to the West Germanic language family. I will also discuss previous syntactic accounts given for imperatives in English and Dutch. The last section of this chapter will briefly discuss different ways in which imperatives can develop and change over time.

Chapter 5 focuses on the description of Afrikaans imperatives. In this chapter I will consider the features of Dutch and English imperatives discussed in Chapter 4, in order to be able to compare the features of Afrikaans imperatives with languages from the same language family – West Germanic. I will discuss the features that apply to Afrikaans imperatives, and also consider two different types of Afrikaans imperatives.

Chapter 6 is my analysis chapter, and in this chapter I will use what was discussed in the previous chapters to support and structure my analysis of Afrikaans imperatives and prohibitives. I will provide an analysis and description of the proposed syntactic derivations of imperatives and prohibitives in Afrikaans. The discussion will be supported by tree diagrams for most of the structures.

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter 7, will serve as the concluding chapter. In this chapter, I will present a summary of the main points made in every chapter of the thesis, as well as a detailed summary of the analysis and findings. The contribution made by this study will be outlined, as well as the limitations of this study. Finally, the chapter will discuss ways in which this research can be continued or expanded upon.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: DESCRIPTION OF MINIMALISM AND THE LIGHT PERFORMATIVE HYPOTHESIS**

Minimalism is the linguistic theory in which the study as a whole is grounded. Minimalism can be described as a syntactic theory, or at least a collection of – sometimes competing – (sub)theories, within generative linguistics that developed out of Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program, and it is the most recent instantiation of the Principles and Parameters approach to language. Section 2.1 of this chapter, will provide an outline of the core concepts of Minimalism. This will include a discussion on how the study of grammar from a generative perspective began, how Minimalism came to be, how grammar can be described, how human grammars are structured, and the core concepts and fundamental architecture of Minimalism. In order to address the technical aspects of the theoretical framework, I will discuss the derivational process in section 2.1.1, which will explain the various processes involved in deriving a sentence, while in section 2.1.2 I will discuss the basic syntactic structure that is assumed in Minimalism.

Considering that this thesis deals with the syntactic structure of imperatives, it is crucial to locate the analysis within a syntactic theory of imperatives. Thus, in section 2.2, I will discuss the Light Performative Hypothesis, which relies on minimalist assumptions in the analysis of imperative constructions. In this section, I will consider the claims made by Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014) with regards to their analysis of imperative constructions.

#### **2.1 Core concepts and the architecture of Minimalism**

Two major problems that early generative grammarians faced were descriptive adequacy and explanatory adequacy. This means that they strived (i) to find a way to describe the existence of specific languages and language structures and (ii) to explain how knowledge of a specific language or language structure appears in the mind of the speaker (Weibelhuth, 1995: 386). It is important for grammarians to develop descriptively adequate theories which will ascribe the correct structures to the applicable sentences. Also, the syntactic theories of a specific language

should be in line with other theoretical aspects of the language, like semantic theories, psycholinguistic theories, and theories of historical development (Adger, 2003: 12). Explanatory adequacy deals with encapsulating the aspects that all languages share, but also, only considering those language features that can be viewed as being part of a possible human language (Adger, 2003: 12). Since the 1960s, generative grammarians have attempted to come up with general principles of language by considering the very complex rule systems of many languages. They focused on the simple rules which assisted them in formulating universal principles and understanding the way in which language is processed. When linguists reduced the number of language-specific specifications, it contributed to the explanatory adequacy of the theory of language as a whole. This early generative work laid the foundation for Minimalism, as simpler and more natural linguistic explanations and theories were formulated (Weibelhuth, 1995: 388).

A term that is often used when referring to the implicit knowledge of language is “grammar”. It is, however, important to use the word “grammar” very carefully, as it is often used in two different ways. A grammar is someone’s inherent knowledge about the language that they speak, or a grammar is an explicit theory about someone’s inherent knowledge of their language (Adger, 2003: 9). It is common for grammar, in the latter sense, to be divided into two areas of linguistic study – syntax and morphology. Morphology deals with the way in which words are built up out of smaller parts, whereas syntax deals with the various ways that words can be put together in order to create phrases and sentences. Nevertheless, grammar is not merely about the principles which govern the formation of words, phrases or sentences, but it is also about the principles which control the interpretation of them. Thus, Radford (1997: 1) defines grammar as “the study of the principles which govern the formation and interpretation of words, phrases and sentences”.

One part of the language faculty, the part of the brain that provides a variety of capabilities for the use and understanding of language, is a generative operation (an I-language) which produces structural descriptions (SDs) containing various characteristics like “semantic” and “phonetic” properties. SDs can also be described as the expression of a language. It has been stated that “grammar” can be described as the theory of a specific language. According to Chomsky (1995: 167), the theory of languages and the utterances created by them is known as

Universal Grammar (UG). This UG is said to be the original state of the faculty of language and the idea behind it is that, through the support of UG, humans can acquire the grammars of any and all languages. Earlier in Minimalist research, it was assumed that UG offers a set system of principles and a range of finitely valued parameters. It should be mentioned that in more recent work, this view has been challenged somewhat. Baker (2008: 353), while disagreeing with it, notes that parameters are situated in the lexicon. He postulates The Borer-Chomsky Conjecture, which states that “all parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items (e.g., the functional heads) in the lexicon.” In other words, there is a move from thinking about parameters of UG to features that are lexically determined.

The number of choices for parameters in any specific language is controlled by language-specific rules. Also, the idea of grammatical construction is taken out of the equation, and with it, construction-specific rules (Chomsky, 1995: 170). Chomsky (2005: 6) presents three types of principles that function in any particular grammar. The first of these is the genetic linguistic ability, the second, linguistic experience, and the third, principles that are not specific to language. Minimalism encourages the move in syntactic theory from having specific syntactic constructions being described by specific grammatical rules to having syntactic constructions governed by more general principles (Weibelhuth, 1995: 352). Regardless of the prominent surface differences between various languages, the languages of the world are brought closer, theoretically, to each other as fundamental linguistic universals are postulated. Therefore, Minimalism aims to describe the grammar that underlies the language faculty and the structures that control variation across languages (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 65).

There have been various arguments for Minimalism, and Ockham’s razor<sup>1</sup> has played a fundamental role in arguing for a reductive approach toward the Government and Binding

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<sup>1</sup> A basic idea of keeping theories as simple as possible - theorists attempt to postulate as few ideas as they can to explain a concept. Ockham’s razor goes back to the English philosopher William of Ockham (1280-1347) (Adger, 2003: 11).



(GB)<sup>2</sup> theory of UG. The argument was that if a specific theory can be reduced to another theory, then this decreases the fundamental assumptions (axioms) that are necessary to cover the same empirical field. This then in turn results in an increase of empirical load that is carried by each of the axioms which then provides each with more empirical support. This can be compared to if four beams together have to carry a load of 100kg, then, in order to carry the same load, three beams should carry  $33\frac{1}{3}$  kg. Now, replace beams with axioms and load with empirical support. And this is how Minimalism came to be (Hornstein, 2009: 114). It is important to note that the GB theory gave a good estimate of what grammars are. Therefore, Minimalism should not be seen as a replacement of GB per se, but rather as a simplification of it, and in effect, a method of better understanding that which GB theory postulated (Hornstein, 2009: 115).

The role of a theoretical linguist is to formulate theories of grammar, which are sets of hypotheses about the characteristics of feasible and unfeasible grammars. Therefore, theories of grammar can help answer various questions like “What fundamental characteristics do or don’t natural language grammars have?” (Radford, 1997: 5). It is also important that a theory of grammar should be uncomplicated and it should use the least number of theoretical elements to give a definitive characterisation of the linguistic phenomena (Radford, 1997: 6).

This brings me to the first main idea that Minimalism is based on. Minimalism is a reductionist system, which means that one of its main goals is to explore and make sense of linguistic phenomena in a less complex way. This emphasis on economy and simplicity was, however, found in earlier generative work as well, but in Minimalism these aspects take a central position (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 65). As a result of Minimalism’s emphasis on economy conditions, there are various principles and conditions that fall under this idea of language

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<sup>2</sup> GB is the forerunner to Minimalism and it proposes a very rich set of linguistically inherent principles (Hornstein, 2009: 9). It developed from the Principles-and-Parameters approach to language, which argues that all languages have a set of universal principles, and that the differences between various languages can be accounted for by a limited set of parameters (Radford, 1997: 269)

being “economical”. Some of these conditions and principles include Locality principles, the Attract Closest condition, and the Last Resort condition. Locality principles deal with the idea that all grammatical operations are local, which means that operations occur with the closest expressions of the relevant type (Radford, 2009: 21). The Attract Closest condition is related to locality principles as this condition demands that a head which attracts a specific kind of constituent X attracts the nearest X which it c-commands<sup>3</sup> (Radford, 2009: 443). The Last Resort condition is applied to operations when all other options are forbidden due to ungrammaticality. For example, in English we insert the dummy “do” only when other options for realising tense and agreement are not available (Webelhuth, 1995: 353).

Therefore, if the claim is made that Minimalism should adopt GB views on the basic features of UG, then the following will be incorporated as well: (i) minimizing the internal components of GB theory and (ii) pulling apart the basic operations of GB in order to achieve straightforward and more natural cognitive operations (Hornstein, 2009: 116). Related to the idea of economy within language, Minimalism takes the stance that each concept should be “mathematical”, in the sense that a linguistic problem should be solved, in the simplest way possible, but also, there should be an increase of understanding through the reduction of the number of “simplest mathematical ideas” that are proposed. Therefore, in Minimalism, there is always a striving towards minimizing every idea, and the number of ideas, in order to maximise understanding (Epstein and Seely, 2002: 2).

Another main idea that Minimalism deals with is how the faculty of language interacts with the cognitive system and how language can be processed (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 65). Therefore, Minimalism requires that the basic operations of UG are straightforward and it requires that the more complex aspects of language are the consequences of the communication between simple subsystems. One important characteristic of these simple systems is that they

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<sup>3</sup> C-command deals with the structural relationship between two constituents. When one constituent X c-commands another constituent Y, it simply means that X is either higher up in the structure or at the same height as Y. Another explanation is that X c-commands Y and any other constituent Z that is included in Y (Radford, 2009: 446)

are not redundant, which means that there are no different operations in the grammar that can produce the same structural interactions (Hornstein, 2009: 1). Also, in basic theories of UG, the central processes are as bare as possible, which means that those theories that use a shorter list of principles and more basic processes are considered to be better (Hornstein, 2009: 2).

Generative linguists over the past 50 years have identified various characteristics of natural language grammars. The first of these is that grammars are recursive, which means that grammars can produce a limitless amount of sentences and phrases and they are made up of elements that can recur repetitively. The second characteristic is that grammars create phrases that show a certain kind of hierarchical structure, which is often explained by X' theory. Thirdly, natural language grammars indicate non-local dependencies which require hierarchical and locality restrictions. These and other characteristics can all be understood to be universal features of human grammars (Hornstein, 2009: 4). There are, however, also some foundational characteristics of language that are unusual among biological systems. In generative grammar, there has been a working hypothesis that languages are founded on simple principles that work together to create complex structures. Language strives towards simplicity instead of complexity (Chomsky, 1995: 168).

### **2.1.1 The derivational process**

A central assumption of Minimalism is that language contains two main components: a lexicon and a computational system. The lexicon selects the elements that enter into the computational system, with their distinctive characteristics. The computational system then uses these elements to create derivations and SDs. Thus, a linguistic expression is derived by selecting elements from the lexicon and computing them to create a pair of interface representations (Chomsky, 1995: 168-169).

An important aspect of Minimalism, as discussed earlier in this chapter, is the role of economy principles in making sense of the computations and the linguistic expressions that they realise. Language is perceived as being a strongly controlled computational system that creates linguistic expressions that require interpretation from the phonetic-phonological component in the articulatory-perceptual system and the semantic component in the conceptual-intentional

system (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 65). These two systems are characterised as performance systems. The interface levels A-P and C-I provide commands for these two performance systems and A-P is also known as PF<sup>4</sup> and C-I is also known as LF<sup>5</sup> (Chomsky, 1995: 168). During the formation of a derivation, PF interfaces with the perceptual system when speech has to be recognised, and it interfaces with the articulatory system when speech is produced. LF focuses on the person's basic knowledge and other extra-linguistic factors in order to add meaning to what is uttered (Webelhuth, 1995: 353). According to Chomsky (1995: 168), language is rooted in these performance systems that allow its expressions to be articulated, interpreted, referred to, inquired upon, reflected upon and to do other actions. GB theory depended on D-structure (DS) and S-structure (SS) stipulations and rules. DS was linked to the projection of lexical elements and SS was linked to the principles of Binding Theory. In Minimalism, the idea of PF and LF can be connected to “observable” characteristics of language (semantic and phonetic interpretation), whereas DS and SS do not have the same level of concreteness (Webelhuth, 1995: 353).

To clarify, Minimalism argues that language is made up of a lexicon with various elements and a computational system which generates syntactic structures. This computational system is connected to two performance systems – the articulatory-perceptual system (phonetic-phonological component) and the conceptual-intentional system (semantic component) via two interface levels.

During the computational process, the system selects lexical elements from the lexicon into a numeration. The numeration can be defined as a selection of elements from lexical and functional categories, which contains phonological, syntactic and semantic properties (Adger, 2003: 114). These elements are chosen from the lexicon in order to be used in the formation of a syntactic structure. The elements in the numeration are then put together by processes called

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<sup>4</sup> This component of grammar changes the syntactic structures into phonetic form (PF) representations (Radford, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> This component of grammar changes the syntactic structures into logical form (LF) representations (Radford, 1997).

External Merge and Internal Merge, which are two of the operations by which a clause is created (Citko, 2005: 475). During the derivational process, the computational system uses the operation Spell-Out, which is used to divide the computation into two sections, leading to the two interface levels, PF and LF (Hornstein, Nunes and Grohmann, 2005: 73).

Syntactic structures are organised hierarchically, and are built up out of smaller parts that come together to create larger parts, which can then create even larger structures, and so it carries on. External Merge (or Merge) is the operation used to create these structures by choosing two elements from the numeration and putting them together to create a larger constituent (Adger, 2003: 48). It is important to mention that the head constituent of the phrase will determine the category of the projection, the larger constituent (Radford, 1997: 262). When considering this operation more closely, it can be noted that Merge assigns labels to the different objects that are being merged or joined, and these labels are normally an indication of the features, or category, of the object. The merging of two elements then leads to the creation of a new object. In Figure 2.1 below,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are merged, and the new object that is formed is  $\gamma$ .

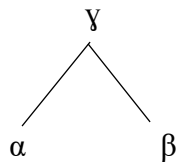


Figure 2.1: Merge operation

Importantly, the new object ( $\gamma$ ) is the entire structure, which includes  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ . Therefore, Merge is the operation which combines two syntactic elements and creates another, new element, and can be regarded as a constituent building process (Adger, 2003: 54; Citko, 2005: 475; Hornstein et al., 2005: 70, 205).

The second operation is Internal Merge, also known as Movement. Movement takes place within a specific structure when elements in the derivation are moved to different positions within the same structure (Chomsky, 2005: 12; Citko, 2005: 475). It is necessary for Movement operations to take place as this ensures that the correct word order is derived, valued features

are assigned to unvalued features and that Full Interpretation<sup>6</sup> is satisfied by the derivation. While Merge occurs when an element is merged with another element in the derivation, Movement takes place when an element that has already been merged into the structure is copied and merged into another position. In other words, rather than being merged into the derivation from the numeration, a constituent is merged from a lower node in the same structure (Adger, 2003: 105, 116; Radford, 2009:186; Citko, 2005: 475).

The third operation that plays an important role in the derivation of syntactic structures is Agree, which deals with the valuation of grammatical features of certain constituents. It is the operation by which values in the derivation are assigned to unvalued features (Radford, 2009: 285). It is said that two elements agree when they have similar values for some feature, for example in the sentence *He runs*, the verb agrees with its subject, the pronoun *he*, as they both have the features of third person singular (Radford, 1997: 258). Agree occurs through an operation called probe-goal matching, which is when a probe element, which is an unvalued feature on a functional head, looks for a goal in the lower part of the structure with matching valued features with which it can agree (Hornstein et al, 2005: 312). In this operation, all elements that are unvalued will stay active until every feature has been assigned a value. When this happens, these elements become syntactically inactive, which means that they will not be able to take part in any other agreement and movement operations. It can be noted that Agree and Movement operations are closely connected, as Movement operations are usually partly motivated by unvalued features of the phase head, as a reaction to probe-goal matching (Citko, 2005: 480; Chomsky, 2005: 18; Radford, 2009: 285).

Features, which are used to describe certain linguistic characteristics, play an integral role in syntactic derivations. According to Chomsky's checking theory (in later versions this is called Agree), the grammatical properties that are carried by various words are checked or given to

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<sup>6</sup> This means that an expression must include all and only the properties that are applicable when determining its interpretation at the appropriate level. Thus, LF must contain all the semantic properties necessary for meaning to be expressed, and PF must contain all the phonetic properties necessary for the correct pronunciation (Radford, 1997: 261).

them at some stage of the derivation (Radford, 1997: 260). When these grammatical properties carry semantic information, they can be interpreted at LF, but if they do not carry semantic information, they cannot be interpreted at LF. Therefore, when an LF-representation only comprises interpretable grammatical properties, the derivation will converge, which means that the sentence is grammatical. On the other hand, when an LF-representation not only comprises interpretable properties, but has one or more uninterpretable grammatical properties, the derivation will crash. This means that the sentence is ungrammatical. It is also important to mention that once an uninterpretable grammatical feature or property is valued, it is deleted (Radford, 1997: 70). Examples of features include phi-features, like person and number, case features, like nominative case and accusative case, and tense features, like past tense, present tense and future tense.

### 2.1.2 The basic syntactic structure

Minimalism assumes a basic syntactic structure and claims that each clause contains the following projections that are structured in phases: a complementiser phrase (CP), a tense phrase (TP), a light verb phrase ( $\nu$ P), and a (lexical) Verb phrase (VP). According to the  $\nu$ P-internal Subject Hypothesis ( $\nu$ PISH), the subject (DP) is generated in the specifier position of  $\nu$ P (Spec- $\nu$ P) and is then moved to the specifier position of TP (Spec-TP) (Radford, 2009: 348).

The  $\nu$ PISH is a revision of the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis or VPISH. The VPISH stated that the subject of a sentence is initially merged in the specifier position of the VP and then raises to Spec-TP. Spec-VP is also where the subject is assigned a  $\theta$ -role (Radford, 2009: 485). See the diagram in Figure 2.2 below:

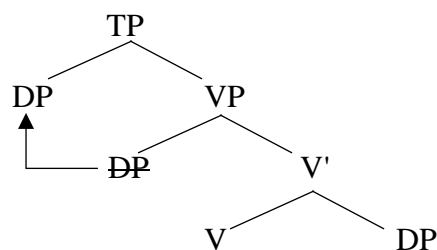


Figure 2.2: VPISH

This hypothesis was revised following the proposal of the VP-shell or split VP hypothesis. This hypothesis proposes that all lexical verbs are merged with a light verb *v*. In other words, the VP-shell hypothesis argues that the verbal domain consists of a functional light verb phrase (*v*P) and a lexical verb phrase (VP) (Radford, 2009: 369). This VP-shell hypothesis and the identification of a light verb phrase therefore led to the revision of the original VPISH, leading to the *v*PISH, which argues that the subject of a sentence is originally merged in the specifier position of the *v*P, and not the VP, as noted above and illustrated in Figure 2.3 below.

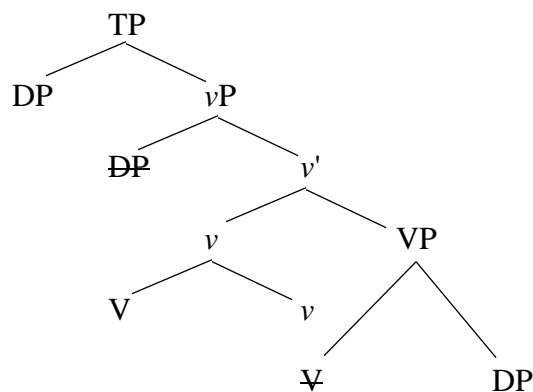


Figure 2.3: *v*PISH

When considering the VP-shell hypothesis, it is important to note that the lexical verb *V* undergoes *V*-to-*v* raising, which leads to an extended light verb *v*. Also, it is necessary to point out that the *v* will assign a  $\theta$ -value to the semantic subject of the sentence, which, according to *v*PISH is merged in the specifier position of *v*P. Lastly, the lexical verb *V* assigns a  $\theta$ -value to its complement, when present, the direct object of the sentence.

When considering the basic syntactic structure proposed by Minimalism, it can be noted that the left-periphery, where CP is found, can be further divided into various other projections that contain information that is related to Force, Focus, Topic and Finiteness (Platzack and Rosengren, 1998: 181). In its most simple form, the CP domain consists only of Force and Finiteness, but if it happens that Focus and Topic are included, the CP domain will be extended even further so that space can be created for the relevant projections (Radford, 2009: 325-337).

Another important aspect of this basic clause structure is that it can be regarded as being a three-part structure. This means that the structure can be divided into three separate domains.



The clause structure can be divided into a thematic domain, an anchoring domain, and a discourse domain. The thematic domain (VP) is where the main content is conveyed, the anchoring domain (TP) is where what is said is anchored in time, place or some other deictic expression, and the discourse domain (CP) signals the kind of structure that you are dealing with (Biberauer, 2019).

