

**Losing a subject, keeping an indirect object:
On the “semi-grammaticalized” speech verb in Meadow Mari**

Hiroaki Saito*

Abstract. This paper investigates grammaticalization of speech verbs with special attention to the status of the indirect object (the goal argument). Based on a double dative construction and a semi-grammaticalized speech verb occurring in this construction in Meadow Mari, I suggest that there exists a stage of grammaticalization where the original speech verb loses its external argument (the subject) but retains its indirect object. I argue that this stage follows from Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs.

Keywords. grammaticalization; speech verbs; complementizers; argument structure; Meadow Mari

1. Introduction. Grammaticalization has been a well-studied topic in both traditional linguistics and diachronic generative syntax (e.g. Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004). Among a variety of grammaticalization processes, one of the most well-attested patterns found in many unrelated languages is the grammaticalization of speech verbs (see e.g. Lord 1976, 1993). While it has been well studied in traditional and descriptive grammar, there has not been much detailed work on the grammaticalization of verbs of saying in generative grammar (cf. Klammer 2000, Saito 2019, 2021). The goal of this paper is thus to investigate such grammaticalization in the framework of generative grammar.

Regarding the syntax of speech verbs in relation to grammaticalization, the subject (i.e. the external argument) of speech verbs has been paid special attention to in the literature (see Klammer 2000, Roberts & Roussou 2003). However, in addition to the external argument (and the clausal complement), speech verbs can take one more argument, namely the goal argument (the indirect object). Importantly, the status of the indirect object in the grammaticalization of speech verbs has not been discussed in any detail in the literature. This paper therefore focuses on the indirect object in the grammaticalization in question.

The organization of this paper is the following. In the next section, I will briefly review Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs, which I will adopt in this paper. In Section 3, I will discuss Burukina’s (2020, 2021) work on “double dative constructions” in Meadow Mari, which I will argue sheds light on the status of the indirect object in the grammaticalization of speech verbs. In Section 4, I will propose an analysis of double dative constructions and a related semi-grammaticalized speech verb. I will argue that there is a stage of grammaticalization where the original speech verb is grammaticalized so that it loses its external argument, but still retains its goal argument (the indirect object). Section 5 is the conclusion. It also briefly discusses some remaining issues.

2. Background: Saito (2019, 2021). In this section, I will briefly review Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs, according to which such change involves loss of

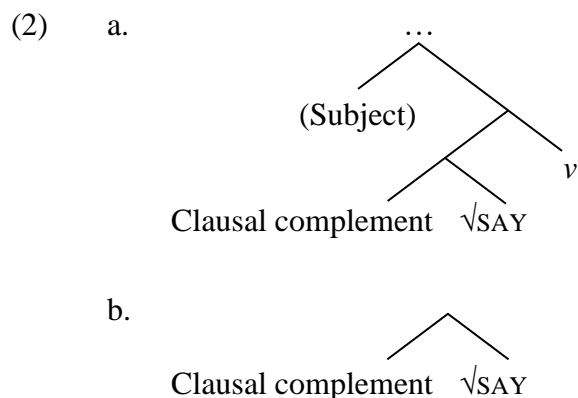
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the v -layer. We will also see that the status of indirect objects of speech verbs has not been discussed in any detail in Saito or in the previous literature on the grammaticalization in question.

Among many patterns of grammaticalization of speech verbs, the most common change is one from a speech verb to a complementizer, as exemplified in (1): *kua* in *Tukang Besi* was originally a verb of saying, but it has become a complementizer, which co-occurs with the matrix predicate ‘say’ (Klamer 2000).

- (1) *Tukang Besi* (Klamer 2000: 81)
 No-potae-m(o) kua no-motindo’u na amai.
 3.REALIS-say-PERF KUA 3.REALIS-thirsty NOM they
 ‘They said that they were thirsty.’

This type of change is, descriptively, a case where a verb of saying has become a complementizer (or another functional element) keeping its phonological shape the same. In other words, even though the categorial status of the original speech verb has changed, its phonological information has not. To capture this, Saito (2019, 2021) assumes that speech verbs consist of two components, a root (an acategorial component that encodes their phonological and semantic information) and a verbalizer v (e.g. Pesetsky 1995, Marantz 1997, see also Halle & Marantz 1993), and proposes that grammaticalization of speech verbs involves reanalysis which results in loss of the verbalizer layer v (see Saito 2021 for motivation for this reanalysis). This change is given in (2).