The thematic domain expresses the “who-did-what-to-whom” information. The structure of the thematic domain is controlled by the lexical verb (V) and requirements of its argument structure (Biberauer, 2019), given in Figure 2.4 Note that this Figure, and Figure 2.5 have been simplified by leaving out the  $\nu$ P.

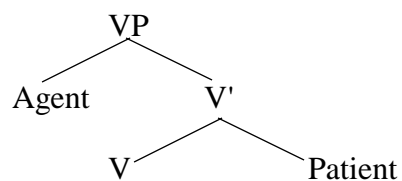


Figure 2.4: Thematic domain

The anchoring domain is where the information expressed in the thematic domain is connected to time. The content in this domain can be tested against truth-values and this is the domain where auxiliaries occur and where the grammatical subject position is situated (Biberauer, 2019), given in Figure 2.5:

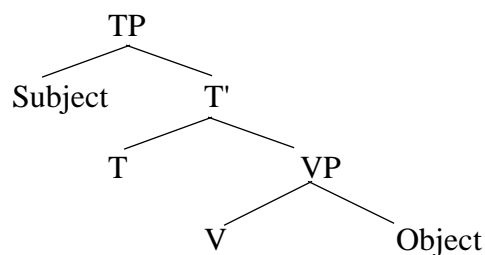


Figure 2.5: Anchoring domain

The discourse domain signals whether the clause is a declarative, interrogative, imperative etc. This is also the domain where Finiteness, Topic, Focus and Force are expressed.

As a summary, Chomsky (1995: 168) mentions the following as some of the main assumptions of Minimalism:

1. Languages are based on simple principles that interact to form often intricate structures and that the language faculty is non-redundant, in that particular phenomena are not “overdetermined” by principles of language.
2. The language is embedded in performance systems that enable its expressions to be used for articulating, interpreting, referring, inquiring, reflecting and other actions.
3. The performance systems appear to fall into two general types: articulatory-perceptual and conceptual-intentional. If so, a linguistic expression contains instructions for each of these systems. Two of the linguistic levels, then, are the interface levels A-P and C-I providing the instructions for the articulatory-perceptual and conceptual-intentional systems, respectively.
4. Each language determines a set of pairs drawn from the A-P and C-I levels.

## **2.2 The Light Performative Hypothesis**

In this study, I use the Light Performative Hypothesis (LPH) as the theoretical framework for my analysis. This theory was formulated by Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014) as an attempt to account for the syntactic structure of imperative constructions. This theory developed from Ross’ (1970) Performative Hypothesis (PH), which assumed that the lexical V was the performative element in the structure. The LPH, however, argues that the performative element is a functional light verb (*v*) in a bi-phasal derivational system that is guided by two of the operations discussed in section 2.1.1 above, Merge and Agree (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 103). This section will discuss the claims of the LPH and indicate how it can help us make sense of imperative constructions.

The LPH argues that, unlike declaratives and interrogatives, imperatives are characterised by a functional *v*, which characterises the imperative clause as a kind of “prescription”. Imperatives are used by the speaker to prescribe that the addressee perform some or other action (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 11). According to the LPH, this functional *v* controls the  $\theta$ -role relations between the speaker and the addressee (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 103). Actually,

one of the main assumptions of the LPH is that there exists a hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the hearer [Speaker<sup>i</sup>>Addressee<sup>\*i/j</sup>]. In other words, the speaker cannot be the person doing the action (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 106).

Light verbs, which can be phonetically empty, seem to exist between semantically empty and semantically filled elements as they don't have meaning on their own, but are dependent on their complements for meaning (Hornstein et al., 2005: 98). In other words, the term “light verb” is often used to refer to a group of verbs that are usually considered to be semantically empty (Karimi-Doostan, 2004: 1737). It is also assumed that these verbs do not have enough thematic force to stand as predicates on their own. In other words, even though a light verb is identical to the main verb in its form, it does not carry the same meaning as the main verb (Butt and Lahiri, 2013: 8).

Butt (2003: 1) views light verbs as being “light” in that, even though they do not carry a specific semantic meaning, they do contribute something. Light verbs have the purpose of structuring an event that described by the main verb in a way that is rather different from how auxiliaries would do it. In other words, light verbs add semantic information about the kind of event described by the main verb (Seiss, 2009: 509).

When considering the syntactic status of a light verb, it is important to note that light verbs exist within a co-predicational sphere with the main verb, which means that the main and light verbs, together, operate as the predicate of the clause (Butt and Lahiri, 2013: 8).

The basic assumptions and descriptive adequacy of the LPH are consistent with those expected within Minimalism. When considering imperatives specifically, the LPH argues that the central function of the imperative is the illocutionary force, in this case the imperative force (IF), which is set in the functional phase/discourse domain [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>C</sub>IF]. IF occurs in the CP and it licenses the *v* in the lower phase (thematic domain) [<sub>vP</sub>[*v*]]. Therefore, the thematic role of the speaker is derived in the specifier position of the *vP* (Spec-*vP*), where the obligatory thematic syntax of the imperative is derived. Following the same functional chain, the *v* selects a complement *vP*, where the thematic role of addressee is derived. The LPH also states that the addressee is the syntactic subject of the imperative clause (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 104-105).

One of the claims of the LPH is that the syntax limits imperative constructions to matrix clauses, which means that the speaker's expression has the purpose of doing something to someone, and not saying something. This locality expectation comes from the focal claim of a licensing relationship between IF and the  $v$ : [<sub>CP</sub>[<sub>C</sub>IF[<sub>vP</sub>[<sub>v</sub>  $v$ ]]]] (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 105). Also, within the LPH, the performative character of imperative constructions causes temporality restrictions as well: [Speaker<sub>i</sub> "prescribes" at time  $t_i$  [Addressee to DO P]]. Due to temporal or tense restrictions in the syntax of imperatives, the role of the speaker is encoded, not in the anchoring domain (TP), but in the discourse domain or functional phase (CP) (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 106).

It is very important to note that the LPH interprets an imperative as a complex predicate, where a CP merges with a  $vP$  phase. When considering that the semantic features of the majority of verbs like *sleep*, *run*, *drink* etc. do not have explicit imperative features, the  $F(p)$  character of imperatives starts to make sense. Even though the above-mentioned verbs do not have explicit imperative features, they can act as authentic imperative expressions (*Sleep! Run! Drink!*). On the other hand, one can argue that verbs like *order*, *command* etc. do have imperative features, however, these verbs cannot function on their own as imperative expressions (*\*order! \*command!*). These seemingly wayward facts about imperatives are explained by the claim of the LPH that imperatives encode IF as a predicate of imperatives. In this way, the LPH brings parts of the philosophy of speech acts and syntax together (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 108).

When considering imperatives, Ross' PH claimed that an utterance like *Sleep!* has a performative lexical verb  $V$  just like in indirect discourse imperatives like *I command you to sleep!* Even though the LPH grew from the same thought processes as the PH, it proposes, in contrast, that Austin's "performative" should rather be understood as being a functional  $v$  instead of a lexical  $V$ . Therefore, the claim is that imperatives are more accurately interpreted as being "prescriptions" which indicate parameters of the speech act. These parameters could include participant roles, temporality and locality. Syntactically, the LPH proposes that the structure contains a discourse domain CP together with the thematic domain  $vP$  (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 111). The example in Figure 2.6 below indicates the proposed structure of imperative constructions:

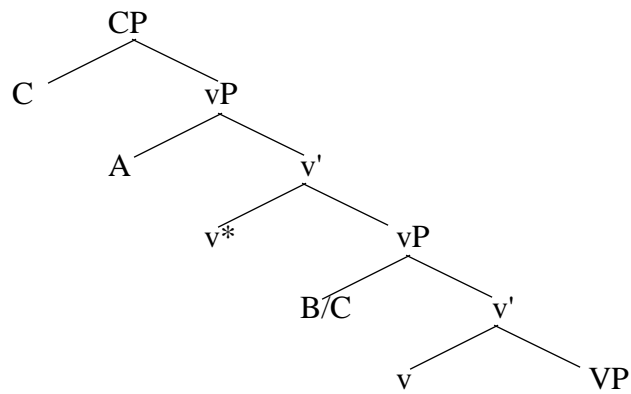


Figure 2.6: Basic structure for canonical imperatives

When using an example sentence like “Close the door!” this structure will be represented as follows, in Figure 2.7:

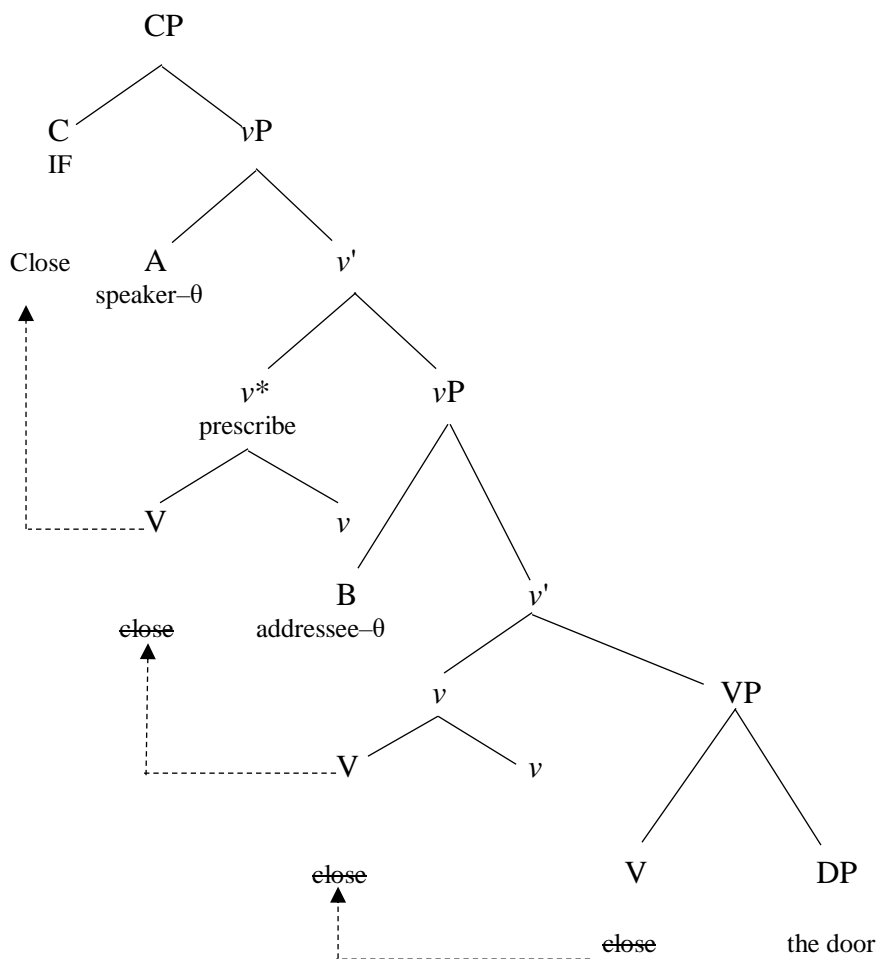


Figure 2.7: Canonical imperative

As seen in the tree diagrams in Figure 2.6 and 2.7 above, the imperative is seen as a prescription and in the LPH, it is defined as a performative verb that is expressed by a speaker<sub>i</sub> at the time  $t_i$  to an addressee<sub>j</sub> within the speech act. In this regard, it is commonly accepted that the addressee can be the only realised grammatical subject of the prescription (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 112).

It is safe to say that the original PH was an instinctively and empirically valid hypothesis. However, its failing can be accounted for by (i) the lack of a distinction between the lexical *V* and the functional *v*, (ii) a derivational vs representation computational system, and (iii) irreflexivity. Irreflexivity can be seen as a main characteristic of speech act functions. It helps the LPH to make sense of the imperative constructions that we have in human language (*Behave yourself!*) and the imperative constructions that we do not have in human language (*Behave \*myself!*) (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 116).

According to the LPH, the speaker and addressee thematic roles are derived in the content phase or thematic domain *vP*, which is dependent on IF, the illocutionary force of the CP (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 118). Also, it is necessary to mention that the speaker argument stays phonetically null, while the addressee may or may not be realised. The pronominal elements in the specifier position of the *vP* is linked to the illocutionary force IF in the CP. On the other hand, the addressee, which is linked to the speaker by syntax or semantics, may be realised typologically. When considering the LPH, the performative *v* chooses the prescribed clause as the complement clause of the *vP*, with the result that the grammatical subject must be a valid addressee (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 127).

Even though it is generally agreed that the addressee is encoded as the grammatical subject of the imperative verb, the LPH requires that the speaker is encoded as the indexical subject of the imperative. Therefore, the LPH proposes that there should be two subject position in the imperative sentence, one for the grammatical subject of the lexical verb *V*, and another for the indexical subject of the functional light verb *v* (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 129).

With regards to negative imperatives, the LPH considers the derivations of imperatives and prohibitives to be more or less the same (i.e. the structure of a prohibitive will be similar to the

structure of the imperative given in Figure 2.6). The only difference is that the LPH proposes that the Neg-element or the Neg-element combined with the prescriptive *v* will assign the force [PROH] to the prohibitives, while it is the verb which assigns force [IMP] in canonical imperatives (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 115).

A description of some of the prominent features of imperatives can be given as follows: (i) imperatives have very distinctive relationships between speaker and addressee; (ii) imperatives have a visible second participant in the predicate-argument structure, and (iii) imperatives have a restriction on second person in the realisation of the grammatical subject (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 126).

### **2.3 Concluding remarks**

In this chapter, I discussed the syntactic framework that I will base the rest of my thesis on. Firstly, I provided an explanation of the core ideas of Minimalism, which included a discussion on the development of the study of grammar, the understanding of human grammar, how Minimalism became an effective theory of understanding language processes, the role of economy conditions and other important ideas regarding the structure of Minimalism. It was mentioned that as soon as simpler and more natural explanations were given for linguistic phenomena, it resulted in Minimalism. The goal of Minimalism is to make sense of the underlying structures of grammar. One of the main characteristics of Minimalism is its reductionist nature, and the idea that language always prefers simplicity above complexity. It is, however, important to reiterate that the simplification of theories should also lead to a better understanding of the linguistic phenomena.

Thereafter, in section 2.1.1, the derivational process was explained. The main idea is that language consists of a lexicon and a computational system, and during the process of computation, lexical elements are chosen from the lexicon into a numeration. Elements from the numeration are then merged to create a hierarchical structure that represents the derivation. The important processes mentioned in this chapter were External Merge (Merge), Internal Merge (Movement) and Agree. Merge is described as being a constituent building operation that takes smaller elements, puts them together, and creates a larger constituent. Movement is

described as the operation where elements that have been merged into the derivation are moved to other positions in the structure. Lastly, Agree is the operation in which unvalued features are valued.

Section 2.1.2 dealt with the basic syntactic structure assumed in Minimalism, which included a discussion of the  $\nu$ PISH, the three separate domains of a syntactic structure and some of the main assumptions of Minimalism. The  $\nu$ PISH is considered to be a revised form of the VPISH (VP-internal Subject Hypothesis) and it states that the subject of a sentence is merged in the specifier position of the  $\nu$ P. The three domains of the basic syntactic structure are the thematic domain, the anchoring domain, and the discourse domain. The first domain carries the main content of the sentence, the second is where the sentence is anchored in time and space, and the last domain indicates which structure we are dealing with.

The next section, 2.2, considered the LPH (Light Performative Hypothesis), which is the theoretical framework that considers the structure of imperative constructions specifically. The main assumption of the LPH is that, unlike in Ross' PH, imperatives are characterised by a prescriptive  $\nu$  in a bi-phasal derivation system. LPH assumes that imperative force is situated in the discourse domain (CP) and that the CP licenses the  $\nu$  in the thematic domain. The LPH assumes that the imperative verb assigns the sentence with the [IMP] feature. When considering negative imperatives, the LPH proposes that, instead of the verb moving to C, the Neg-element or the Neg-element combined with the prescriptive  $\nu$  moves to C to assign [PROH] force to the sentence. The theoretical framework discussed in this chapter will be used in Chapter 6 in order to analyse imperative constructions in Afrikaans. However, before the analysis of a specific type of clause is possible, it is important to look at the grammar of Afrikaans in general, which is what follows in Chapter 3.



## CHAPTER 3:

### A DESCRIPTION OF AFRIKAANS

Before a description of one aspect of Afrikaans can be given, it is important to understand how Afrikaans grammar works as a whole. In this chapter, I will firstly, in section 3.1, provide a short overview of where and how Afrikaans originated and mention where Afrikaans is situated within the (West) Germanic language family. Thereafter, in section 3.2, I will discuss the possible sentence types that we find in Afrikaans. Section 3.3 will consider the different characteristics of verbs in Afrikaans, which will be followed by a discussion, in section 3.4 about the typical word order that is found in Afrikaans, focusing on the SOV-structure and the V2 phenomenon in Afrikaans. Lastly, Section 3.5 will discuss Afrikaans negation and, in particular, the polarity feature of *nie*<sub>2</sub>.

#### 3.1 A brief history of Afrikaans

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Jan van Riebeeck and his group were sent to the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company with the aim of setting up a refreshment station for ships passing by (Roberge, 1993: 48). This Dutch colony was originally a very heterogeneous society that consisted of European settlers who spoke Dutch, High and Low German, and French, as well as the indigenous Khoe, and African and Asian slaves (Roberge, 2002: 79). The slaves were from various ethnic backgrounds and brought with them a variety of linguistic backgrounds. Some of them could speak European or Asian languages, while others only had their own languages, which were of little use in this context. Over the years, two languages grew in popularity as lingua francas: Creole Portuguese and a variety of Malay. However, most slaves just used jargonised varieties of Dutch to communicate with their masters (Roberge, 2002: 82). The combination of peoples and the contact between their various languages led to a variety of Dutch, also known as Cape Dutch Vernacular, which then eventually developed into Afrikaans (Deumert, 2004: 18). Afrikaans was standardized in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and it is the only language that has a pidgin/creole background that has been completely standardized (Deumert, 2004: 1; Huddleston, 2010: 21).

Currently, Afrikaans is one of 11 official South African languages and it is the mother tongue of almost 7 million South African people. It is also used as an additional language by another 7 million South Africans. Afrikaans is spoken in other Southern African countries, such as Botswana and Namibia, and in Namibia it is often used as a lingua franca between people from different ethnicities. There are many different varieties of Afrikaans, such as Cape Afrikaans (“Kaapse Afrikaans” or “Kaaps”), Orange River Afrikaans (“Oranjerivier-Afrikaans”) and Eastern Cape Afrikaans (“Oosgrens-Afrikaans”) (Roberge, 2002: 84). For this thesis, however, so-called standard Afrikaans will be investigated.

There are estimated to be about 6000 languages spoken in the world today, and Germanic languages are only a small part of that. The Germanic family can be divided into East Germanic (Gothic), North Germanic (Icelandic, Norwegian, etc.), and West Germanic. Afrikaans is traditionally classed as being part of the West Germanic language family. Other members of the West Germanic family include English, Frisian, Flemish, Dutch, German, and Yiddish (Henriksen and van der Auwera, 1994: 1).

### 3.2 Sentence types

Traditionally in Afrikaans, as in most languages, there is a distinction made between four different main sentence types, namely, declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and exclamative sentences. Examples of each of these sentence types in Afrikaans are given below (Ponelis, 1979: 375; de Villiers, 1983: 122):

#### (1) Declarative sentences

- (i) *Die kos is baie lekker.*

The food is very delicious

“The food is very delicious.”

- (ii) *Die man stap oor die straat en die hond volg hom.*

The man walk over the street and the dog follow him

“The man walks across the street and the dog follows him.”

(2) Interrogative sentences

- (i) *Wat het jy gisteraand geëet?*  
 What have you last night PST-eat  
 “What did you eat last night?”
- (ii) *Het jy vandag ‘n man oor die straat sien stap?*  
 Have you today a man over the street see walk  
 “Did you see a man walking across the street today?”

(3) Imperative sentences

- (i) *Tel op jou voete as jy loop.*  
 Pick up your feet if you walk  
 “Pick up your feet when you walk.”
- (ii) *Moenie so lelik praat nie.*  
 Must.not so ugly talk NEG  
 “Don’t speak so crudely.”

(4) Exclamative sentences

- (i) *Is dit nie ‘n pragtige aand nie!*  
 Is it not a beautiful evening NEG  
 “Isn’t it a beautiful evening!”
- (ii) *Wat ‘n wonderlike dag!*  
 What a wonderful day  
 “What a wonderful day!”

### 3.3 Verbs

In Afrikaans, unlike Dutch, there is not really a distinction between regular and irregular verbs, and the perfect form of almost all verbs is formed in the same way: the auxiliary verb *het* (“have”), together with the past participle. The past participle is created by adding the

inflectional morpheme *ge-* to the stem of the verb, e.g. *slaap – geslaap* (“sleep – slept”) (Donaldson, 1993: 223; Donaldson, 1994: 495).

In Afrikaans, all infinitives and finite main verbs have the same form, except for the lexical verbs *hê* (“have”) and *wees* (“be”). Also, forming the past form of these verbs is not just a matter of adding *ge-* (Donaldson, 1993: 239). See the table below:

Infinitive	<i>hê</i>	<i>wees</i>
Present tense	<i>het</i>	<i>is</i>
Past tense	<i>gehad</i>	<i>was/was gewees</i>

Afrikaans has five main modal verbs, *kan* (“can”), *mag* (“may”), *moet* (“must”), *sal* (“will”) and *wil* (“to want to”). Some other verbs like *behoort* (“ought to”), *durf* (“to dare”), and *hoef* (“(not) to need”) can also act as modal verbs, although they always have to be followed by *te* (Donaldson, 1993: 240). The table below presents the present and past tense forms of the main modal verbs in Afrikaans.

	<i>kan</i>	<i>mag</i>	<i>moet</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>wil</i>
Present tense	<i>Ek kan dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek mag dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek moet dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek sal dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek wil dit doen.</i>
Past tense	<i>Ek kon dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek mog<sup>7</sup> dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek moes dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek sou dit doen.</i>	<i>Ek wou dit doen.</i>

When past tense constructions contain modal auxiliaries, the use of *het* and the past participle is not obligatory, and when these elements are not used, the main verb stays in its infinitival form, and the modal auxiliary is used in its past tense form, as illustrated in (3.1) below. Yet,

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<sup>7</sup> This is an archaic form; the present tense is typically used in the past tense as well, e.g. *Ek mag dit gedoen het*.

in past tense constructions with modal auxiliaries where *het* and the past participle are used, the modal auxiliaries can be in either of the two tense forms, as illustrated by examples (3.2) and (3.3) below (Huddleston, 2010: 26).

(3.1) *Jan kon die boek koop.*  
 Jan could the book buy  
 “Jan was able to buy the book.”

(3.2) *Jan kon die boek gekoop het.*  
 Jan could the book PST-buy have  
 “Jan could have bought the book.”

(3.3) *Jan kan die boek gekoop het.*  
 Jan can the book PST-buy have  
 “Jan could have bought the book.”

The Afrikaans future tense can be expressed in three different ways. It can be expressed by using the auxiliary *sal* (“will”), as in (3.4), the verb *gaan* (“(be) going (to)”), as in (3.5), or the present tense, as in (3.6) (Donaldson, 1993: 235).

(3.4) *Ek sal dit doen as ek tyd het.*  
 I will it do if I time have  
 “I will do it if I have time.

(3.5) *Ek gaan dit more doen.*  
 I go it tomorrow do  
 “I am going to do it tomorrow.

(3.6) *Ek doen dit more.*  
 I do it tomorrow.  
 “I will do it tomorrow.”

### 3.3.1 Verb clusters

West Germanic languages are known for their verb clusters and verb clusters are present in all OV Germanic languages. The one (partial) exception, however, is Modern English. It does allow verb clusters, but it does not indicate all the effects of clustering as in other West Germanic languages. Within West Germanic languages, cluster sizes can vary from two to five verbs and embedded clauses contain the largest verb clusters, as this is where all verbs are bundled together in the final position. The smallest verb clusters contain two verbs, a finite verb and a non-finite verb (Biberauer, 2019). In the following examples  $v_1$  is the finite verb, and  $v_2$  is the non-finite verb.

(3.7) ...*dat die kinders 'n koek gebak<sub>2</sub> het<sub>1</sub>.*  
 that the children a cake PST-bake have  
 “...that the children have baked a cake.”

(3.8) ... *dat die kinders 'n koek kan<sub>1</sub> bak<sub>2</sub>.*  
 that the children a cake can bake  
 “...that the children can bake a cake.”

From these two above-mentioned examples, it is shown that in Afrikaans a participle comes before an auxiliary, as in (3.7), and a modal comes before an infinitive, as in (3.8). In other words, the finite verb is sentence-final when there is a temporal or passive auxiliary, but not when there is a modal (Biberauer, 2019; Donaldson, 1993: 365-367).

Even though verb clusters are present in all West Germanic languages, except English, the orders may differ. In German, the finite verb is sentence-final at all times, in other words, there is a consistent 2-1 order. On the other hand, in Dutch, both 1-2 and 2-1 orders can occur (Biberauer, 2019).

In Afrikaans, various 3-verb clusters can be found:

- (3.9) ... *dat hulle die koek sou<sub>1</sub> moes<sub>2</sub> bak<sub>3</sub>.* [1-2-3 clusters]  
 that they the cake should must bake  
 “...that they would have to bake the cake.”  
 (Main clause: Hulle sou<sub>1</sub> die koek moes<sub>2</sub> bak<sub>3</sub>.)

- (3.10) ...*dat hulle die koek kon<sub>1</sub> gebak<sub>3</sub> het<sub>2</sub>.* [1-3-2 clusters]  
 that they the cake could PST-bake have  
 “...that they could have baked the cake.”  
 (Main clause: Hulle kon<sub>1</sub> die koek gebak<sub>3</sub> het<sub>2</sub>.)

- (3.11) ...*dat hulle die koek kon<sub>2</sub> bak<sub>3</sub> het<sub>1</sub>.* [2-3-1 clusters]  
 that they the cake could bake have  
 “...that they were able to bake the cake.”  
 (Main clause: Hulle het<sub>1</sub> die koek kon<sub>2</sub> bak<sub>3</sub>.)

Although we find various ordering options with verb clusters in Afrikaans, the options that we find in 3-(or more) verb clusters seem to follow the same patterns as in 2-verb clusters. In other words, modal verbs always precede the verb they select, and auxiliaries always follow the verb they select (Biberauer, 2019).

### 3.3.2 Infinitives

Except for modern English and Afrikaans, West Germanic languages mark infinitives with verbal inflection. Dutch and German use the suffix *-en*, as in *werken* / *arbeiten* or *zingen* / *singen*. Afrikaans use three possible infinitive-marking strategies, given below, of which (i) and (iii) are the preferred strategies (Biberauer, 2019):

- (i) Bare infinitives
- (ii) *To-/te*-marked infinitive
- (iii) *For to-/om te*-marked infinitives

In Afrikaans, an infinitive verb that relies on a finite verb that appears earlier in the sentence is placed after *om te*, as in the following examples (Donaldson, 1993: 272):

(3.12) *Dit is moeilik om te hoor.*

It is difficult for to hear

“It is difficult to hear.”

(3.13) *Die tannie het vir ons lekkers gegee om te eet.*

The lady have for us sweets PST-give for to eat

“The lady gave us sweets to eat.”

*Om* is used as a conjunction in the introduction of an infinitive clause, and the *om te* can be described as having a similar meaning to ‘in order to’ in English (Donaldson, 1993: 272).

(3.14) *Ek gaan winkel toe om kos te koop.*

I go shop to for food to buy

“I go to the shop (in order) to buy food.”

(3.15) *Hy het klas toe gekom om iets te leer.*

He have class to PST-come for something to learn

“He come to class (in order) to learn something.”

Another characteristic of Afrikaans is that modal verbs are followed by a bare infinitive without *te* (Donaldson, 1993: 273). Thus, it is acceptable to say:

(3.16) *Sy moet dit doen.*

She must it do

“She must do it.”

(3.17) *Jy kan dit kom haal.*

You.SG can it come get

“You can come and get it.”



An exception to this are the modals *durf*, *behoort* and *hoef* which are usually accompanied by *te* (Donaldson, 1993: 273). See the following examples:

(3.18) *Jy               durf haar nie (te) help nie.*  
 You.SG   dare her   not to   help NEG  
 “You dare not help her.”

(3.19) *Jy               behoort   haar te help.*  
 You.SG   ought    her   to help  
 “You ought to help her.”

(3.20) *Jy               hoef haar   nie te help nie.*  
 You.SG   have her   not to help NEG  
 “You don’t have to help her.”

### 3.3.3 Inflectional system

One of the main characteristics of Afrikaans is its poor inflectional morphological system. The inflectional system that typifies standard Dutch has mostly been lost in Afrikaans. There is really only one use of overt inflection in modern Afrikaans, and that is the prefix *ge-*, which indicates the past participle, and the present and past tense forms demonstrated by the auxiliary *wees* and the verb *hê*, as has been discussed in this section. Another important characteristic of Afrikaans is that its verbs do not indicate person, gender or number agreement (Biberauer, 2002: 21-22). Also, within the nominal system of Afrikaans, there are no gender or case distinctions, and within the pronominal system these distinctions are very limited (Huddleston, 2010: 25).

## 3.4 Word order in Afrikaans

The way in which elements are placed in a sentence can be considered to be a concrete, surface realisation of the syntactic elements (Ponelis, 1979: 495). This section will consider Afrikaans word order, and also try to make sense of why it is this way.

### 3.4.1 SOV-structure

Afrikaans has kept the underlying SOV word order of Dutch, and with it the verb-second (V2) property, which is one of the main typological features of West Germanic languages, except English (Roberge, 1993: 13; Donaldson, 1994: 480).

That being said, consider the following examples (Biberauer, 2019):

- (3.21) *Die kinders*      [V]      [O]  
                               *[bak<sub>VFin</sub> 'n koek].*

The children    bake      a cake

“The children bake a cake.”

- (3.22) *Die kinders*      *het<sub>VFin</sub>*      *gister*      [O]      [V]  
                               *[ 'n koek      gebak].*

The children    have      yesterday    a cake      PST-bake

“The children baked a cake yesterday.”

In the sentences above, (3.21) appears to have an SVO structure and (3.22) appears to have an SOV structure. This may lead one to conclude that Afrikaans has a “mixed structure” as the verb (V) can precede the object (O) and follow the object (Biberauer, 2019). The reason for this apparent confusion is that Afrikaans contains a rule that takes the finite verb in a main clause from its underlying SOV-position, and places it in the second position of the sentence (Oosthuizen and Waher, 1996: 49). This is what happens in example (3.21) – the finite verb is placed in the second position. In (3.22), the auxiliary *het* carries the finite feature, and it is moved into the second position. This then leaves the main verb in the clause final position. This is also called the V2 phenomenon, and it will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.2. Therefore, Afrikaans is usually characterised as an SOV language, with movement of the finite verb, or V2 movement, in main clauses and some embedded clauses (Huddleston, 2010: 22).

- (3.23) *Sarie eet die koek.*

Sarie eat the cake

“Sarie eats the cake.”

(3.24) *Ek weet [dat Sarie die koek eet.]*

I know that Sarie the cake eat

“I know that Sarie eats the cake.”

It is easy to recognise the SOV-structure of West Germanic languages, as well as of Afrikaans, when the sentence has a verb cluster consisting of one or more auxiliaries and a main verb, as in (3.22) above, and when there is an embedded clause that is introduced by an overt complementiser like *dat* or *of* (Biberauer, 2019). With the complementisers *dat* and *of*, the verbs all cluster at the end of the sentence, as in (3.25) and (3.26).

(3.25) *Ek weet **dat** die kinders gister [O] ‘n koek [V] gebak het.*

I know that the children yesterday a cake PST-bake have

“I know that the children baked a cake yesterday.”

(3.26) *Ek wonder **of** die kinders gister [O] ‘n koek [V] gebak het.*

I wonder if the children yesterday a cake PST-bake have

“I wonder if the children baked a cake yesterday.”

It is important to note that these complementisers are optional in Afrikaans. When they are left out, the word order of the embedded clause will change from SOV to V2, as illustrated in the following examples (Donaldson, 1994: 499):

(3.27) *Ek glo dat sy dit doen.*

I believe that she it do

“I believe that she does it.”

(3.28) *Ek glo sy doen dit.*

I believe she do it

“I believe she does it.”

### 3.4.2 The V2 phenomenon

Syntactic literature in general, and literature on syntax of Germanic languages in particular, has placed a lot of focus on the V2 phenomenon and there are a number of papers that explore the V2 phenomenon in Afrikaans (see, for example, Biberauer, 2002; Biberauer, 2003; Biberauer, 2009, De Vos, 2006).

All Germanic languages have, to a certain degree, the V2 phenomenon as a feature of their syntax, with the exception of English which only has residual V2 in questions. This means that the finite verb must occur in the second position of the clause, after some initial constituent (Biberauer, 2002: 19; Ponelis, 1979: 495). Afrikaans main clauses, like those in many other West Germanic languages, have to be V2 (Biberauer, 2019). In main clauses with an auxiliary, where the auxiliary is the finite element, the auxiliary stands in the second position (Huddleston, 2010: 23).

(3.29) *Sarie eet die koek.*

Sarie eat the cake.

“Sarie eats the cake.”

(3.30) *Sarie sal die koek eet.*

Sarie will the cake eat

“Sarie will eat the cake.”

(3.31) *Pieter mag op die mat speel.*

Pieter may on the mat play

“Pieter may play on the mat.”

Within generative approaches to the study of V2, the V2 phenomenon appears through two compulsory movements: (1) moving the finite verb to the C position, and (2) moving some phrasal category to Spec-CP. Evidence from languages like Dutch and German support this V-to-C theory, which is also called the Classical Theory. This theory states that V2 has to include the finite verb being situated in C. Thus, it would be strange to find V2 together with an overt

complementiser in those languages (Biberauer, 2002: 22).

Even though it has been mentioned that most Germanic languages use V2-structures, Afrikaans' V2 profile appears to be unique, in that it has a distinctive embedded declarative V2 profile within the context of Germanic languages. In German, C-drop is obligatory for an embedded V2, while in Icelandic or Frisian, C-realisation is necessary for an embedded V2. In Afrikaans, on the other hand, an embedded V2 can occur both with and without the overt C, as illustrated in (3.32) and (3.33), and, therefore, it can be said that Afrikaans has generalised the embedded declarative V2 option the most of all the Germanic languages (Biberauer, 2019).

(3.32) *Ons weet julle doen die werk.*  
 We know you.PL do the work.  
 “We know that you do the work.”

(3.33) *Ons weet dat julle doen die werk.*  
 We know that you.PL do the work  
 “We know that you do the work.”

In the following example sentences, it is clear that Afrikaans always uses V2 structures, regardless of what is in the first position (Biberauer, 2019):

(3.34) *Ons het Sondag deur die stad gehardloop.* [subject-fronting]  
 We have Sunday through the city PST-run  
 “We ran through the city on Sunday.”

(3.35) *Sondag het ons deur die stad gehardloop.* [adverb-fronting]  
 Sunday have we through the city PST-run  
 “Sunday we ran through the city.”

(3.36) *Deur die stad het ons Sondag gehardloop.* [PP-fronting]  
 Through the city have we Sunday PST-run  
 “We ran through the city on Sunday.”

- (3.37) *Deur die stad gehardloop het ons.* [VP-fronting]  
 Through the city PST-run have we  
 “We ran through the city on Sunday.”

According to Biberauer (2019), the unique V2 profile that Afrikaans has can be explained by two interesting factors. Firstly, two exceptionally un-Germanic features, namely (i) bipartite sentential negation and (ii) the negative imperative, and secondly, a different approach to the 2 factors model of Chomskyan generative syntax (Biberauer, 2019). The two un-Germanic features are illustrated below, namely (i) the clause-final negative concord marker *nie*<sub>2</sub>, as in (3.38) and (ii) the negative imperative marker *moenie*, as in (3.39) (Biberauer, 2019):

- (3.38) *Hulle koop nie<sub>1</sub> koerante nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
 They buy not newspapers NEG  
 “They don’t buy newspapers.”

- (3.39) *Moenie jou paspoort vergeet nie!*  
 Must.not your passport forget NEG  
 “Don’t forget your passport!”

According to Biberauer (2019), both of these structures or features developed during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the contact situation in which Afrikaans was used. According to Roberge (2000), the *nie*<sub>2</sub> was initially used as an emphatic tag when talking to non-native Dutch speakers and was subsequently incorporated into the variety of Dutch spoken at the Cape. The following example indicates this use of *nie*<sub>2</sub> as an emphatic tag quite clearly (Roberge: 2000:147):

- (3.40) *Het kan niet waar zijn, nee!*  
 It can not true be no  
 “It cannot be true, no!”

*Moenie* also developed from contact with non-native speakers, and grew from a calque on the Malay *jangan*, which is an initial negative imperative marker, and *na/nu misti* (“not must”),

the negative form in the Asian Creole Portuguese. The way in which Dutch modals are acquired may have played a role as well. Nonetheless, both of these, the Malay and Asian Creole Portuguese elements, played a vital role in distinguishing Afrikaans from Dutch, and in determining the unique nature of the Afrikaans V2-structure (Biberauer, 2019; den Besten, 1986; Ponelis, 1993).

Another important feature of the unique V2-profile of Afrikaans is that it allows V2 as a choice in embedded *wh*-structures. This is something that not even the very liberal Germanic languages allow (Biberauer, 2019).

(3.41) a) *Ek wonder wat eet hulle saans.*  
 I wonder what eat they evenings  
 “I wonder what they eat in the evenings.”

b) *Ek wonder wat hulle saans eet.*  
 I wonder what they evening eat  
 “I wonder what they eat in the evening.”

(3.42) a) *Ek sal uitvind hoe kom ons by die gebou in.*  
 I shall out.find how come us by the building in  
 “I will find out how we (can) get into the building.”

b) *Ek sal uitvind hoe ons by die gebou in kom.*  
 I shall out.find how us by the building in come.  
 “I will find out how we (can) get into the building.”

When considering Afrikaans’ V2-profile, it is safe to say that Afrikaans has the most extensive V2 profile, and many of its features are not seen in any other Germanic languages (Biberauer, 2019).

### 3.5 Negation

According to Ponelis (1979: 367), it is important to differentiate between sentences with negation and negative sentences. It is true that not all sentences with negators are always negative, as negators are often used for different semantic reasons, such as exclamations, as in (3.43) (Ponelis, 1979: 368), requests, as in (3.44) and emphasising through negation, as in (3.45) (Ponelis, 1979: 369).

(3.43) *Is dit nie pragtig nie!*

Is it not beautiful NEG

“Isn’t it beautiful?”

(3.44) *Wil jy nie vir ons voorraad opneem nie?*

Want you not for us stock take NEG

“Won’t you do the stock taking for us?”

(3.45) *Jy kan jou nie roer nie of hulle skinder.*

You can you not move NEG or they gossip

“You can’t turn your back, and they gossip.”

Germanic languages are generally Double Negation systems, which means that two negatives make a positive, as illustrated in (3.46). Afrikaans is an exception, as it has a partial Negative Concord system, which means that two negatives contribute to a single negative meaning, as illustrated in (3.47). However, because of the fact that Afrikaans is a **partial** Negative Concord system, it is sometimes possible to have sentences in which two negatives make a positive, as illustrated in (3.48) (Biberauer, 2019).

(3.46) *I am **not never** tired*

= I am sometimes tired.

(3.47) *Ek is **nooit** moeg **nie**.*

I is never tired NEG

“I am never tired.”



(3.48) *Niemand gee niks (nie).*

No one give nothing NEG

“No one gives nothing.” (=Everyone gives something.)

As a partial Negative Concord language, Afrikaans requires two negative elements in every negative sentence. This can either be the seemingly identical negative elements *nie...nie*, as in (3.49), or a negative indefinite with a *nie*, as in (3.50) (Huddleston, 2010: 5):

(3.49) *My ma het nie gisteraand goed geslaap nie.*

My mom have not last night well PST-sleep NEG

“My mom did not sleep well last night.”

(3.50) *Ek sal nooit weer daar gaan eet nie.*

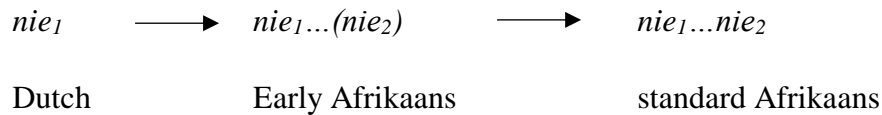
I will never again there go eat NEG

“I will never go eat there again.”

Usually, the occurrence of more than one negative element to convey one negation is ascribed to the patterns of change in negation over time, also known as the “Jespersen cycle”. This term was first used by Dahl (1979: 88 in Huddleston, 2010: 17), and he looked at how the history of negation in different languages follows a certain pattern. Jespersen (1917: 4 in Huddleston, 2010: 19) explained the fluctuation as follows:

The original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

It has been said that Afrikaans is at the third stage of the Jespersen cycle, as this is where discontinuous negation is indicated. Afrikaans’ Jespersen cyclic development can be indicated as follows (Huddleston, 2010: 19):



It should be noted that, similar to other Negative Concord languages, the two negators or *nies* in Afrikaans negative constructions are essentially different. The first *nie* is the core of the negation, whereas the final *nie* is seen as the negative concord element. This negative concord element is a required negative marker that does not carry any meaning, but that is always present in sentences with an initial *nie* or a negative indefinite (Huddleston, 2010: 60; Biberauer, 2007: 8). Biberauer and Zeijlstra (2012: 4) maintains that Negative Concord is based on an Agree relation that requires one element to carry a formally interpretable feature [iNEG] and one or more other elements to carry uninterpretable formal features [uNEG].

### 3.5.1 Pol(arity)

With regards to the negation elements (*nie...nie*) of Afrikaans discussed in the previous section, it is important to note the difference between the two elements. Oosthuizen (1998) suggests giving *nie*<sub>1</sub> the status of a Neg-head, which is merged fairly low in the clause, and giving *nie*<sub>2</sub> the status of a Pol(arity)-head, which is merged at the edge of the clause, above the CP. This leads to the argument that Afrikaans negative sentences are headed by a Polarity Phrase (PolP). This PolP stipulates the polarity of the sentence as negative (Biberauer, 2007: 14-15; Laka, 1990). According to Biberauer (2019), this reconstruction of Afrikaans CPs as PolPs developed from regular exposure to the XP-peripheral *nie*<sub>2</sub> and it can be found on the periphery of any XP. As a result of this, Afrikaans CPs are larger than Germanic V2-clauses, and therefore, V-to-C movement is always possible without violating the Kayne-Rizzi-Roberts constraint, which states that T-to-C movement is possible when the C does not contain a lexical element (Biberauer, 2019).