The original speech verb has the structure in (2). The category-neutral root $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ obtains its categorial status as a verb due to the presence of the category-determining head v , the verbalizer. In (5), $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ cannot obtain a verbal status because of the absence of the category-determining head. Saito (2019, 2021) claims that, if the only change involved in (2a)/(2b) is the loss of the verbalizer layer, we would expect that the bare (free) root $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ should retain part of its phonological (and semantic) information (notice that Saito departs from the assumption that roots must be (immediately) categorized, e.g. Embick & Marantz 2008, see also Biberauer 2018 for the role of acategorial roots in grammaticalization). Thus, elements in the stage (2b) are non-verbal but pronounced like the original verb of saying.

What is important for Saito (2019, 2021) is that this analysis makes a new prediction regarding possible stages/patterns of the grammaticalization of speech verbs. Under the standard analyses in the generative literature (see e.g. Simpson and Wu 2002), the change from a speech verb to a complementizer involves a reanalysis of the verb *say* as a complementizer, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) I. [[CP ... (C)] *say* (=√SAY+v)]
 II. [CP ... C_{say}] (Saito 2021: 4)

In the first stage (3-I), *say* is a regular speech verb, which is a combination of √SAY and the verbalizer *v*. In the next stage (3-II), it has been reanalyzed as a complementizer, while its phonological shape remains the same, which is indicated by “C_{say}” (a complementizer with the pronunciation like the original speech verb).

On the other hand, under Saito’s (2019, 2021) approach, we predict an additional stage where √SAY is present without *v*, as in (4).

- (4) I: [[CP ... (C)] √SAY+v]
 II: [[CP ... (C)] √SAY]
 III: [CP ... C_{say}] (Saito 2021: 4)

The first stage (3-I) and the third stage (4-III) correspond to the first stage (3-I) and the second stage (3-II) above, respectively. The additional stage in question is the intermediate one in (4-II) (= (2b) above). In (4-II), the speech verb (= the combination of √SAY and *v*) in (4-I) is reanalyzed as a bare root. Saito (2019, 2021) shows that the second stage (4-II) which involves a bare root is a stage that does not follow under other analyses without additional assumptions, also demonstrating that elements in this intermediate stage do in fact exist cross-linguistically; it is argued that (hearsay/reportative) evidentials that have developed from speech verbs and special “*say* complementizers” that have come from ‘say’ and induce indexical shift are in the stage in (4-II)/(2b) (see e.g. Aikhenvald 2004, 2011 for this type of evidentials, see Messick 2017 for general discussion of *say* complementizers inducing indexical shift). While these elements are pronounced like the original speech verbs (and partly interpreted like the original speech verbs), they are no longer verbal. Thus, for example, these elements cannot be inflected, unlike regular verbs.¹

It is further claimed that the change from (2a) to (2b) is responsible for a particular type of semantic bleaching. If we assume that *v* introduces an external argument (Harley 1995, Marantz 1997), the loss of *v* results in the loss of the external argument. In the previous literature, the loss of the external argument has been claimed to play an important role in the grammaticalization of speech verbs (see Klamer 2000, Roberts & Roussou 2003). Under Saito’s analysis, the loss of the external argument follows in fact from the loss of *v* without positing a special semantic bleaching rule.²

Notice also that this approach argues for the existence of downward grammaticalization. The common pattern of grammaticalization proceeds in an upward manner, involving reanalysis by which an element ends up in a higher syntactic position (for example, this change would involve reanalysis of V as T). There has been a controversy whether downward

¹ Under Roberts and Roussou’s (2003) approach, which does not assume the existence of downward grammaticalization, the change from a speech verb to a complementizer proceeds as a V>T>C change, which involves upward reanalyses. The intermediate stage (4-II), which involves a bare root, is not expected under their analysis.