Biberauer (2019) claims that *nie*<sub>2</sub> underwent the Jespersenian clause-internal cyclic development, which led to it becoming a required concord marker at standardization, instead of being an optional emphatic element.

$$nie_2\text{-TAG} > nie_2\text{-POL}_{\text{Emph}} > nie_2\text{-POL}$$

This being said, the Pol(arity) head (*nie*<sub>2</sub>) is still used as an optional emphasiser in some modern spoken varieties of Afrikaans and it is used to indicate the level of a speaker's commitment to the negative idea explicitly. Consider the following examples (Biberauer, 2019):

- (3.51) *Nie*<sub>1</sub> *die GELD* *nie*<sub>2</sub>, *maar die TYD pla* *hom*.  
 Not the money NEG but the time bother him  
 “Not the money, but the time bothers him.”

- (3.52) *Ek is nooit* *nie*<sub>2</sub> *moeg* *nie*<sub>2</sub>.  
 I is never NEG tired NEG  
 “I am always tired.”

- (3.53) *Moeder Natuur het vir* *nie*<sub>1</sub> *minder* *nie*<sub>2</sub> *as drie beskermende lae gesorg*.  
 Mother Nature have for not less NEG than three protective layers PST-provide  
 “Mother Nature provided no less than three protective layers.”

The evidence for analysing *nie*<sub>2</sub> as a CP-peripheral Pol(arity) head is very strong. When considering the following negative V2 newspaper headlines, it is clear that *nie*<sub>2</sub> heads the outermost CP-projection. These clauses are then merely CPs whose outermost PolP has been elided (Biberauer, 2019):

- (3.54) *MyCiti-busse word* *nie*<sub>1</sub> *behoorlik gemonitor*.  
 MyCiti buses become not properly PST-monitor  
 MyCiti buses aren't being properly monitored.”

(*Die Burger* 17 July 2014)

- (3.55) *Jan Smuts was* *nie*<sub>1</sub> *veel werd vir Boere*.  
 Jan Smuts was not much worth for Boers  
 “Jan Smuts didn't do much for the Boers.”

(*Rapport* 17 July 2014)

### 3.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I discussed the origins of Afrikaans, and mentioned that Afrikaans developed when contact between various languages led to variety of Dutch. Also, the fact that Afrikaans is a fully standardized language, and that it is spoken by a large number of people in Southern Africa was mentioned. Importantly, Afrikaans is situated within the West Germanic language family, along with Dutch, German and English, among others.

Section 3.2 considered the various main sentence types that are available in Afrikaans. I considered and gave examples of each of the following: declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and exclamative sentences.

The Afrikaans verbal system was explored in section 3.3, which discussed different verb forms, verb clusters, infinitives and the inflectional system of the language. It was mentioned that the past participle is constructed by using the stem of the verb, with the inflectional morpheme *ge*. The only exceptions are *hê* (“have”) and *wees* (“be”). Verb clusters were mentioned as a defining characteristic of most Germanic languages, and the formation of infinitives was explained as using the stem of the verb and placing it after *om te*. An important point regarding the grammar of Afrikaans is that Afrikaans has a poor inflectional morphological system.

Section 3.4 of this chapter considered the word order of Afrikaans. This section made it clear that Afrikaans has a SOV-structure with V2. This means that in Afrikaans main clauses, the finite verb is moved from the SOV-position and placed in the second position of the sentence. It was also mentioned that Afrikaans’ V2 profile is a bit different than other Germanic languages. In Afrikaans, V2 can occur in an embedded sentence whether the C is overt or not, and, in *wh*-structures, Afrikaans allows V2 as a choice. The claim was made that Afrikaans has the most wide-ranging V2 profile of all the Germanic languages.

In section 3.4, I considered negation, and stated that Afrikaans is a partial Negative Concord language, which means that two negation forms contribute a single semantic negation, in the case of sentential negation, but multiple negative indefinites convey a double negation meaning. Another important claim was that the two *nies* found in Afrikaans are fundamentally different, and that brought us to the idea that the second *njie* is a Pol(arity)-head. This led to the

conclusion that negative sentences in Afrikaans are headed by a Polarity Phrase (PolP) which characterises the polarity of the sentence as negative.

## CHAPTER 4:

### IMPERATIVES IN WEST GERMANIC LANGUAGES

According to Aikhenvald (2010:1), declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives are grammatical moods<sup>8</sup> that are found in every language and which enable speakers to make statements, or to ask questions, or to tell someone else to do something. Generally, imperatives are used by the speaker to instruct the hearer to do something or, in Searle's (1979 in van Olmen, 2011: 31) terms, imperatives are directive speech acts (van Olmen, 2011: 31).

The imperative construction is a specific morpho-syntactic type, and what counts as an imperative in a specific language is controlled by the function of the sentence. Therefore, when we want to ascertain what is seen as an imperative in a specific language, we have to find the form that usually has the function of getting someone to do something (Jary and Kissine, 2014: 2). It is, however, important to keep in mind that the fact that a sentence is used to get someone to achieve a goal or fulfil an action does not necessarily make that sentence an imperative (Jary and Kissine, 2014: 1). In other words, just because a sentence can be used to give a command, for example, does not automatically make it an imperative (Jary and Kissine, 2014: 14).

There is not much research on the common issues surrounding the syntax of clause types and regarding the character of different clause type systems. Nevertheless, what we do know is that clause types are fundamental descriptive classes which represent the way we speak and think about language, and it seems that there are noteworthy universals in the functioning of different clause type systems (Portner and Zanuttini, 2003: 1). Thus, it is clear that making sense of just one of the basic clause types, imperatives, is beneficial to linguistic understanding.

This chapter will focus on describing the various aspects of imperative constructions in West Germanic languages. The first section of the chapter, section 4.1, will provide a description of imperatives. This section will consider what the (typical) functions of imperatives are. The

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<sup>8</sup> Mood is a grammatical category that expresses speech acts (Aikhenvald, 2010: 14)

uniqueness of imperatives, compared to declaratives and interrogatives will also be discussed, as well as the instances in which imperatives are normally used. Section 4.2 will look at the various distinguishing features of imperative constructions. The first sub-section, section 4.2.1, will discuss the nature of the imperative subject. After this, in section 4.2.2, I will consider the verb forms and types of verbs that are allowed in imperatives. Section 4.2.3 will consider the tense of imperative construction, and section 4.2.4 will look at negative imperatives, and how imperatives can be negated. Section 4.3 will provide previous syntactic accounts for imperatives in English and Dutch. The last section of the chapter, section 4.4, deals with the various ways in which imperative constructions develop and change.

### **4.1 Characterising imperatives**

The term “imperative” can be used in a number of ways. It can be used to refer to a type of grammatical mood that is similar to the indicative mood or the subjunctive mood. Or, it can be used to refer to a syntactic category that is similar to a declarative or an interrogative sentence. Or, it can be used to refer to the pragmatic idea of a directive speech act that is similar to an assertive and so on (Zhang, 1990, 11). According to Potsdam (1998: 3), the collection of sentences that have been classed as imperatives in the literature is extremely large, because of the fact that the imperative can be defined in so many different ways. Thus, imperatives can be considered both as a kind of sentence and a kind of speech act (Broadie, 1972, 180).

Traditional grammarians view imperatives as being a set of sentences that are syntactically different to other sentence types. Therefore, if one follows traditional grammar, a syntactic description of imperatives should be readily available. As a step in that direction, one can define imperatives as sentences whose main verb is in the imperative mood. This definition, however, cannot satisfy all the ambiguities that one finds in the syntax of many languages. Even though some languages make it quite evident, from their morphology alone, whether a verb is in the imperative mood, other languages, like Afrikaans and English, do not make this so clear, and in other languages still, morphological investigation may be completely unhelpful (Broadie, 1972: 180).

It is very important to ask the question “What constitutes an imperative?” In most early studies on imperatives, imperatives are mostly reduced to only the canonical imperative, also known as the second person imperative (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 5). Therefore, the imperative is viewed as a clause type whose core aim is to give the addressee a reason to act upon what was said. According to van Olmen (2018: 148), imperatives are appropriate for the performance of all directive speech acts and their realisations are similar to the second person in both morphology and syntax. It is, however, very important to mention that other person and number combinations can occur, depending on the specific language (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 5).

Very often, the terms “imperative” and “command” are used interchangeably, but it is important to ask if ‘imperative’ and ‘command’ always signify the same idea. And the answer is no. Not really. When someone says *Go away!* it is a command that happens to be in the imperative form. It is, however, possible to command without the sentence being in the imperative form. A question like *Why don't you go away?* or a statement like *You will go away!* can have the same goal and outcome. Alternatively, imperatives are not even required to command anything. Imperatives can also be used for entreaties and requests, advice and instructions, invitations, or even principles and life mottos (Aikhenvald, 2010: 1-2).

The main focus in imperatives is always on the participants of the communication act, namely the speaker and the addressee (Aikhenvald, 2010: 4). According to Stefanowitsch (2003: 10), main clauses, like imperatives, tend to attempt to portray a specific position of the speaker in an interaction. Therefore, it is important to mention that one of the defining properties of the imperative is that it expresses a relationship between the speaker and the hearer, and thus it can be said that imperatives essentially have an interactional function, or that they express interpersonal meaning. It is the desire to express this interpersonal meaning that encourages the speakers to create constructions like the imperative.

Commands and directive speech acts occur universally. As has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, all languages have their own way of getting someone to do something or act on an order. That being said, there are languages that do not have dedicated imperative forms (Aikhenvald, 2010: 38), although having a dedicated imperative verb form is the standard. More than 75% of languages studied have dedicated imperative forms. Also, there is



morphological support and indications from first language acquisition that gives the impression that imperative forms are universal (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 16-17).

In order to understand an imperative, there has to be a person that corresponds with the addressee in the specific situation, or a group of people that corresponds with the group of addressees in the specific situation. Considering that the purpose of an imperative is to instruct the addressee or addressees to do something, it makes sense that the addressee(s) have to be identified in order to understand the imperative. According to the literature (see Potsdam, 1998; Rupp, 1999; Jensen, 2003), it has been noted that imperatives occur in two instances: (i) in the instance where the addressee is commanded to do something, as in (4.1), and (ii) in the instance where the addressee has to make sure that someone else does something, as in (4.2) (Zanuttini, 2008: 186).

(4.1) *Be here at 3 o'clock.*

(4.2) *Nobody leave the hall, sergeant!*

According to Portner & Zanuttini (2003: 2) the imperative's function is to give a requirement to the collection of requirements that the hearer has. Metaphorically, this can be seen as a kind of to-do list that the hearer has. They argue that we get an imperative when the external argument of the verb is limited to the hearer. In other words, this is when the feature given by the imperative can only completely and honestly be satisfied by the hearer, because of the felicity condition maintaining that a feature can only be given to a person's requirement set, or to-do list, if it is possible for that person to have the feature (Portner & Zanuttini, 2003: 5).

It is important to acknowledge commands towards first and third person addressees. There is widespread disagreement about how to describe these kinds of commands. Often the term "hortative" is used to refer to a first person imperative. On the other hand, this term can also describe an added meaning of an imperative that concerns counselling or warning. The term "jussive" is often used when speaking about commands that are directed at a third person (Aikhenvald, 2010: 4). This thesis, however, will primarily consider canonical imperatives directed at second person addressees.

## 4.2 Features of imperatives

There are various features that show that imperatives are a type of their own, and that they are different from other clause types. One of these features is that imperatives often have unique patterns of intonation that differentiate them from other clause types. Also, the constituent order of imperatives may be different from that of declarative or interrogative constructions. Often, constituent order in imperatives involves putting the verb first (Aikhenvald, 2010: 112).

Another unique feature of imperatives, and one which distinguishes them from other clause types, is having specific marking for distance in space – ‘do here’ and ‘do there’. Distance in space is usually divided into two types: (i) proximal command and (ii) distal command. Proximal command deals with actions that are carried out close to the speaker or where the speaker is present, and distal command deals with actions that are carried out away from the speaker or where the speaker is absent. It should be mentioned that very few languages have dedicated imperative forms depending on whether the action is performed in the presence of the speaker or not (Aikhenvald, 2010: 133).

In this section, I will consider the main features of imperative constructions in English and Dutch and some syntactic accounts for these constructions. This is necessary in order to be able to compare the features of Afrikaans imperatives with the features of imperatives from languages in the same language family, namely West Germanic.

### 4.2.1 Subject

Canonical, addressee-oriented imperatives are always at the core of the analysis of imperative constructions. This is as a result of the traditional approach to imperatives. Lyons (1977: 747 in Aikhenvald 2010: 17) points out that “it is implicit in the very notion of commanding and requesting that the command or request is addressed to the person who is expected to carry it out.” Therefore, the subject of an imperative is usually assumed to be the second person (Aikhenvald, 2010: 66). Earlier studies (e.g. Katz & Postal, 1964) argue for a second person subject solely, with no exceptions. More recent work (Zhang, 1990; Potsdam, 1996; Platzack

& Rosengren, 1998; Rupp, 1999 and others) have mentioned that English imperatives have the ability to have various subjects, as illustrated by the following examples (Jensen, 2003: 150):

- (4.3) ***You** give it to me!*
- (4.4) ***Nobody** move!*
- (4.5) ***Those in the front row** stop giggling!*
- (4.6) ***The boy in the corner** stand up!*

One of the most evident features of imperatives is the optionality of the imperative subject. This means that the subject of a canonical imperative does not have to be expressed overtly, even in languages that usually have to express the subject, like English and Afrikaans. For some languages, again, including English and Afrikaans, the lack of an overt subject often serves as a distinguishing feature of the imperative form (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 21; Aikhenvald, 2010: 92).

Dutch imperatives also have an optionally realised subject after the verb, as seen in (4.7) (Van Olmen, 2018: 148).

- (4.7) *Neem jij maar een hele goeie fiets.*  
       Take you but a whole good bike  
       “You just take a very good bike.”

Because of the fact that the imperative subject is optional in Dutch, it is possible to have a sentence like (4.8) without a subject pronoun, or sentences like (4.9)-(4.11) where the subject pronoun is added after the verb. The subject pronouns that can be added are *jij*, *u*, and *jullie*, as seen in the examples below. The verb precedes the subject of the imperative and the verb agrees with the subject. The stem of the verb is used with *jij*, as in (4.9), the stem with the suffix *-t* is used with *u*, as in (4.10), and the plural present form of the verb is used with *jullie*, as in (4.11). It is important to mention that a sentence like (4.10), where the stem has the *-t* ending, is mainly used to address a group of people and it mostly occurs as a form of more formal or polite language (van Olmen, 2011: 24; Bennis, 2007: 121).

(4.8) *Ga weg!*

Go away

“Go away!”

(4.9) *Ga jij maar weg!*

Go you but away

“You go away!”

(4.10) *Gaat u maar weg!*

Go you but away

“You go away!”

(4.11) *Gaan jullie maar weg!*

Go you but away

“You go away!”

It is important to note that, unlike in English, the subject can never precede the verb in Dutch imperative clauses. According to Bennis (2007: 119), wherever it seems as if the imperative has an initial subject, the subject is left-dislocated, as is clear when considering the intonation break, as indicated by the following example.

(4.12) *Jij, ga toch naar huis!*

You go just to home

“Get yourself home, you!”

In English imperatives, null subjects have second person features. This is made clear by the following examples, in which imperatives can bind with second person pronouns and anaphors (Zanuttini, 2008: 187).

(4.13) *Raise your hand!*

(4.14) *Wash yourselves!*

Because of the fact that the addressee is generally assumed to be the subject, and therefore is not required to be expressed overtly, the marking of verbal arguments in canonical imperatives is quite different from the marking on declaratives and interrogatives. The object, which is the second verbal argument in the imperative clause, also does not require formal marking. This is because the subject is always assumed to be the addressee, and, therefore, it is unnecessary to disambiguate the subject and the object – their distinction is clear enough (Aikhenvald, 2010: 156).

Earlier studies support the idea that the lack of an overt subject in imperatives is merely apparent. These studies claim that the subject *you* is actually deleted at a later stage. In the same way, earlier studies looked into the idea that imperatives not only contain a subject that is deleted at a later stage, but also a modal auxiliary. It was claimed that this auxiliary is *will*, and this was seen as proof for the future time reference found in imperatives, as well as for the possibility for some declarative sentences to be directives, as shown by the example in (4.15) (van der Wurff, 2007: 3).

(4.15) *You will give back the money you've stolen.*

Subjects of imperative sentences are different than in declarative sentences. As a matter of fact, the way to understand the idea of 'imperative subject' has been a topic of debate in the literature (Potsdam, 1996; Platzack & Rosengren, 1998). Instinctively, the DP/NP subject of an imperative can only be used to talk to the addressee, and cannot be used to talk about the addressee. According to Jensen (2003: 155), there are two semantically distinctive functions of the imperative subject. Similar to declarative sentences, the first function of the subject of imperatives is to carry a thematic role, and, unlike the subject of declaratives, which can take a variety of thematic roles, the imperative demands that the thematic role of the subject is an agent or fulfils an agentive role. Jensen (2003: 155) adopts the term "intended agent". The agentive thematic role and intended agent is similar in the sense that he/she is the one who initiates an action. Subjects in both declaratives and imperatives have a thematic function, so distinguishing the two sentence types depends on the second semantic function that they have. The declarative subject's second function is as the "subject of predication", and the imperative subject's second function is as an "addressee". In imperatives, the subject is associated with an

addressee, and the literature has attempted to define this function in various ways. According to Hamblin (1987: 53 in Jensen, 2003), the addressee involves all intended receivers of what was said, including bystanders. There is an expectation of the addressee to carry the imperative across to the intended agent (Jensen, 2003: 156).

There are two ways in which the addressee and intended agent are linked. As a default, these two are linked by identity, which means that they are viewed as the combined imperative subject. When there is an imperative that is directed at an addressee  $x$ , then that addressee  $x$  has been ordered or implored to bring about some action by doing it himself/herself. An example of this can be seen in (4.16).

(4.16) *Sleep!*

When (4.16) is directed at the addressee  $x$ , it signifies a command for the addressee to sleep. Importantly, (4.16) cannot be said to  $x$  to appeal to  $y$  to sleep. When the addressee and the intended agent are not linked by identity, the addressee facilitates the relationship between the speaker and the intended agent of the given event, as in (4.17).

(4.17) *Get her to bed!*

Thus, one can say that the relationship that exists between the addressee and the intended agent is facilitated by control. This is not a grammatical idea, but rather a real-world idea, which enables the addressee to persuade or threaten the intended agent to act upon the action expressed by the VP (Jensen, 2003: 156). It can be said that the imperative only becomes pertinent when the intended agent is controlled by the addressee (Jensen, 2003: 157).

I have mentioned that one of the distinctive features of imperative constructions is the possibility to occur without an overt subject. There are, however, circumstances in which the subject position can have overt phonological information. The two circumstances where overt subjects are allowed are, firstly, contrastive reference and, secondly, non-second person reference (Stefanowitsch, 2003: 5). Also, when an overt subject is added to imperatives in languages that do not usually have an overt subject, it generally has unique stylistic

consequences (Aikhenvald, 2010: 145). Very often, adding an overt subject to the imperative can indicate the speaker's authority or power over the addressee, or it can also indicate frustration or intense impatience (Aikhenvald, 2010: 67).

The optionality of the imperative subject should not be seen as the option of simply leaving it out, as (4.18) shows is possible in other clause types, but rather, it should be seen as the option of adding it to the imperative, as seen in example (4.19). In other words, in example (4.18)A, one can feel that the subject is missing, while, on the contrary, in example (4.19)B, one can rather feel that the subject is an additional element (van Olmen, 2011: 17).

(4.18) A. *Sorry, have to study.*

B. *Sorry, I have to study.*

(4.19) A. *Open this door!*

B. *You open this door!*

An important question to ask is whether non-pronominal, non-quantificational nominal phrases can be potential subjects in English imperatives. There are various stances on this matter; some including them and others not. There are, however, two types of non-pronominal, non-quantificational subjects that all speakers of English allow in imperatives. They are proper names and bare nouns (Zanuttini, 2008: 191-192).

Proper names that are accepted as subjects of imperatives by all speakers select individuals from the group of addressees, and they usually appear in coordinated sentences, as seen in (4.20) (Zanuttini, 2008: 192).

(4.20) *Mary sit in the corner, Sarah stand outside!*

An interesting fact is that in imperatives, and exclusively in imperatives, proper names as subjects can attach to a second person element, as in (4.21) below (Zanuttini, 2008: 192).

(4.21) *Dani brush your teeth, Michael make your bed!*

(4.22) \**Dani brushed your teeth, while Michael made your bed.*

Secondly, bare nouns are also possible as subjects in English imperatives. Bare plurals as imperative subjects are accepted by all speakers, as illustrated in (4.23), and even a bare singular subject is preferred above one with an overt determiner, as illustrated in the difference in acceptability between (4.24) and (4.25) (Zanuttini, 2008: 192).

(4.23) *Boys be the cops and girls be the robbers.*

(4.24) *Slower traffic keep right.*

(4.25) ?*The slower traffic keep right.*

It is very important, in order to maintain that proper names and bare noun phrases can be used as subjects in English imperatives, that, in the applicable contexts, they cannot be viewed as vocatives (Zanuttini, 2008: 194). According to the generative literature, the subject of an imperative has to be separated from the vocative (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 20).

We can identify three properties that can tell us when proper names and bare noun phrases should be seen as imperative subjects, and not vocatives, in English. First is the lack of an intonational break. Typically, in English, vocatives are removed from the rest of the clause by an intonational break, whereas the nominal phrases in question are not. The second property relates to the complexity of the context of imperatives. The imperative clause can occur in isolation when a proper name is used as a vocative, as in (4.26), but, on the contrary, when the proper name is used as an imperative subject, the imperative clause must be followed by another clause, as indicated by the difference in grammaticality between (4.27) and (4.28). In a similar way, when bare noun phrases are used as vocatives, the imperative clause can occur in isolation, as in (4.29), but when these bare noun phrases are used as subjects, the imperative clause cannot, see the difference in grammaticality between (4.30) and (4.31). The third property deals with interpretation. Proper names and bare noun phrases that are used as imperative subjects select a member of the set of addressees, whereas a vocative refers to the set of addressees. The examples in (4.32) and (4.33) indicate that when a proper name is used without it being separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break, it chooses from



a subsection of the addressees identified by the vocative, and the clause cannot occur in isolation (Zanuttini, 2008: 194-195).