² Saito (2019, 2021) assumes that the verbalizer is the same head as the one introducing the external argument, namely *v*, following e.g. Harley (1995) and Marantz (1997). It is also assumed that roots can (directly) take complements (Harley 2014). It should however be noted that these assumptions are not uncontroversial. In relation to the former point, Harley (2017) suggests that whether or not the verbalizer and the head introducing the external argument are distinct depends on the language.

grammaticalization also exists. Roberts & Roussou (2003), for example, claim that grammaticalization is always upwards. On the other hand, a number of authors have argued that grammaticalization can proceed downwards, e.g. van Gelderen (2004), van der Auwera (2010), Munaro (2016), Biberauer (2018). Saito’s analysis discussed above also involves a reanalysis which results in downward grammaticalization.

While the above discussion addresses the external argument (and the clausal argument) of speech verbs in relation to the grammaticalization in question, as noted above, it is known that a verb of saying can take one more argument: the indirect object (the goal/addressee argument), as in (5).

(5) John said **to Mary** that he is handsome.

In fact, the status of the indirect object in the grammaticalization of speech verbs has not been discussed in any detail in Saito (2019, 2021) or in other previous literature (e.g. Klamer 2000, Roberts & Roussou 2003). The goal of this paper is thus to investigate the status of the indirect object in the grammaticalization of speech verbs.

In the next section, I will introduce a semi-grammaticalized speech verb found in Meadow Mari, which I will suggest sheds light on the status of the indirect object in the grammaticalization of verbs of saying.

3. Double dative constructions in Meadow Mari: Burukina (2020, 2021). In this section, I discuss Burukina’s (2020, 2021) observations regarding “double dative constructions” in Meadow Mari, where two dative DPs appear with a verb of saying. I will summarize syntactic properties of double dative constructions and Burukina’s analysis. I will also point out a potential issue with her analysis.

In Meadow Mari, in addition to regular object control constructions (single dative sentences) as in (6), two dative DPs can appear with speech verbs like ‘say’ and ‘tell’, as in (7), which Burukina (2020, 2021) refers to as a *double dative construction*.³

(6) Maša mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG come-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘Maša told me to come.’

(7) Double dative construction
 Maša **mə-la-m tə-lan-et** tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG you-DAT-POSS.2SG come-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘Maša told me for you to come.’

(Burukina 2020; (1b/a), translations are taken from Burukina 2021)

Investigating this construction, Burukina (2020, 2021) demonstrates that the first/left dative DP (DP_{DAT1}) and the second/right dative DP (DP_{DAT2}) have a number of different properties. Regarding DP_{DAT1} , Burukina suggests that it is an addressee argument (i.e. the goal of communication) selected by a matrix predicate. Goals of communication are restricted to [+Sentient] DPs (typically [+Human] DPs). Burukina shows this holds for DP_{DAT1} in double dative constructions, as shown in (8).

³ Glosses are slightly simplified from Burukina (2020, 2021). Also, in Burukina (2020, 2021), *manən* is glossed as a complementizer. In order to be analytically neutral, I gloss it as simply MANƏN. I will later argue that it is not a simple complementizer.

- (8) Maša {serəš-əšte /*serəš-lan} mə-la-m tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
 Maša letter-in/letter-DAT I-DAT-POSS.1SG come-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘In a letter, Maša told me to come.’ (Burukina 2020; (13))

Furthermore, Burukina observes that the case-marking on DP_{DAT1} depends on the matrix predicate. The verb *sörvalaš* ‘beg’ assigns accusative case to its goal (addressee) argument, as in (9). With *sörvalaš*, DP_{DAT1} in fact gets accusative case in double dative constructions, while DP_{DAT2} is marked with dative, as shown in (10).

- (9) Maša {jumə-m / *jumə-lan} tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.
 Maša God-ACC God-DAT come-INF MANƏN beg-PST
 ‘Maša begged God to come.’ (Burukina 2020; (15a))

- (10) Maša {jumə-m / *jumə-lan} mə-lan-na tol-aš (manən) sörval-en.
 Maša God-ACC God-DAT we-DAT-POSS.1SG come-INF MANƏN beg-PST
 ‘Maša begged God to make us come.’ (Burukina 2021; (13))

Regarding DP_{DAT2} , Burukina (2020, 2021) shows that it forms a constituent with the embedded clause, excluding DP_{DAT1} and the matrix predicate. Thus, a matrix adverb cannot intervene between DP_{DAT2} and the embedded clause, as shown in (11) (note that adjuncts can freely undergo clause-internal scrambling in general in Meadow Mari).