- (4.26) *John, close the door, will you?*
- (4.27) *\*John close the door, will you?*
- (4.28) *John scatter the flies, Bill ransack the desk, and I'll watch the door.*
- (4.29) *Boys, be quiet!*
- (4.30) *\*Boys be quiet.*
- (4.31) *Boys be quiet, girls be in charge of the orchestra!*
- (4.32) A. *Kids, Gabriel comb your hair; Dani put on your shoes!*  
           B. *Guys, John raise your hand; Mary wiggle your finger*
- (4.33) A. *\*Kids, Gabriel comb your hair!*  
           B. *\*Guys, John raise your hand!*

#### 4.2.2 Verbs

Many languages, including classical Latin, use the bare stem of the verb in canonical imperatives (Aikhenvald, 2010: 19). In Germanic languages, including Afrikaans, as is mentioned in the previous chapter, the imperative verb is also formed by using the bare stem of the verb, supplemented by agreement in some Germanic languages (Platzack and Rosengren, 1998: 194). The use of the bare verb is actually the case in most languages, as is made clear by Zhang's (1990) cross-linguistic survey of 46 languages across 13 language families (Platzack and Rosengren, 1998, 194). Imperative verbs are usually viewed as being morphologically poor due to the fact that in most languages that have been studied, imperatives have very little inflectional morphology. This is seen even in languages that usually display a rich verbal morphology for tense, agreement and mood (Han, 1998: 2).

One of the characteristic features of Dutch imperatives include using the stem form of the verb and usually placing the verb at the beginning of the clause, as seen with *noem* in (4.34).

- (4.34) *Noem er eens een paar.*  
 Name just once a couple  
 “Just name a couple.”

When considering English, the imperative either appears with the main verb in the root form, or the auxiliary in the root form, followed by the appropriate form of the main verb. Also, according to Stefanowitsch (2003: 1), English imperatives cannot carry tense, as seen (4.35) and (4.36) and nor can they contain modal verbs, as shown by sentence (4.37). In English, *do*, *be* and *have* are the possible auxiliaries that can be used in English imperatives, as illustrated in (4.38)-(4.40) (van Olmen, 2011: 19).

- (4.35) ***You be** calm now!*  
 (4.36) *\***Passed** the salt please!*  
 (4.37) *\***Will** pass the salt please.*  
 (4.38) ***Do come** in!*  
 (4.39) *Please run and please **be elected** to the post!*  
 (4.40) *Start the book and **have finished** it before you go to bed!*

Moreover, English imperatives are famous for requiring *do*-support with negative imperatives, as well as for when emphasis or contrast is demanded. This need for *do*-support with negative imperatives is indicated by the difference in grammaticality between examples (4.41) and (4.42) below. The sentence is deemed ungrammatical if *do* is not added to the negative imperative. When a command needs to be emphasised, *do* is added to the front of a canonical imperative as in (4.44) (Stefanowitsch, 2003: 2).

- (4.41) *\***Burn** not your fingers!*  
 (4.42) ***Don't** burn your fingers!*  
 (4.43) *Pass the salt!*  
 (4.44) ***Do** pass the salt!*

In declarative sentences, any verb and any predicate can be used. This, however, is not true for imperative sentences. Imperatives can usually be created with any transitive verb, i.e. verbs

that require a direct object, and a good number of intransitive verbs, i.e. verbs that do not require a direct object. With regards to intransitive verbs, these should, however, encode controllable actions (Aikhenvald, 2010: 6).

This brings us to another important feature of imperatives, and that is that they have a constraint on the kind of predicate that they can select. The selected predicate is required to indicate a controllable action. This means that the predicate must represent an action that can be carried out, or not, in a controlled way by any particular person founded on his/her own or someone else's experience. This restriction usually prevents stative and non-volitive predicates and inanimate addressees from being included in imperatives (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 18), as illustrated by the contrast between (4.45) and (4.46) below.

(4.45) *Look at me!*

(4.46) *\*See me!*

In (4.45) the addressee can control the action and therefore can obey the directive or command given by the speaker. In (4.46), the verb *see* cannot be controlled by the addressee and therefore cannot function as a directive (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 18).

In general and in many languages, passives are rarely, if ever, used to form imperatives. In English, imperatives of passives have been debated for a long time and the general agreement is that passives cannot usually be found in an imperative. The following examples are barely acceptable in English (Aikhenvald, 2010: 149):

(4.47) *\*George, be taken to church by your sister!*

(4.48) *\*Be helped by Jill!*

However, it is possible to come up with some examples where passives are acceptable in imperatives.

(4.49) *Be checked over by a doctor, then you'll be sure there's nothing wrong.*

(4.50) *Be flattered by what he says, it'll make his day.*

These sentences indicate that context is very important for an imperative passive to be deemed acceptable. This means that it is often necessary for an accompanying clause to clarify the situation (Aikhenvald, 2010: 149).

There are two types of imperatives in Dutch – the first is a simple, canonical imperatives, as in (4.51) and (4.52), and the second is an infinitival imperatives, as in (4.53) and (4.54). Similar to the canonical imperatives, the infinitival imperative also tolerate an empty or right peripheral direct object (Visser, 1996: 257).

(4.51) *Eet (die spruitjes) op!*  
 Eat (those sprouts) up  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

(4.52) *Eet e<sub>i</sub> op die spruitjes<sub>i</sub>!*  
 Eat e up those sprouts  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

(4.53) *(Die spruitjes) opeten!*  
 (Those sprouts) up-eat  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

(4.54) *e Opeten die spruitjes!*  
 e up-eat those sprouts  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

### 4.2.3 Tense

Considering that imperatives tell people what to do, many linguists claim that this necessarily means that imperatives always point to something to come (Aikhenvald, 2010: 128). According to Lyons (1977: 746-7 in Aikhenvald, 2010: 128), it cannot be logically possible to command someone to carry out an action in the past, and that is why we only expect to find a tense distinction that differentiates between immediate and more distant futurity. Alcázar and

Saltarelli (2014: 3) claims that imperatives can only be in the present or future tense. When looking at English as an example, imperatives usually refer to an action in the immediate or distant future and therefore cannot occur with time adverbials that refer to a time in the past, or that refer to habitual events, as in the following examples (Aikhenvald, 2010: 129):

(4.55) \**Come yesterday.*

(4.56) \**Usually drive your car.*

An interesting aspect of Dutch imperatives is that various types of past tense imperatives are allowed. See the following examples (van Olmen, 2011: 27-28):

(4.57) *Had iets gegeten!*  
 Had something PST-eat  
 “You should have eaten something!”

(4.58) *Luisterde dan ook toen ik het je zei!*  
 Listen-PST then also then I the you say.PST  
 “You should have listened when I told you!”

(4.59) *Bleef dan maar uit zijn buurt!*  
 Stay.PST then but from his vicinity  
 “You should have stayed away from him!”

(4.60) *Had ik maar iets gegeten.*  
 Had I only something PST-eat  
 “I wish I had eaten something / If only I had eaten something.”

The example in (4.57) is said to be accepted by a majority of speakers, while (4.58) and (4.59) are not. The construction in (4.57) carries the meaning of “you should have done something” and it is mostly used as a rebuke or admonishment. According to van der Wurff (2007: 47), it is important to note that (4.57) is different from (4.60), as (4.60) is not actually an imperative, but rather an exclamative which expresses a counterfactual wish. Unlike (4.57), (4.60) is not

limited to the second person, nor is the subject pronoun phonetically null. It is, however, necessary for (4.60) to contain the particle *maar* in order to be grammatical.

#### 4.2.4 Negation

A negative imperative can also be referred to by the term “prohibitive”, with a prohibitive demanding or requesting the hearer to create or preserve a negative condition or situation. Firstly, it is important to distinguish between ‘prohibitive constructions’ and ‘prohibitive markers’. Firstly, a prohibitive construction is the construction that expresses a prohibition, regardless of its structure. Consider the following Dutch sentences in (4.61)-(4.63) (van der Auwera, 2005: 25-26):

(4.61) *Beweeg!*

move

“Move!”

(4.62) *Beweeg niet!*

move NEG

“Don’t move!”

(4.63) *Hij beweegt niet.*

he move NEG

“He doesn’t move!”

As can be seen in the example in (4.62) above, the Dutch prohibitive construction is fairly simple. This construction uses the same form of the verb as in positive, or canonical, imperatives, given in (4.61), and the negation *niet* is the same as the negation used in declarative constructions, given in (4.63) (van der Auwera, 2005: 26; Postma and van der Wurff, 2007: 206).

In contrast, when considering Mandarin, declaratives have various sentential strategies to indicate negation, and the three most used ones are the markers *bù*, *méi* or *méiyǒu*. In

prohibitive constructions, *méi(yǒu)* is not found, and neither is *bù*, or at least not on its own. Instead, *buyào* and *bié* are used as the dedicated markers for prohibitive constructions, and van der Auwera (2005: 26) calls these “prohibitive markers”.

(4.64) *Tā bu niàn shū.*  
 3SG NEG study book  
 “(S)he does not study.”

(4.65) *Dòng!*  
 Move  
 “Move!”

(4.66) *Bié / Buyào dòng!*  
 PROH / PROH move  
 “Don’t move!”

Based on a study by van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005) in which they considered prohibitive constructions of 495 languages, 327 of the 495 languages function like Mandarin in that they have a dedicated prohibitive marker (van der Auwera, 2005: 27). This means that this marker is reserved for marking prohibitives, rather than being used for negative declaratives as well (van der Auwera, 2005: 25).

According to Aikhenvald (2010: 171), prohibitives always contain formal marking, regardless of whether the imperative is addressee-oriented or not. It is possible for prohibitives to have the same marking as positive imperatives, or, prohibitives may contain a special negator, a special verb form, or both. It is also possible for a prohibitive to be formed by using a verbal form that is not necessarily a negative in itself, like a subjunctive or an infinitive (Aikhenvald, 2010: 190).

It is sometimes the case that an imperative can be negated in a similar way to a declarative (Jary & Kissine, 2014: 31). In English, negative imperatives demand *do*-support which is then followed by the negator *not*. This is similar to the negative declarative (Aikhenvald, 2010: 165).

(4.67) *Do not eat that! / Don't eat that!*

(4.68) *We do not like pumpkin. / We don't like pumpkin.*

Similarly, languages like French, German and Russian, and many other familiar Indo-European languages, use the same negative marker for imperatives and non-imperatives (Aikhenvald, 2010: 166).

(4.69) *Je n'aime pas les carottes.*

I not like neg the carrots

“I don't like carrots.”

(4.70) *Ne mange pas les carottes.*

Not eat neg the carrots

“Don't eat the carrots.”

An important feature of the prohibitive, or negative imperative, is that it is not stative. Quite the opposite, a prohibitive is a petition for action of either stopping an action that is going on, or making sure that a new action or state of affairs does not take place (van der Auwera, 2005: 29).

### **4.3 Syntactic accounts for imperatives in English and Dutch**

#### **4.3.1 English**

Han (1998: 72) considers how English imperatives developed over time from Old English to Modern English. According to her, in Old English (850-1150), it is clear to see that pronouns are found at the edge of CP, and considering that the subject always follows the verb implies that the verb is situated in C. The same order was found in Middle English (1150-1500). In negative imperatives, the *not* followed the subject and the subject, again, followed the verb. The same word order was found in Early Modern English (1500-1710), with the addition of imperatives with *do*-support. In these imperatives, the *do*-support appeared before the subject, as it still does now.

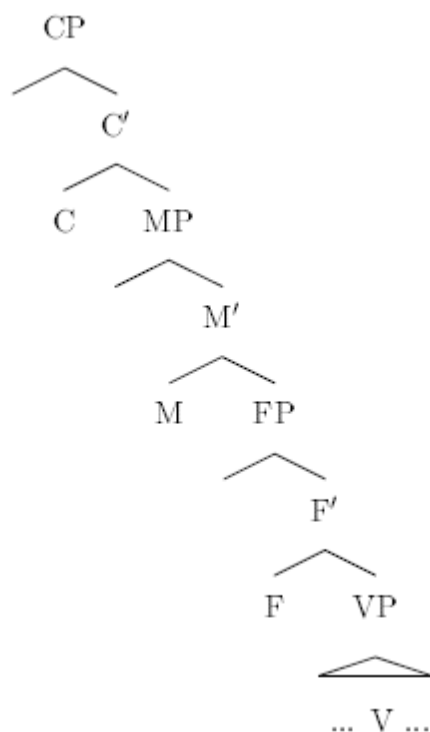


Modern English (after 1710) demands *do*-support for negative imperatives in which the subject follows the auxiliary *do* and the negative element *n't*, as in the following example:

(4.71) *Don't you worry.*

Imperatives in Modern English indicate that the auxiliary *do* is situated in C, while the verb is situated lower down in the clause. Han (1998: 74) draws the conclusion that the presence of the *do* or the lexical verb in C, throughout the history of English, means that the imperative element in C controls the movement of the verb, which is similar to the assumption of the LPH.

Han (1998: 90) also assumes imperatives to lack a TP and represent the basic structure as follows:



MP = Mood Phrase

FP = Intermediate Functional Projection

Figure 4.1: Basic structure of imperatives as proposed by Han (1998)

She mentions that the word order of imperatives in Old and Middle English suggests that the verb is situated in C. According to the structure provided above, the verb in imperatives move to F, then to M, and then to C (Han, 1998: 91).

According to Han (1998: 91), the occurrence of *do*-support in negative imperatives is a result of the fact that V-F movement disappeared in English. She proposes that, with the disappearance of V-F movement, LF verb movement to C took the place of overt verb movement. However, with the negative imperative, F and V are separated, and *do*-support is necessary as a last resort device, as the negative element blocks LF verb movement to C. This is represented by the following figure:

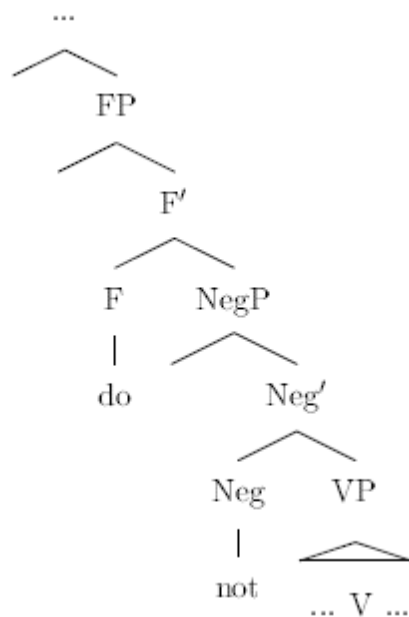


Figure 4.2: Negative imperatives in English

This means that the word order (*do*-(subject)-*not*-verb) is derived by moving the auxiliary *do* to the C. Han (1998: 93) represents this as follows:

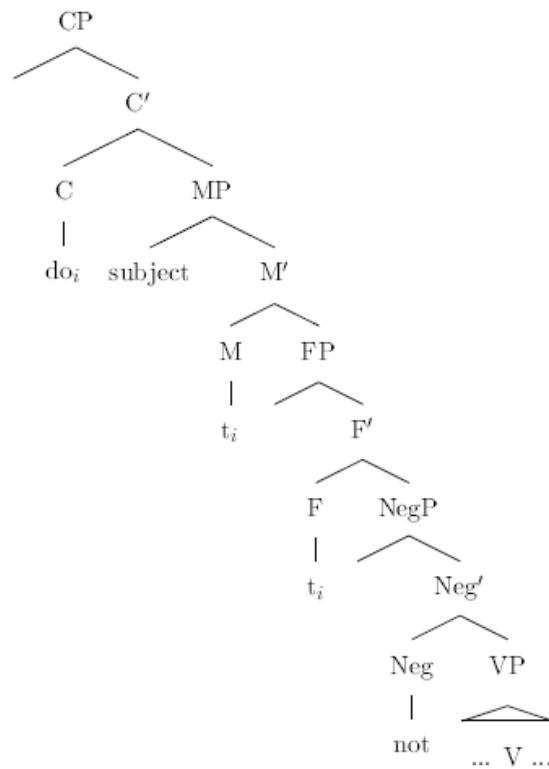


Figure 4.3: Negative imperatives in English

This analysis of negative imperative in English maintains that the loss of V-F movement led to the loss of movement to M and C, and also that LF movement to C replaced overt verb movement. That being said, in negative imperatives, M and C are split and LF verb movement is not possible as the movement is blocked by the negation. This is why *do*-support is necessary for English negative imperatives (Han: 1998: 94). See the representation below:

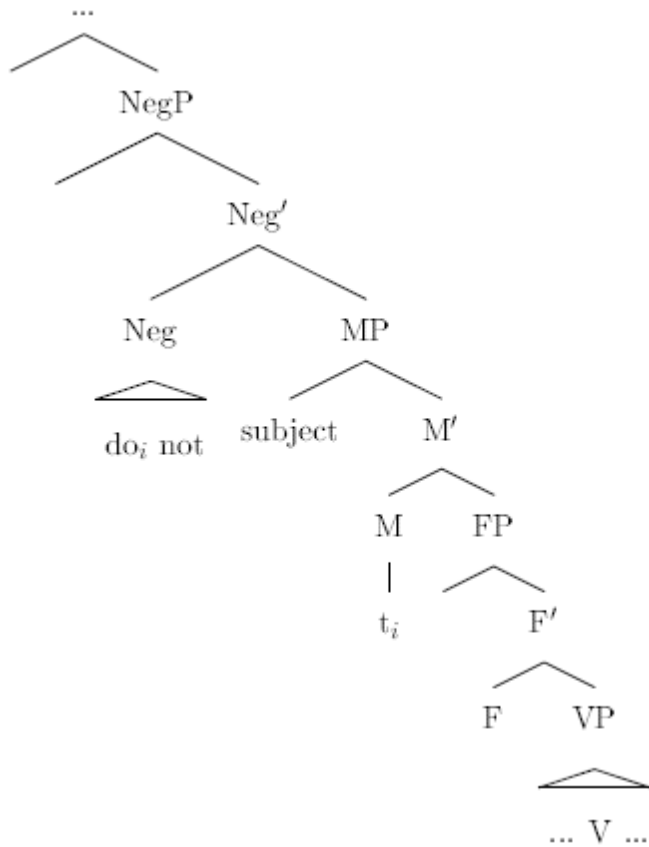


Figure 4.4: Negative imperatives in English

### 4.3.2 Dutch

Rupp (2003 in Han, 2005) presents a syntactic analysis of imperative constructions, and even though most of the book concerns English imperatives, one of the chapters considers other Germanic languages, including Dutch. She claims that the imperative construction is an IP, and not a CP structure, and that this structure contains a functional projection, which she assumes to be an AspP (Han, 2005: 399). This is represented in figure 4.5 below:

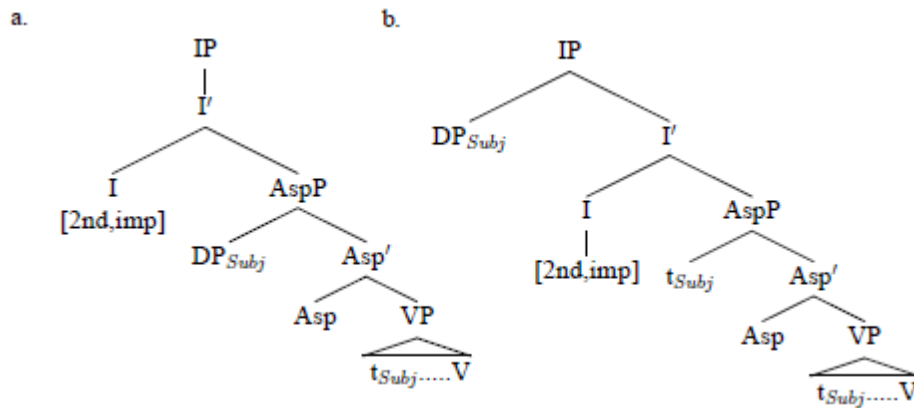


Figure 4.5: Basic structure of imperatives as proposed by Rupp (2003 in Han, 2005)

Rupp (2003 in Han, 2005: 402) considers the differences between English and Dutch imperatives, and makes conclusions about the structure of Dutch imperatives based on these differences. The differences between these languages are as follows: firstly, in Dutch imperatives, and not in English, verbs are marked for second person, secondly, in English imperatives, and not in Dutch, third person DPs can be viewed as the addressee, and thirdly, in English imperatives the position of subject is not always the same, whereas in Dutch, it is always in [Spec,IP]. Based on these differences, Rupp maintains that INFL in English does not contain phi-features, but in Dutch, second person features specifies INFL. So, Rupp argues that *pro* is limited to second person in Dutch, and if third person DPs are used as subjects, the derivation will crash, because of a feature mismatch. Also, in Dutch imperatives, the subject is found in [Spec, IP] in order to license subject-verb agreement. Rupp then postulates the [Agr] hypothesis which states that when imperatives have the feature [+Agr], only second person subjects can occur and the subject position cannot change. In contrast, when an imperative has the feature [-Agr], subject DPs are not limited to second person and the subject position can change. Rupp then uses this hypothesis to test a few Germanic languages. According to her, German indicated a mixed reaction, while Belfast English was characterised as a [-Agr] language and Danish and West Flemish were characterised as [+Agr] languages. The following, very interesting, prediction results from this hypothesis, which could be interesting to test. Early Modern English imperatives showed agreement on number, and therefore would be categorised as a language with the feature [+Agr], which would be similar to Dutch.

According to Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 185), in all Germanic languages, excluding English, the [IMP] feature is strong, which means that ForceP will attract the imperative verb to C. Barbiers (2007: 99) also supports the idea that, in Dutch, the verb moves to C. This will have a similar effect on the structure of imperatives as the LPH.

#### 4.4 Development of imperatives

Various historical processes can be used to explain the development of language. The first of these processes is reanalysis. This process involves a specific form gaining a different function from the one it had before, with very few changes to its surface form and semantics. For example, a few Udi<sup>9</sup> verbs with noun class agreement markers were reanalysed as simple stems. This happened during the process of losing the noun class system. The second of these processes is reinterpretation, also called extension. This process entails that a change occurs in the surface appearance of a form which does not cause instant or inherent change to the underlying structure. The English noun *fun* can serve as an example of reinterpretation. The noun has been reinterpreted as an adjective and thus can be used in sentences like *This is a fun game* (Aikhenvald, 2010: 341). The last of these processes is grammaticalisation. This is the process by which a lexical element becomes a grammatical morpheme (Aikhenvald, 2010: 341). For example, it is possible for certain verbs to develop into grammatical markers for imperative sentences. They lose their independent status and their initial lexical meaning and then undergo grammaticalisation. Mostly, the grammaticalised forms merely mark the non-canonical imperatives. Very rarely, the grammaticalised forms mark second person canonical imperatives. Motion verbs like (i) *come*, (ii) *go*, and (iii) *leave* etc. are a great source for imperative markers (Aikhenvald, 2010: 346).

An example of motion verbs becoming imperative markers is the German *kommen* (“come”) that developed into *komm*. See example (4.50) below (Aikhenvald, 2010: 346).

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<sup>9</sup> Udi is a language that is spoken by the Udi people and it is a member of the Northeast Caucasian language family. The language is spoken in a small village in Azerbaijan and in some parts of Russia.

(4.72) *Komm, denk darüber nach!*  
 come:2sgIMPV think:2sgIMPV about.it after  
 “Come on, think about it!”

The example in (4.72) is very similar to the way in which *Come on!* is sometimes used in English to encourage someone to make more effort.

It seems that imperatives do not change very easily or regularly. According to Whitney (1924: 215 in Aikhenvald, 2010: 362), in Sanskrit, of the three main moods or sentence types, imperatives are the most unchanged throughout the language’s history. Imperatives tend to maintain archaic forms of marking grammatical relationships. Contrary to the other clause types, not every person form of imperatives follows the same path. The canonical, or second person, imperative, which is often regarded as the most straightforward of all imperatives, is inclined to keep archaic properties. However, non-canonical imperatives, which are imperatives directed at first and third person, often develop from other sources (Aikhenvald, 2010: 362).

That being said, the developmental path of prohibitives are often quite different from positive imperatives. Even though canonical imperatives tend to keep archaic features, even second person addressee-oriented prohibitives frequently indicate new developments or changes. Prohibitives can stem from the reinterpretation and reanalysis of fundamentally non-command forms, or they can follow a prohibitive-specific grammaticalisation path (Aikhenvald, 2010: 351).

There are various ways in which developments can take place. Firstly, development can take place through volition, which concerns the development of a dedicated command form from forms expressing wishes, in which the semantic meaning of ‘wish’ is reinterpreted as a command. Secondly, development can take place through intention, future, and prediction. Here the future or intentional modalities become commands. Thirdly, development can take place through the pathway of ability, which means that an expression about having an ability to do something is reinterpreted as a command. Fourthly, hypothesis, supposition and suggestion can also lead to development, as the subjunctive, hypothetical and other modals

assume the function of a command. Lastly, development can occur through de-subordination and incomplete speech act, which concerns a former purposive, complement, conditional or some other dependent clause becoming the main example of a command (Aikhenvald, 2010: 363).

#### **4.5 Concluding remarks**

This chapter discussed imperative constructions for West Germanic languages, with specific reference to English and Dutch. The first section of the chapter characterised imperatives, and noted that there are many ways in which the literature has used the term “imperative”. Traditionally, imperatives are viewed as being a type of sentence that is syntactically different to other sentence types. An imperative can also be described as a sentence type that has the purpose of giving the addressee a reason to act on a command. A very important point that was made is that a command is not always an imperative, and it is necessary to differentiate the two concepts. This section also pointed out that it is possible to direct commands towards first and third person addressees, but for the purpose of this thesis, I will only consider imperatives aimed at second person addressees.

Section 4.2 discussed the general features of imperatives which make them a type of their own. It was noted that imperatives often have a specific intonation, as well as constituent order. Imperatives can mark distance in space, and differentiate between a command that should be carried out close to the speaker or away from the speaker. The subject of an imperative is often at the forefront of imperative analyses, and the subject is mostly assumed to be the second person and is often left out (i.e. not phonetically realised). That being said, overtly realised subjects are possible, and found in imperatives quite often. In many languages, this, however, has stylistic consequences. Imperative verbs tend to be the bare stem of the verb, supplemented by agreement in some languages. Importantly, imperatives are limited in the predicates that they can select and imperative verbs have to indicate an action that can be controlled. This is why passives are hardly ever found in imperative constructions. Another important feature of imperatives, is that they can only refer to something in the future, and past imperatives are almost non-existent, with Dutch being the exception. Negative imperatives or prohibitives can be seen as commands towards the hearer, instructing him/her not to do something. In some



languages, the same negator used for declaratives is also used in imperatives, while in other languages, a dedicated negator is used for prohibitives. It was noted that most languages have a dedicated prohibitive marker.

Section 4.3 considered syntactic accounts of English and Dutch. I looked at Han's (1998) analysis of English imperatives, and Rupp's (2003 in Han, 2005) analysis of Dutch imperatives. This section provided a starting point for me to consider the derivation of Afrikaans imperative constructions.

The last section of this chapter considered how the development of imperatives can and do occur. Reanalysis, reinterpretation, and grammaticalisation were mentioned as three processes involved in the development of language. Grammaticalisation, in particular, plays a role in the development of imperative constructions. I noted that motion verbs are often grammaticalised to become imperative markers. It was also mentioned that imperatives don't change regularly, and that they tend to keep archaic forms. Prohibitives, on the other hand, have been said to develop frequently.

This chapter aimed at introducing imperatives constructions and the various features and assumptions surrounding this sentence type. The information provided in this chapter will be used in the next chapter, Chapter 5, to help clarify and describe the features of imperatives in Afrikaans.

## CHAPTER 5:

### DESCRIPTION OF AFRIKAANS IMPERATIVES

In the previous chapter, I discussed the general characteristics and features of imperatives constructions in two other West Germanic languages, namely English and Dutch. I also considered syntactic analyses of imperatives in these two languages, as proposed by Han (1998) and Rupp (2003 in Han, 2005). This description is used in this chapter to compare Afrikaans imperatives to the imperatives of languages in the same language family. This chapter deals with the various features of Afrikaans imperatives specifically. Here I draw on what was presented in the previous chapter and use my native L1 Afrikaans speaker intuitions to describe these features.

#### 5.1 Features of Afrikaans imperatives

##### 5.1.1 Subject

In Afrikaans imperatives the subject is rarely overtly expressed, which is similar to English and Dutch, as discussed in Chapter 4. In fact, this is very characteristic of the Afrikaans imperative, as this is one of the most evident ways to identify a construction as an imperative in Afrikaans. Similar to English, the null subject in Afrikaans imperatives also has second person features, as it can bind with second person pronouns and anaphors, as illustrated in (5.1) and (5.2).

- (5.1) *Was jou hande!*  
 Wash your hands  
 “Wash your hands!”

- (5.2) *Was jouself!*  
 Wash yourself  
 “Wash yourself!”

Even though the norm in Afrikaans imperatives is that the subject is not overt, it is possible for an overt subject to occur with the imperative. Similar to English, proper names, as in (5.3), and bare nouns, as in (5.4) and (5.5), are acceptable as subjects in Afrikaans imperatives.

- (5.3) *Marie sit stil, Pieter gaan speel buite!*  
 Marie sit still, Pieter go play outside  
 “Marie sit still, Pieter go play outside!”

- (5.4) *Seuns wees die polisie en meisies wees die diewe.*  
 Boys be the police and girls be the thieves  
 “Boys be the police and girls be the thieves.”

- (5.5) *Stadiger verkeer hou links.*  
 Slower traffic hold left  
 “Slower traffic keep left.”

Similar to Dutch imperatives, but different from English, Afrikaans imperatives also allow for an optional subject to be realised after the verb, as seen in (5.6) and (5.7). Even though it is possible for a phonetically realised subject to follow the verb in Afrikaans imperatives, this is not a requirement as in Dutch. It is also possible for the subject to occur before the verb in Afrikaans imperatives, as in (5.8).

- (5.6) *Gaan jy net weg!*  
 Go you just away  
 “You just go away!”

- (5.7) *Bly jy net stil!*  
 Stay you just quiet  
 “You just keep quiet!”

- (5.8) *Jy bly nou stil!*  
 You stay now quiet  
 “You keep quiet now!”

In Afrikaans imperatives, verbal arguments can be marked in various ways. In Chapter 4, I noted that the subject and the object of an imperative do not have to be disambiguated, and therefore they can be left out. This is an option in Afrikaans imperatives too, as illustrated in (5.11). However, in Afrikaans imperatives, it is possible for the subject, as mentioned above, and object to be phonetically realised, as illustrated in (5.9) and (5.10).

- (5.9) *Jy eet die kos. / Eet jy die kos.*  
 You eat the food / eat you the food  
 “You eat the food.”

- (5.10) *Eet die kos.*  
 Eat the food  
 “Eat the food.”

- (5.11) *Eet!*  
 Eat  
 “Eat!”

### 5.1.2 Verbs

In Afrikaans imperatives, the bare stem of the verb is used, which seems to be the norm with imperative constructions of most languages. However, in Afrikaans, this is hardly a distinguishing property of imperatives as most verbs appear in bare stem form. As discussed in Chapter 3, only the past participles *hê* (“have”) and *wees* (“be”) have different forms (Donaldson, 1993: 239). In contrast to Dutch, Afrikaans imperatives do not have a different form of the verb when addressing more than one person or when more formal or polite language is used, as seen by examples (5.12), (5.13) and (5.14).

(5.12) *Hou jou bek!*  
 Hold your mouth  
 “Keep quiet!”

(5.13) *Hou julle bekke!*  
 Hold your mouths  
 “Keep quiet!”

(5.14) *Hou asseblief die deur oop.*  
 Hold please the door open  
 “Please hold the door.”

Similar to English and Dutch, Afrikaans imperatives usually place the verb at the beginning of the sentence. The only exception is when the phonetically realised subject pronoun is placed at the front, as in (5.8) and (5.9) above.

(5.15) *Wees rustig!*  
 Be calm  
 “Be calm!”

(5.16) *Hardloop vinnig!*  
 Run fast  
 “Run fast!”

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Afrikaans verbs do not indicate person, gender or number agreement, nor does the nominal system express gender or case distinctions, with pronouns being the exception (Biberauer, 2002: 21-22; Huddleston, 2010: 25). This is applicable to Afrikaans imperative constructions as well.

An interesting feature of imperatives is their ability to mark distance in space – indicating doing something here or doing something there (Aikhenvald, 2010: 133). This is a feature that is present in Afrikaans imperative constructions. See the following examples, where (5.17)

indicates a distal command, which means that the addressee has to move away from the speaker to fulfil the command, and (5.18) indicates a proximal command, which means that the addressee has to move closer to the speaker to fulfil the command.

(5.17) *Gaan haal die boek!*  
 Go get the book  
 “Go get the book!”

(5.18) *Kom haal die boek!*  
 Come get the book  
 “Come get the book!”

Similar to the German example given in Chapter 4, some Afrikaans verbs have been grammaticalised and have become grammatical markers for Afrikaans imperatives. This grammaticalisation has occurred with the motion verbs like *kom* (“come”) and *gaan* (“go”). See the following example (5.19) for how *kom* (“come”) has been grammaticalised as an imperative marker. In this example, *kom* does not carry the lexical meaning of “come”, the meaning which indicates movement, as in example (5.18), but rather it functions as a marker of the imperative, used to encourage or rush someone to fulfil the action.

(5.19) *Kom, maak nou klaar!*  
 Come make now finish  
 “Come on, finish now!”

Like the majority of imperatives in other languages, Afrikaans imperatives also require the verb to encode a controllable action, as stative, non-volitive predicates, and passives are not generally allowed.

(5.20) *Kyk vir my!*  
 Look for me  
 “Look at me!”

(5.21) \**Sien my!*

See me

(5.22) \**Wees gehelp deur Jan!*

Be PST-help by Jan

There are some circumstances, as in English, where passive constructions are acceptable in Afrikaans. It is, however, often necessary to provide some context.

(5.23) *Wees gelei deur wat hy sê, dit sal sy dag maak!*

Be PST-flatter by what he say it shall his day make

“Be flattered by what he says, it will make his day!”

In Afrikaans, we also find particle verbs quite often and they are also present in imperative constructions. See the following examples:

(5.24) *Maak die deur oop.*

Make the door open

“Open the door.”

(5.25) *Maak oop die deur.*

Make open the door

“Open the door.”

### 5.1.3 Tense

The general consensus seems to be that, except for certain Dutch imperatives, as has been mentioned in Chapter 4, imperatives cannot occur with a past tense reference (Aikhenvald, 2010: 129). This is true for Afrikaans imperatives as well. The following examples, (5.26)-(5.28) are ungrammatical because they are imperatives that refer to something in the past. This is not acceptable in Afrikaans. In contrast, (5.29) is grammatical, because it refers to something in the future, something that still has to happen.

- (5.26) \**Praat gister harder!*  
 Speak yesterday louder
- (5.27) \**Hardloop laasweek vinniger!*  
 Run last week faster
- (5.28) \**Moes iets geëet het!*  
 Must something PST-eat have
- (5.29) *Hardloop more vinniger!*  
 Run tomorrow faster  
 “Run faster tomorrow!”

#### 5.1.4 Negation

As seen in Chapter 4, Dutch prohibitives are quite simple, as they use the same form of the verb as a canonical imperative with *niet* (“not”) added, which is the same negation that is used in declarative constructions (van der Auwera, 2005: 26). Afrikaans prohibitives are a bit more complex than this.

When Afrikaans declaratives are negated, the sentential negators *nie...nie* are primarily used, but when Afrikaans imperatives are negated, a special marker *moet nie* or *moenie* (“must-not”) is used instead of the first *nie* (van Olmen and Heinold, 2017: 5). In other words, Afrikaans has a dedicated prohibitive marker for negative imperatives.

- (5.30) *Ek sal nie die kos eet nie.*  
 I shall not the food eat NEG  
 “I will not eat the food.”
- (5.31) *Moenie die kos eet nie.*  
 Must.not the food eat NEG  
 “Don’t eat the food.”



(5.32) *Moenie eet nie.*

Must.not eat NEG

“Don’t eat!”

## 5.2 Different types of Afrikaans imperatives

The imperative sentence type can be a very broad type, with various sentence forms and meanings. According to Ponelis (1979: 383), the central meaning of this class revolves around the idea that the speaker wants the hearer to achieve or fulfil some or other action. It can also be said that imperative constructions are used for a whole range of complex, related meanings like commands, requests, suggestions, well-wishes, and instructions, to name just a few (Ponelis, 1979: 383). Imperatives are often used in special situations in which power and submission play a role. Therefore it can be said that, in accordance with the general characteristics of imperatives discussed in Chapter 4, Afrikaans imperatives can be used to either (i) command an addressee to do something, or (ii) command the addressee to ensure that someone else does something. See examples (5.33) and (5.34) below.

(5.33) *Wees drie uur by die huis!*

Be three hour by the house

“Be home at three o’clock.”

(5.34) *Moenie toelaat dat iemand die saal verlaat nie, juffrou!*

Must.not allow that anyone the hall leave NEG ma’am

“Don’t allow anyone to leave the hall, ma’am!”

Ponelis (1979: 386) divides the different forms of positive imperatives in Afrikaans along the following lines, as illustrated by Figure 5.1. The first two types will be discussed in more detail below.

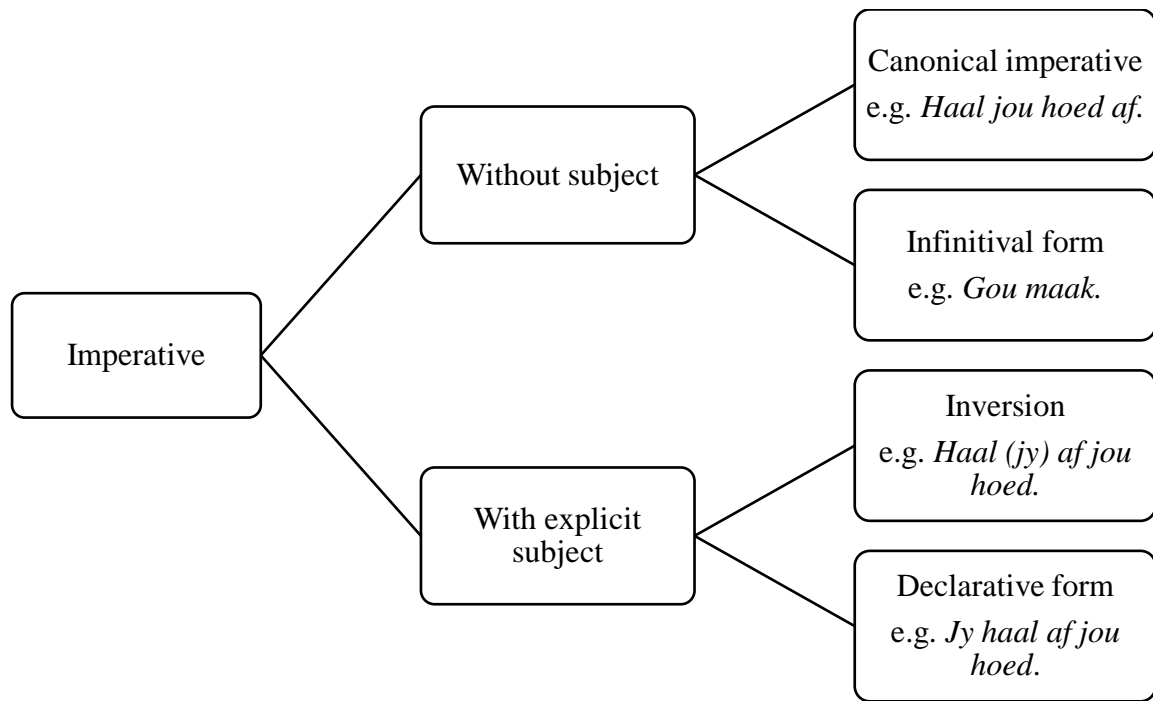


Figure 5.1: Positive imperatives in Afrikaans

### 5.2.1 Canonical imperatives

The Afrikaans canonical imperatives are those imperatives that fulfil the typical characteristics of imperatives that have been outlined in the previous section (section 5.1). Afrikaans canonical imperatives usually do not have a realised subject, and if the subject is realised, it can stand before or after the verb, which differs slightly from Ponelis' (1979) typology of imperatives given in Figure 5.1. Canonical imperatives use the bare stem of the verb and the verb is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, with the exception of when the subject is before the verb. Examples of canonical imperatives include:

(5.35) *Gooi die bal.*  
 Throw the ball  
 "Throw the ball."

(5.36) *Eet die koek.*  
 Eat the cake  
 "Eat the cake."

- (5.37) *Sit stil.*  
 Sit still  
 “Sit still.”

- (5.38) *Hardloop vinnig.*  
 Run fast  
 “Run fast.”

### 5.2.2 Infinitival form

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Dutch has infinitival imperatives that are used very productively. Afrikaans also have infinitival imperatives, but they do not occur as often. There are only certain verbs that can be used in the infinitive form to denote an imperative. Consider again the Dutch examples given in Chapter 4 (Visser, 1996: 257):

- (5.39) *Eet (die spruitjes) op!*  
 Eat (those sprouts) up  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

- (5.40) *Eet e<sub>i</sub> op die spruitjes!*  
 Eat e up those sprouts  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

- (5.41) *(Die spruitjes) opeten!*  
 (Those sprouts) up-eat  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

- (5.42) *e Opeten die spruitjes!*  
 e up-eat those sprouts  
 “Finish those sprouts!”

The imperative constructions in (5.39) and (5.40) are canonical imperatives and both of these options are available in Afrikaans:

(5.43) *Eet die kos op!*  
 Eat the food up  
 “Finish the food!”

(5.44) *Eet op die kos!*  
 Eat up the food  
 “Finish the food!”

The imperative constructions in (5.41) and (5.42) are infinitival imperatives, and even though Afrikaans has infinitival imperative constructions, these precise options are not found in Afrikaans.

(5.45) *\*Die kos opeet!*  
 The food up-eat

(5.46) *\*Opeet die kos!*  
 Up-eat the food

In Afrikaans, it is however possible to use the infinitival for imperatives, but it is rarely used with a direct object. When it is used as an imperative, it is usually just the infinitival form of the verb with an optional adverb. The following examples are acceptable infinitival imperatives in Afrikaans:

(5.47) *Opeet!*  
 Up-eat  
 “Eat up!”

(5.48) *Stil sit!*  
 Still sit  
 “Sit still!”

(5.49) *Vinnig hardloop!*  
 Fast run  
 “Run fast!”