- (11) {Tače} təj {tače} mə-lan-na [Petja-lan {*tače} kapka-m erla
 today you today we-DAT-POSS.1PL Petja-DAT today gate-ACC tomorrow
 ačal-aš manən] kalas-əš-əč.
 fix-INF MANƏN tell-PST-2SG
 ‘Today you told us for Petja to fix the gate tomorrow.’ (Burukina 2021; (15))

Similarly, DP_{DAT2} and the embedded clause must be dislocated together when they undergo extraposition.

- (12) Təj m-lam {*Petja-lan} kalas-əš-əč [{Petja-lan} kapka-m ačal-aš manən].
 you I-DAT.1SG Petja-DAT tell-PST-2SG Petja-DAT gate-ACC fix-INF MANƏN
 ‘You told me for Petja to fix the gate.’ (Burukina 2021; (16))

Given that DP_{DAT2} belongs to the embedded clause, one may wonder if it is a (dative) subject of the embedded clause. Burukina argues against this possibility. DP_{DAT2} is restricted to a conscious addressee, usually [+Human], just like the goal argument of speech verbs (see (8) above). In Meadow Mari, non-human subjects are allowed in subjunctive embedded clauses, which have a semantically very similar meaning to the embedded clause in double dative constructions, as in (13a). However, non-human DP_{DAT2} are disallowed in double dative constructions, as in (13b).

- (13) a. Maša mə-lan-na [šör tünö lij-že manən] kalas-əš.
 Maša we-DAT.1PL milk outside be-JUS MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘Maša told us that the milk should be outside.’
 b.#Maša mə-lan-na [šör-lan tünö lij-aš manən] kalas-əš.
 Maša we-DAT.1PL milk-DAT outside be-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 Intended: ‘Maša told us for the milk to be outside.’ (Burukina 2021; (18a/b))

Furthermore, DP_{DAT2} and the embedded clause in double dative constructions do not pass the idiom chunk test, which is typically used to distinguish control and raising. Consider (14).

- (14) # Maša Petja-lan [šem pərəs-lan koklaštə-na kudal ert-aš manən] kalas-əš.
 Maša Petja-DAT black cat-DAT between-POSS.1PL run-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘Maša told Petja to tell the cat to run between us.’
 Not available: ‘Maša told Petja for us to quarrel.’ (Burukina 2021; (21a))

In (14), *šem pərəs koklaštəna kudal ertəš* ‘the black cat ran between us’, which has the idiomatic interpretation ‘we quarreled’, appears in the embedded clause in the double dative construction, ‘the black cat’ being DP_{DAT2}. The idiomatic reading is not available here, indicating that DP_{DAT2} is not an embedded subject.

Based on these observations for DP_{DAT1} and DP_{DAT2}, Burukina suggests the structure in (15) for Meadow Mari double dative constructions.⁴

- (15) [_{VP} DP_{DAT1} [_V [_{CP} DP_{DAT2i} [_C [_{PRO}_i ...] *manənc*]] V]]
 (Burukina 2021; (3), slightly simplified)

Burukina argues that *manən* is a special complementizer that “exceptionally projects an argument in Spec,CP – the DP_{DAT2} – and assigns to it the [g]oal role” (Burukina 2021: 15). Burukina claims that the exceptional property of *manən* is due to its “semi-grammaticalized” status; *manən* has developed from the speech verb *manaš* ‘say, tell’ (Isanbaev 1961, Timofejeva 1961, Galkin 1964, cited in Burukina 2020, 2021). Burukina suggests that the grammaticalization of *manən* has not been completed so that it retains some verbal properties, like the ability to license the goal argument (and to combine with a non-finite clausal complement).

While Burukina’s observation and analysis of double dative constructions are insightful, the special property of *manən* seems highly idiosyncratic. Also, it is not clear why *manən* specifically retains the verbal property to license the indirect object (and the clausal complement), while it behaves non-verbally in other respects, as will be shown below in more detail. For example, why does *manən* license the goal argument, but not the speaker/external argument?

4. “Semi-grammaticalized” *say*. In this section, I will propose an analysis of Meadow Mari double dative constructions based on Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs. In particular, I will suggest that *manən* in double dative constructions is in a stage of grammaticalization of a speech verb where the verbalizer layer is absent, but the head introducing a goal argument and the *say* root are present. I will argue that the current analysis enables us to capture the special properties of *manən* observed in the previous section without positing an idiosyncratic complementizer.