### 5.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter deals with the description of Afrikaans imperative constructions. In this chapter I used what was said in the previous chapter, as well as my native L1 Afrikaans speaker intuitions to describe the features of Afrikaans imperatives.

The chapter was divided into two sections, 5.1 and 5.2. The first section, section 5.1, dealt with the various features of Afrikaans imperatives. I mentioned that Afrikaans imperatives mostly do not have an overt subject, and this serves as one of the main ways to identify an imperative construction. It is also possible, however, to have an overt subject, and Afrikaans imperatives allow for the subject to be either postverbal or preverbal. Like the majority of sentence types in Afrikaans, the imperative also uses the bare stem of the verb, and the form of the verb does not change when you are speaking to more than one person or when more formal language is used. Another interesting fact about Afrikaans imperatives, is their ability to mark distance in space with a proximal or distal command. Afrikaans imperatives cannot occur with a past tense reference, and it has to refer to something that still has to happen. An important feature of Afrikaans imperatives is the fact that Afrikaans has a dedicated prohibitive form *moenie*. The negation that is used in other sentence types does not apply to imperative constructions in Afrikaans.

The second section, section 5.2, discussed some of the different types of imperatives in Afrikaans. It was mentioned that Afrikaans imperative can be used to give a command to the addressee to do something, or give a command to the addressee to make sure that another person does something. Ponelis (1979:386) proposes four different imperative forms, of which

two were discussed in this chapter. The first type was canonical imperatives – the type that conforms to the “norms” or “rules” outlined in section 5.1. The other type was the infinitival form of imperatives. These types of imperatives uses the infinitive form of the verb to give a command.

Considering these features of Afrikaans imperatives, the next chapter will propose a syntactic derivation for the structure of Afrikaans imperatives.

## CHAPTER 6

### SYNTACTIC REALISATION OF AFRIKAANS IMPERATIVES

#### 6.1 Syntactic realisation of Afrikaans imperatives

In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I discussed Minimalism and also how the LPH theoretical framework can be used to make sense of imperative structures. Chapter 3 dealt with the grammar of Afrikaans in general, and Chapter 4 discussed general characteristics and features of imperative constructions in West Germanic languages, with specific reference to English and Dutch. The previous chapter, Chapter 5, dealt with the description of imperatives in Afrikaans. The goal of this chapter, then, is to offer a syntactic account of imperative construction in Afrikaans. In this chapter, I make use of the theoretical framework(s), the grammar of Afrikaans and the characteristics of West Germanic and, specifically Afrikaans, imperatives, described and discussed in the previous chapters, to analyse Afrikaans imperatives. In this chapter I propose a syntactic analysis of Afrikaans imperatives and present the syntactic derivations of some of these constructions graphically in the form of tree diagrams.

##### 6.1.1 Derivation of positive imperatives in Afrikaans

It is important to reiterate that the main assumption of the LPH, the hypothesis on which this analysis is based, is that imperatives are defined by a functional light verb ( $v$ ), and this  $v$  characterises the imperative clause as a “prescription” (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 11). The LPH also argues that the  $v$  is situated within a bi-phasal derivation system (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 103). It is important to note that the LPH assumes that imperative sentences have two subject positions – one for the grammatical subject of the lexical V (addressee), and one for the subject of the  $v$  (speaker) (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 129).

One of the key assumptions of the LPH is that, due to the fact that imperatives have limitations on the expression of tense, the speaker is not encoded in the anchoring domain or TP, as usual, but rather in the discourse domain or CP (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 106). Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 192) claims there are two ways in which imperatives are different from

declaratives and interrogatives. First, the sentence type is classified with an [IMP] feature, and secondly, imperatives lack TP, MoodP and FinP.

According to Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 179), the particulars of imperatives are situated in the CP, and, considering that the goal of this thesis is to discuss the particulars of Afrikaans imperative clauses, it is important to consider the CP. Rizzi (in Platzack and Rosengren, 1998: 182) states that the highest projection of CP is ForceP, and this is where the clause is defined as a declarative, interrogative, or imperative. Due to the fact that the imperative clause does not contain an anchoring domain, or TP, it can be said that imperatives lack FinP, and thus the imperative verb does not have finite features. This supports the idea that imperative verbs are morphologically poor (Platzack and Rosengren, 1998: 194). It is important to clarify that the imperative verb has to move to the complementiser area, or left periphery of the clause, in order to license the clause with an [IMP] feature (Alcázar and Saltarelli, 2014: 51). This idea is supported by Koopman (2007: 174), as she also states that ForceP of an imperative requires a phonologically realised verb.

When considering Afrikaans canonical imperatives, I will accept the LPH as a valid hypothesis to make sense of their structure. In Chapter 2, I outlined the basic structure of positive imperatives, as proposed by Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014). By using their proposed analysis, I am able to make sense of how Afrikaans positive imperatives are derived. Firstly, I accept that the structure will not contain a TP, as, unlike declaratives and interrogatives, imperatives do not have tense. Secondly, as has been mentioned numerous times, the main assumption of their hypothesis, the LPH, is that imperatives are characterised by a prescriptive *v*, as seen in the Afrikaans example below. Another important claim of the LPH is that the imperative verb has to move to C in order to be licensed. In other words, the [IMP] feature will be assigned by the imperative verb in C. The movements required by the LPH to assign this feature is present in Afrikaans imperatives. The Afrikaans imperative verb will undergo V-to-C movement, which is also in line with Koopman's (2007: 174) claim that an imperative requires a phonologically realised verb in C.

Considering all the assumptions about imperatives provided in this chapter, I will now examine the derivation of the Afrikaans canonical imperative in (6.1).



- (6.1) *Eet die kos!*  
 Eat the food  
 “Eat the food.”

The derivation of this imperative example can be explained by the following steps:

- (6.2) a. The DP *die kos*, merges with the V *eet* to form VP. Usually the V will enter the derivation with an unvalued tense feature which will later be valued, but considering that imperatives do not have a TP, this feature is not present.
- b. The VP merges with a  $\nu$  and creates a  $\nu'$ . The V then moves to  $\nu$  under the  $\nu$ P, according to the VP-shell hypothesis. The  $\nu$  enters the derivation with an [addressee- $\theta$ ].
- c. The  $\nu'$  merges with B, which is the grammatical subject position. This is the position for the addressee of the imperative construction. B receives the [addressee- $\theta$ ] from the  $\nu$ .
- d. Then, the  $\nu$ P merges with the prescriptive  $\nu$ . This is the  $\nu$  which characterises the imperative construction as being a prescription. This  $\nu$  enters the derivation with a [speaker- $\theta$ ].
- e. Once again, the V *eet* moves to  $\nu$  under  $\nu$ P, according to the VP-shell hypothesis.
- f. The prescriptive  $\nu$  merges with A, which is the second subject position. This is the position for the speaker of the imperative construction. A receives the [speaker- $\theta$ ] from the  $\nu$ .
- g. The  $\nu$ P merges with C to create CP. According to the LPH, the imperative verb has to move to C to be licensed and imperatives require a phonetically realised verb in C. Therefore, the V *eet* moves to C, and the sentence is characterised as an imperative [IMP].

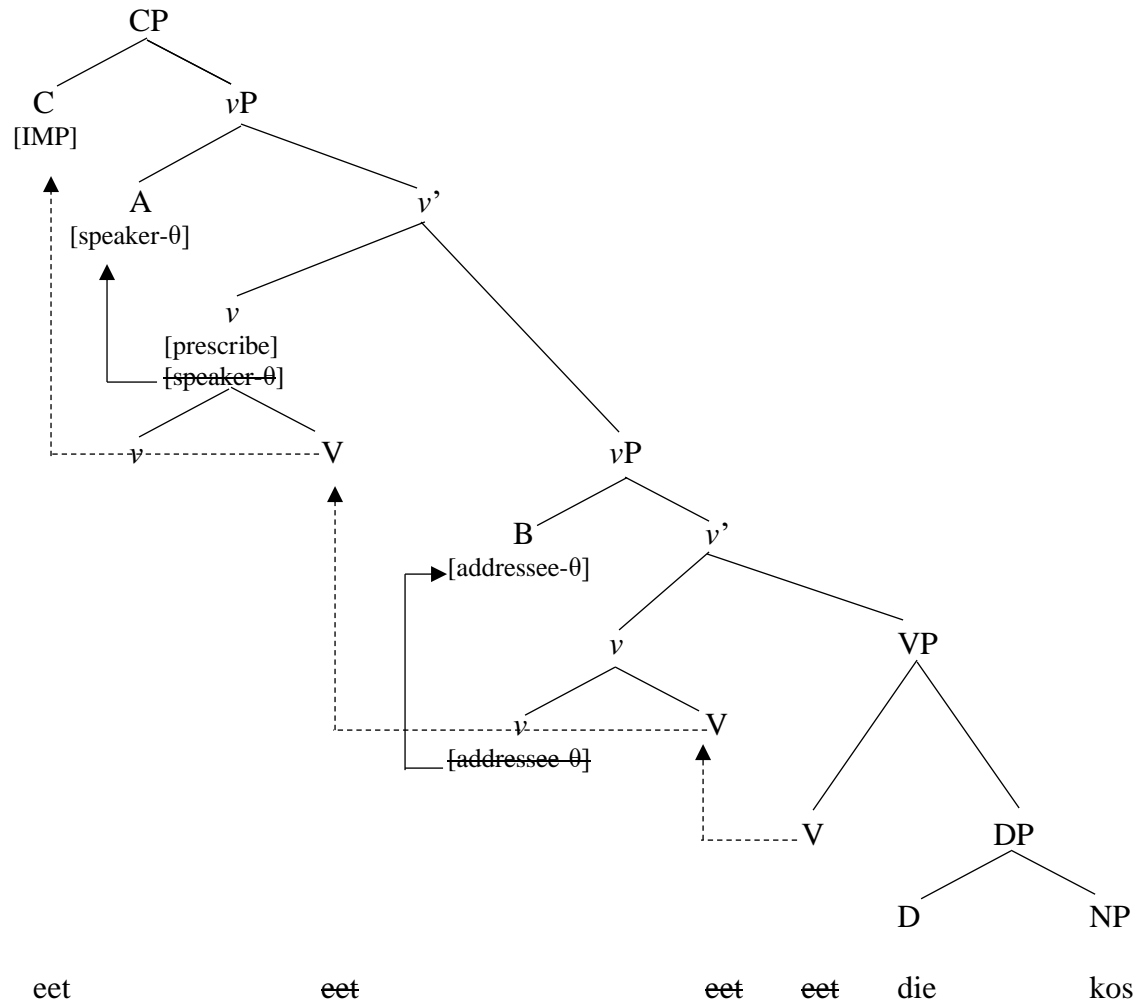


Figure 6.1: Canonical imperatives in Afrikaans

The derivation described above makes sense of the Afrikaans canonical imperatives, in other words, the imperative type that obeys all the “rules” for imperatives in Afrikaans. However, as have been mentioned in Chapter 5, there are various other types of imperatives, and variations on imperatives in Afrikaans. It is important to consider how this proposed derivation makes sense of other types of positive Afrikaans imperatives as well.

One of the first points mentioned under section 5.1.1 is the fact that Afrikaans imperatives allow for an optional subject to occur after the verb. This can be accounted for by the proposed derivation above, as there is a position where a phonetically realized subject can be added. In Figure 6.1 above, “B” is the position for the grammatical subject and it receives the [addressee- $\theta$ ] from the  $v$ . Consider the following sentence and tree diagram:

- (6.3) *Eet jy die kos!*  
 Eat you the food  
 “You eat the food!”

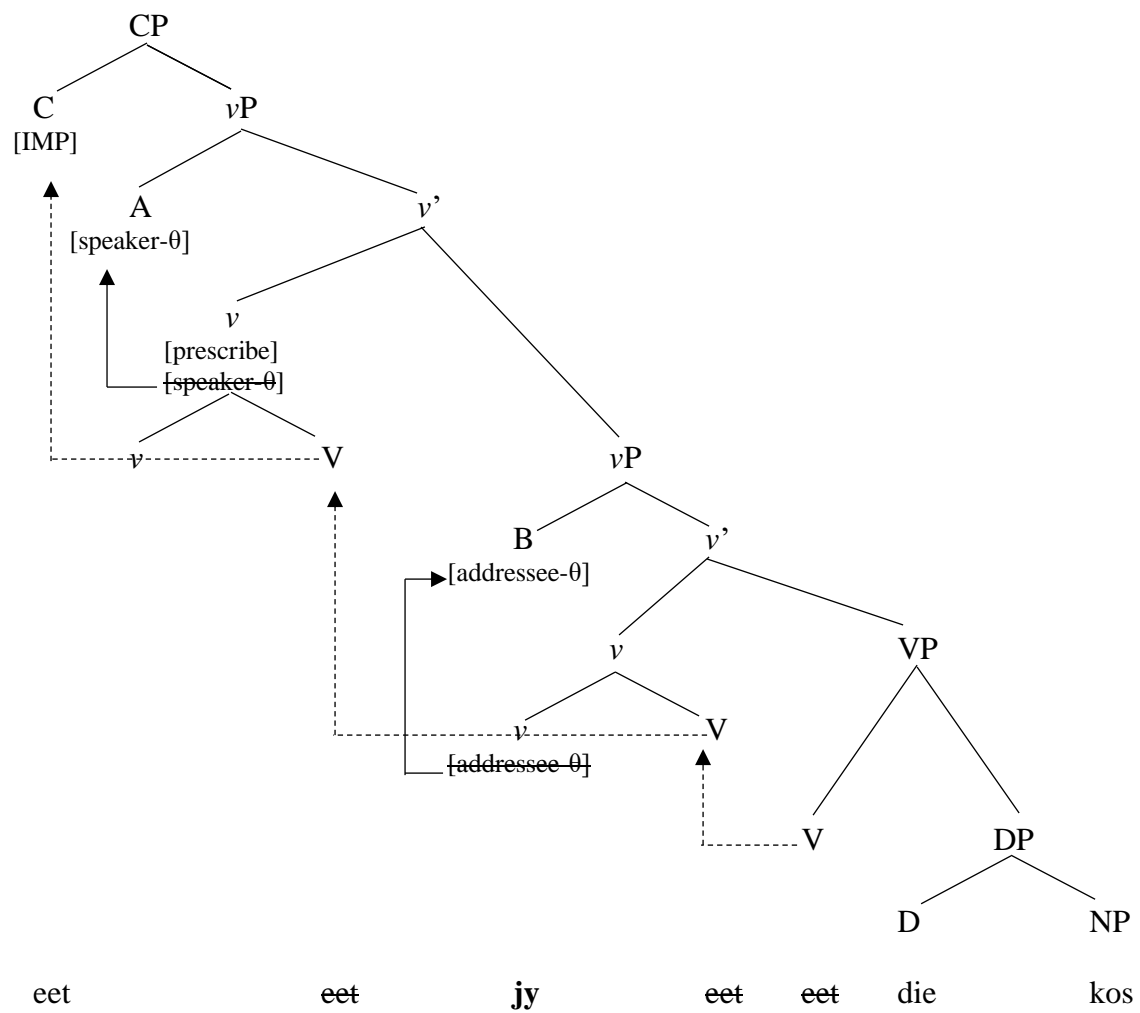


Figure 6.2: Canonical imperatives with postverbal realised subject

Clearly, the LPH accounts for canonical imperatives with a postverbal realised subject, but in the previous chapter, I also mentioned that Afrikaans allows for a preverbal realised subject. Now we have to ask the question: “How can we account for a preverbal realised subject?” This can be accounted for by some kind of focus effect, which means that the subject is moved into the left periphery of the clause.

Another interesting feature of imperatives mentioned in Chapter 5, is the ability to mark distance in space, and this is especially true in Afrikaans. The light verbs “gaan” and “kom” are very often used in Afrikaans imperatives. Considering that I am using the *Light Performative Hypothesis*, it is significant to mention the use of light verbs in Afrikaans imperative constructions. The proposed derivation can account for these types of imperative constructions as well. When considering a sentence like *Gaan eet die kos!* the *v* “gaan” functions as the lexically realised light verb. In this example, the “gaan eet” is a complex head, which consists of two lexical items (de Vos, 2005; de Vos 2006). This complex head moves to C, which characterises the sentence as an imperative [IMP]. See Figure 6.3 below.

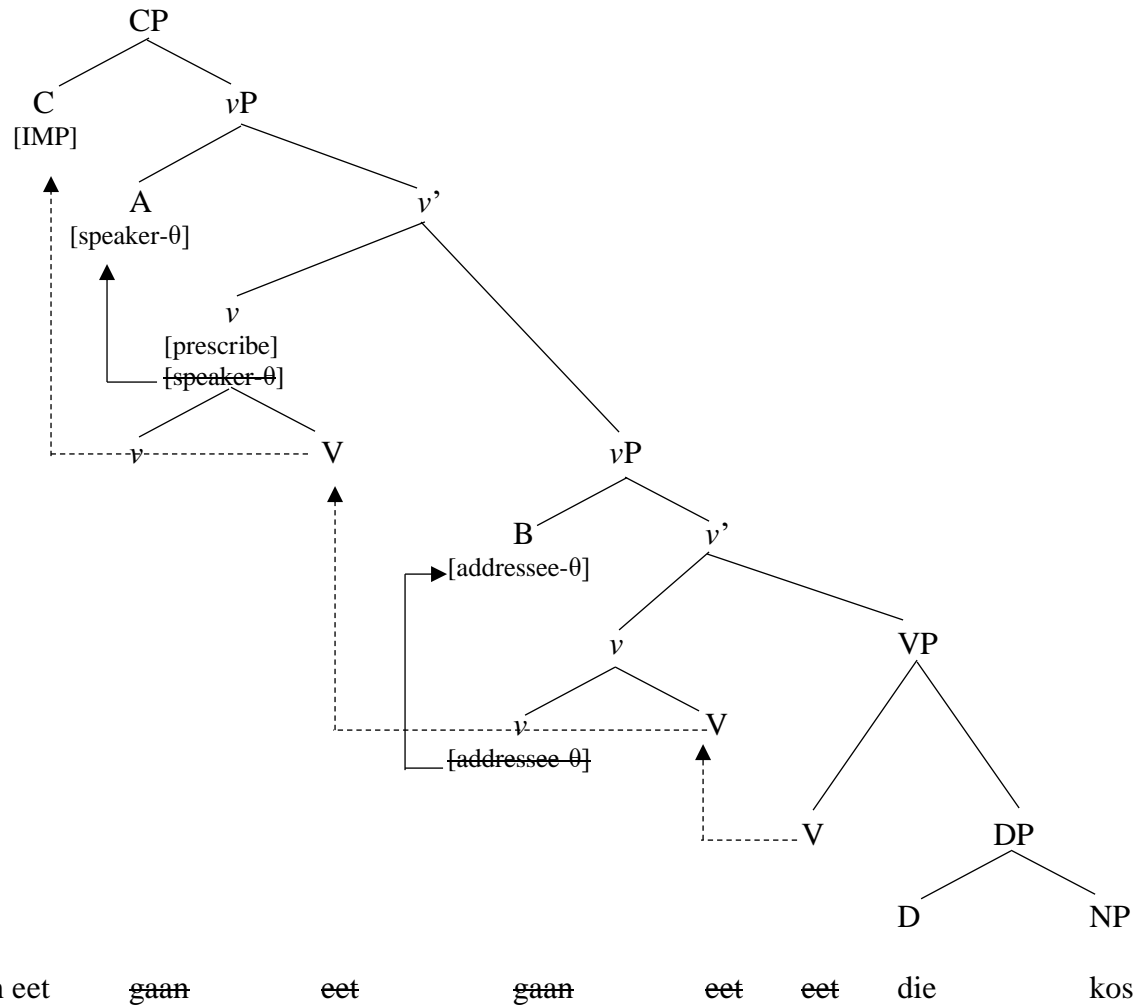


Figure 6.3: Imperative with a phonetically realised light verb

In Chapter 5 I mentioned that it is also possible to have an infinitival imperative. These imperatives are usually infinitival variants of a canonical imperative with an optional adverb, instead of a direct object. In other words, instead of having something like *Sit stil!*, we find *Stil sit!* Compare the following two examples:

(6.4) *Hardloop vinnig!*

Run fast

“Run fast!”

(6.5) *Vinnig hardloop!*

Fast run

“Run fast!”

Now, the proposed derivation makes sense of the canonical imperatives in (6.4), as seen in Figure 6.4 below. The real question is how we make sense of the infinitival imperative construction. When considering the infinitival in (6.5), it is clear to see that the adverb has to be in front of the verb. What happens here is that Adv *vinnig* has to be moved into the CP, due to some kind of focus effect, as seen in Figure 6.5 below.

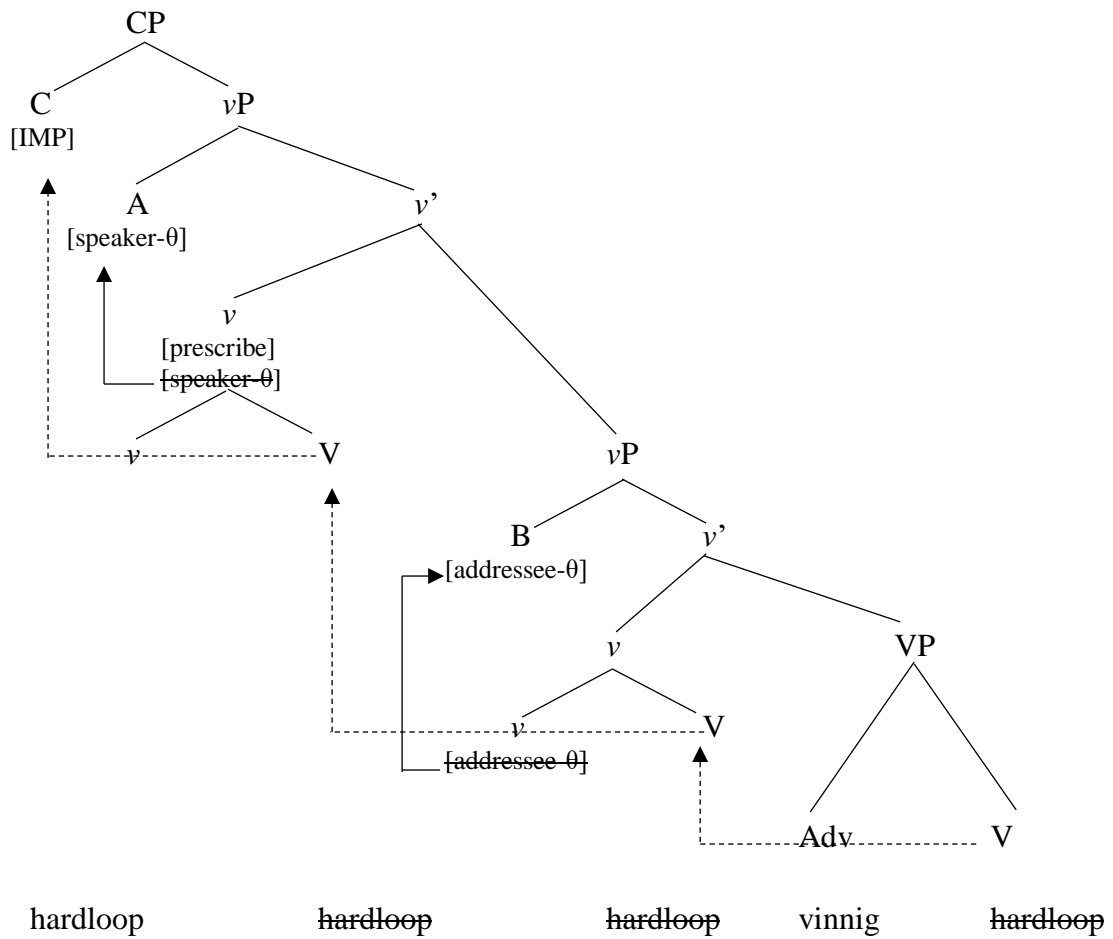


Figure 6.4: Canonical imperative with adverb



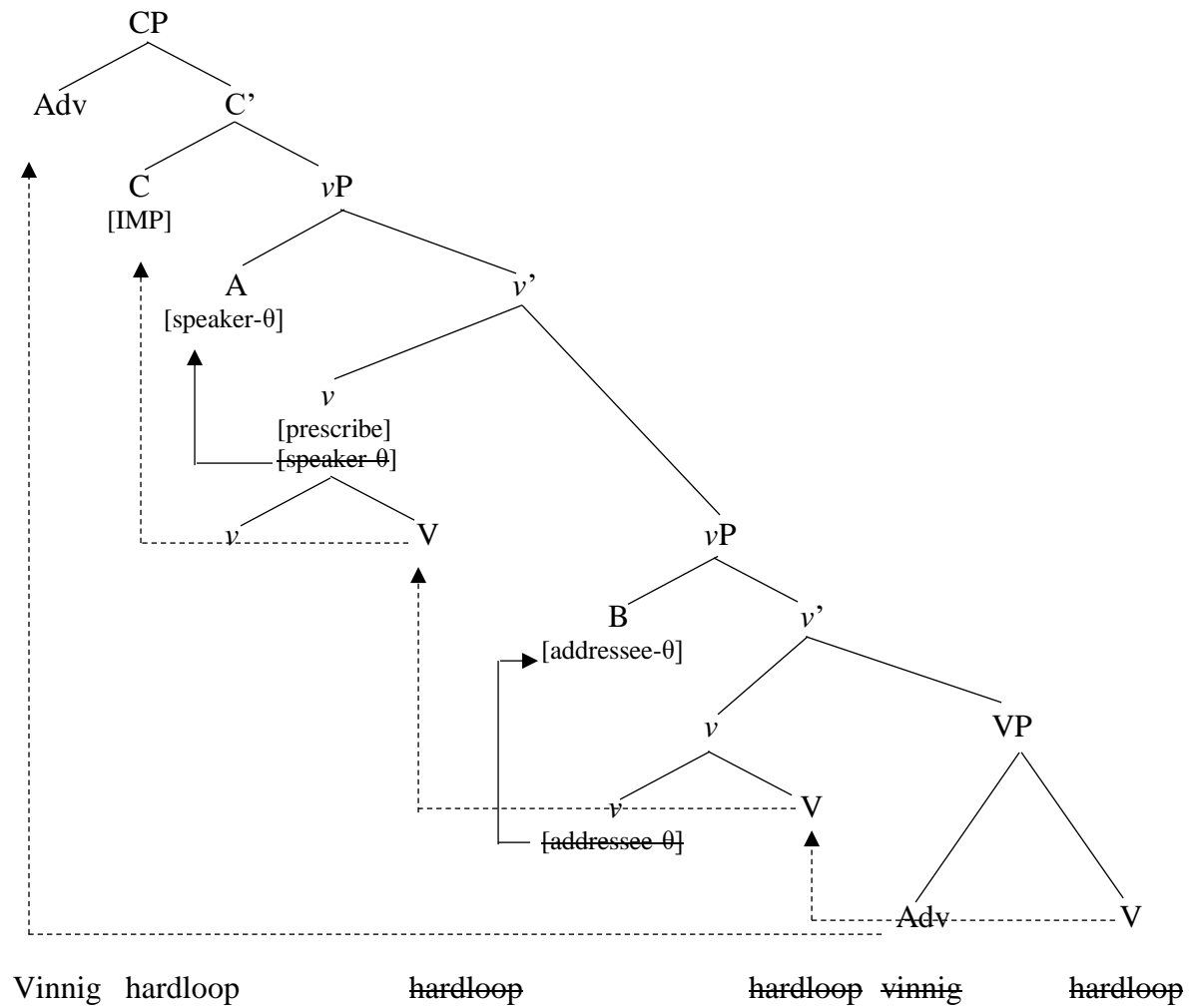


Figure 6.5: Infinitival imperative with adverb

Lastly, another characteristic of Afrikaans imperatives, noted in chapter 5, is the frequent occurrence of particle verbs. The small clause literature notes that the particle, even though it is often attached to the verb, forms a constituent with the object (Pretorius, 2017: 253). In the literature, there are arguments for two ways of analysing particle verbs. The first is the complex predicate approach and the second is the small clause approach. There have been arguments that both of these approaches are correct. Wurmbrand (2000 in Pretorius, 2017: 260) notes that the complex predicate approach can be used with idiomatic particle verbs, while the small clause (SC) approach can be used with transparent particle verbs.

Particle verbs in Afrikaans imperatives are, however, very complex, and a more in-depth study of small clause structures are necessary in order to account for these structure. I leave this up to further investigation.

### **6.1.2 Derivation of negative imperatives (prohibitives) in Afrikaans**

Having discussed the derivation of a few positive imperatives in Afrikaans in the previous subsection, I will now turn my attention to the derivation of a negative imperative or prohibitive in Afrikaans.

It is important to consider the fact that Afrikaans has two *nies*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, *nie*<sub>1</sub> indicates the negation and is classified as a Neg-head, while the *nie*<sub>2</sub> indicates the polarity of the sentence and carries the status of Pol-head. This Pol-head is merged above the CP. Now, according to the LPH, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Neg-element or the Neg-element combined with the prescriptive *v* in a prohibitive can assign the force of the sentence, where, in contrast, it is the imperative verb that assigns force in the canonical, positive imperative.

In Chapter 5 I mentioned that Afrikaans imperatives are negated with a dedicated prohibitive marker *moenie*, instead of *nie*<sub>1</sub>. This dedicated prohibitive marker *moenie* is a good candidate for a light verb, and therefore for the LPH. Postma and van der Wurff (2007: 243) views Afrikaans prohibitives as a problem for their proposal, and leaves it up to further investigation. However, they do mention that Afrikaans uses *moenie* instead of using *nie* in prohibitives, as opposed to declaratives.

In sum, when considering prohibitives in Afrikaans, I will accept that it is the prohibitive marker *moenie* that moves to C and assigns [PROH] force to the sentence, and thus characterises the sentence as a prohibitive construction.

Considering all the above-mentioned assumptions about negative imperatives in Afrikaans, look at the following example:

- (6.6) *Moenie die kos eet nie!*  
 Must.not the food eat NEG  
 “Don’t eat the food.”

The derivation of this prohibitive example can be explained by the following steps:

- (6.7) a. The DP *die kos* enters the derivation and merges with the V *eet* to form VP. Usually the V will enter the derivation with an unvalued tense feature which will later be valued, but considering that imperatives do not have a TP, this feature is not present.
- b. The VP merges with the  $\nu$  and creates a  $\nu'$ . The V then moves to  $\nu$  under  $\nu$ P, according to the VP-shell hypothesis. The  $\nu$  enters the derivation with an [addressee- $\theta$ ].
- c. The  $\nu$  merges with B, which is the grammatical subject position. This is the position for the addressee of the imperative construction. B receives the [addressee- $\theta$ ] from the  $\nu$ .
- d. The  $\nu$ P merges with the prescriptive  $\nu$ . This is the  $\nu$  which characterises the imperative construction as being a prescription. This  $\nu$  enters the derivation with a [speaker- $\theta$ ].
- e. The V *eet* moves to  $\nu$  under  $\nu$ P, according to the VP-shell hypothesis.

- f. The prescriptive *v* merges with A, which is the second subject position. This is the position for the speaker of the imperative construction. A receives the [speaker- $\theta$ ] from the *v*.
- g. The *v*P merges with the *v* and creates a *v*'. The prescriptive *v* moves to *v* under *v*P. The DP *die kos* moves into the specifier position of the *v*P.
- h. The *v*P merges with C to create CP. The prescriptive *v moenie* moves to C to license the sentence as a [PROH].
- i. The CP merges with the Pol *nie<sub>2</sub>* to create Pol', and then the entire CP is merged under the PolP to derive the prohibitive *Moenie die kos eet nie*.

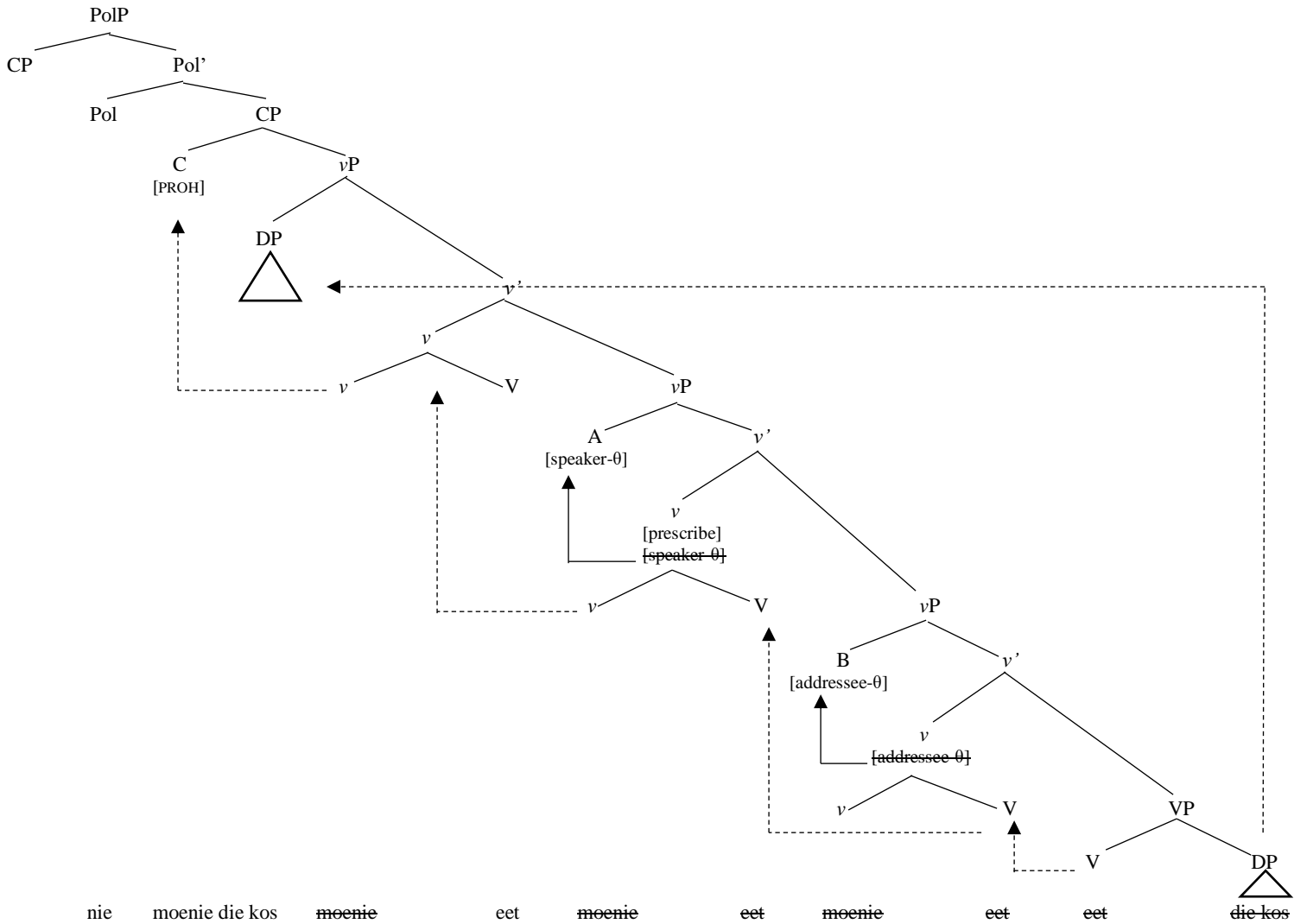


Figure 6.6: Negative imperative (prohibitive) in Afrikaans

The following structure will indicate more clearly what happens during the roll-up. The entire CP moves to [Spec, Pol].

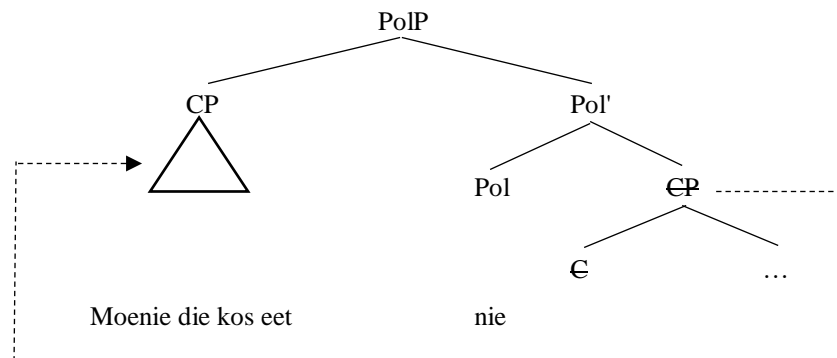


Figure 6.7: Roll-up (negative imperative in Afrikaans)

## 6.2 Concluding remarks

This chapter considered all the previous chapters, and used the theory discussed in order to account for Afrikaans imperative structures. Firstly, I considered the derivation of canonical imperatives in Afrikaans. I analysed these imperatives in light of the LPH and it was very clear to see how the LPH accounts for Afrikaans canonical imperatives, as the derivation could almost be considered as a direct copy of the derivation proposed by Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014). The LPH could also account for canonical imperatives with a realised subject, imperatives with a phonetically realised light verb, canonical imperatives with an adverb, infinitival imperatives with an adverb and imperatives with a particle verb. I also considered the derivation of negative imperatives or prohibitives in Afrikaans. The LPH could account for these types of imperatives as well, with a few additions to the structure.

In the following chapter, a more in-depth conclusion will be given, and the main points made in this thesis will be summarised. Finally, suggestions for further research will be made.

## CHAPTER 7:

### CONCLUSION

This thesis focused on the features and underlying structure of imperatives in Afrikaans. Afrikaans imperatives have not been investigated from a syntactic perspective before and, therefore, I believe that this description and analysis will contribute significantly to existing knowledge about the structure of Afrikaans. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I do consider my proposal presented in this thesis as an initial proposal, and look forward to discovering more on the topic.

The study was situated within Minimalism, as well as the LPH. It was noted that Minimalism aims to make sense of the underlying structures of linguistic phenomena in the simplest and most economical way possible. The LPH is the theoretical framework that was used to consider imperative constructions specifically. According to the LPH, imperatives are characterised by a prescriptive  $\nu$ , the [IMP] force of the sentence occurs in the CP and the imperative verb moves to C in order to license the [IMP] feature. With regards to negative imperatives, the LPH claims that it is the Neg-element that moves to C to assign [PROH] force to sentence.

A description of Afrikaans grammar was provided, which served as a starting point to considering a specific linguistic phenomenon in the language. Important points were made regarding the word order of Afrikaans, and it was noted that Afrikaans has a SOV-structure with V2. Various other grammatical features of the language were discussed, like the verbal system, the inflectional system, and negation. With regards to negation, it was noted that *nie*<sub>2</sub> is considered to be a Pol-head, and that negative sentences in Afrikaans contains a PolP above the CP. This was taken to apply to negative imperative construction in Afrikaans as well.

The basic assumptions and features of imperatives were discussed, which played an important role in making sense of the features of Afrikaans imperatives specifically. Importantly, it was noted that there has to be a distinction between an ‘imperative’ and a ‘command’, as a command can be given without being in the imperative form. Imperatives is a sentence type

that is syntactically different to other sentence types. The distinguishing features of imperatives were discussed in great detail.

The first 4 chapters of the thesis provided the foundations for the description and analysis of Afrikaans imperatives. Chapter 5 considered the description of Afrikaans imperatives and Chapter 6 contained the syntactic analyses of various imperatives and prohibitives in Afrikaans.

In Chapter 1, I posed the following research questions for this study:

- (1) What are the characteristics of imperatives and negative imperatives in Afrikaans?
- (2) How do negative imperatives differ from canonical imperatives in Afrikaans?
- (3) How can Afrikaans imperatives be accounted for within the LPH?

Chapter 5 provided the answer to the first question, and partly to the second question, as it considered the features of imperatives and negative imperatives or prohibitives in Afrikaans. It was noted that the imperative subject in Afrikaans is rarely phonetically realised, and similar to English, this mostly serves as an identifying mark for the imperative construction. That being said, it was noted that Afrikaans can have phonetically realised subjects, and they can occur both before and after the verb. In Afrikaans, as in a majority of languages, the imperative uses the bare stem of the verb. This, however, is not a defining characteristic of imperatives in Afrikaans, as most verbs in Afrikaans occur in the bare form. A feature of imperatives that is often used in Afrikaans imperatives is marking distance in space. The verbs *gaan* (“go”) and *kom* (“come”) are often used to indicate commands that have to be fulfilled away from the speaker or near the speaker. Passives or verbs indicating an uncontrollable action are rarely used in Afrikaans imperatives. Unlike Dutch, Afrikaans imperatives can only refer to something to be done in the future, and imperatives with past reference are deemed ungrammatical. Considering negative imperatives, it was noted that imperatives in Afrikaans do not use the sentential negator *nie...nie*, but rather a dedicated prohibitive marker, *moenie...nie* or *moet nie...nie*. Similar to negative declaratives, negative imperatives in Afrikaans also contain a PolP above CP.



The second and third questions were answered in full by the analyses of canonical imperatives and prohibitives in Afrikaans. The canonical, positive imperative in Afrikaans is almost a direct copy of what is proposed by the LPH. All the assumptions made by the LPH can be applied to the analysis of Afrikaans canonical imperatives, and the hypothesis was able to make sense of the structure of canonical imperatives in Afrikaans. As proposed by the LPH, the Afrikaans canonical imperatives does not have a TP, the prescriptive *v* characterises the imperatives and the [IMP] feature is assigned to the sentence when the imperative verb moved to C. The derivation also accounted for canonical imperatives with a phonetically realised subject, imperatives with a phonetically realised light verb, imperatives with adverbs, infinitival imperatives with adverbs, and imperatives with particle verbs.

The Afrikaans negative imperative or prohibitive could also be accounted for by the LPH. As mentioned earlier, the LPH assumes more or less the same structure for prohibitives and canonical imperatives, with the only difference of the Neg-element or the Neg-element combined with the prescriptive *v* being moved to C to assign the [PROH] feature, and not the imperative verb. The dedicated prohibitive marker or negative element *moenie* was deemed to be a good candidate for a light verb, and therefore for the LPH. It was this element that licensed the sentence as a prohibitive.

As mentioned numerous times, the analysis proposed in this thesis is considered to be an initial proposal, and should serve as an encouragement for further investigation. This is especially true for the negative imperative in Afrikaans, as I do believe that there are details involved in the derivation of these constructions that have not been addressed in as much detail as I think they can be. Therefore, I hope to investigate negative imperatives in Afrikaans in more detail in the future.

In this study, I relied solely on my innate knowledge as an L1 speaker of Afrikaans, and on knowledge put forward in the literature on Afrikaans. I do believe that making use of a corpus or eliciting speaker judgements, among other things, from participants who speak different varieties of Afrikaans could have interesting results with regards to imperative constructions in the language. This would also be helpful when doing a more pragmatically-oriented study, and asking questions like “How are imperatives used in everyday language?”, “Do some genres

use imperative constructions more than others?”, and “Does the way in which imperatives are used link with existing social hierarchies and expectations?”

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