A modified version of Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization in fact provides a straightforward analysis of *manən* in Meadow Mari double dative constructions. Descriptively, double dative constructions are the case where the (semi-)grammaticalized speech verb takes a goal argument, the indirect object. Slightly departing from Saito’s (2019, 2021) assumption for the structure of verbs of saying, I assume that speech verbs have the following structure. Specifically, I assume that the indirect object (the goal argument) is introduced below the external argument and above the sentential argument, as standardly assumed (see e.g. Collins & Branigan 1997, Bruening 2016).

- (16) [_{VP} Subject [_{AddP} Indirect Object (goal argument) [[_{Clausal complement} ...] $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ Add] *v*]

⁴ See Burukina (2020, 2021) for more discussion of the properties of DP_{DAT1} and DP_{DAT2}.

In (16), $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ takes a clausal complement and the head immediately above $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ introduces an indirect object. This head is referred to as an Add[ressee] head, as it introduces an addressee/goal argument.⁵ The Add(P) then merges with v , which verbalizes the root (plus AddP) and introduces an external argument (Harley 1995, Marantz 1997). I also assume that the argument introduced by Add needs to be [+Human] ([+Sentient]) as it is a goal of communication (the addressee argument).

Based on the structure in (16), if Saito's (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs, which allows downward reanalysis, is on the right track, we would expect an additional stage/pattern: the stage where only the v -layer is absent but the Add-layer and is present, as illustrated in (17).

(17) [_{AddP} Indirect Object (goal argument) [[_{Clausal complement} ... (C)] $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$] Add]

I suggest that *manən* in Meadow Mari double dative constructions is in fact in this stage. *Manən* in double dative constructions is in a stage of grammaticalization where it loses v , but retains the Add head as well as $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$. For double dative constructions, I suggest the structure in (18).

(18) [_{vP} Subj [_{AddP} **DP_{DAT1}** [[_{AddP} **DP_{DAT2}** [[_{Clausal complement} ... (C)] $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$] Add] $\sqrt{\text{TELL}}_{(\text{matrix predicate})}$] Add] v]

I suggest that the combination of Add and $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ is spelled out as *manən*, one element morphologically, in (17)/(18) (via e.g. *fusion*, Halle & Marantz 1993, see also Saito 2019, 2021 for a similar suggestion). I assume that the C head here is phonologically null (the null complementizer is independently available in Meadow Mari). *Manən* is pronounced like the original speech verb because the phonological content of $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ has been retained.⁶

In (17)/(18), the second dative DP is the goal argument (the indirect object) of $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$, not the specially speculated argument of the embedded C; due to the presence of the Add head, it can introduce the goal argument, even though, due to the lack of the v -layer, *manən* is no longer verbal. Notice also that the matrix predicate, as a speech verb, also involves this Add head (recall that double dative constructions are available with matrix speech verbs). I here follow Burukina (2020, 2021) in treating the first DP as the goal argument of the matrix predicate. Under the current analysis, **DP_{DAT2}** is introduced by the higher Add, which is a part of the matrix predicate. This is why **DP_{DAT1}** and **DP_{DAT2}** show the same semantic restriction, as observed in the previous section; both need to be [+Human] ([+Sentient]). Both DPs are the same kind of addressee argument introduced by Add under the current analysis. Note that we then predict that **DP_{DAT1}**/**DP_{DAT2}** in double dative constructions should show the same semantic restriction as the dative DP in single dative sentences like (6) (regular object control structures), since both would involve a speech predicate (hence the Add head). This is in fact the case. Burukina shows that **DP_{DAT2}** in double dative constructions needs to be a conscious addressee, in addition to being [+Human]/[+Sentient]. (19) is infelicitous because the children are asleep and thus not conscious.

⁵ Nothing hinges on the label Add. One may also take this head as an Applicative head (Pykkänen 2002)

⁶ Since the null C is available, it may be the case that the combination of Add, $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$, and the null C is spelled out as *manən*.

(19) [Context] The children are already asleep and they should sleep until the evening. The doctor has talked to me and asked to check on them.

#Vrač mə-lan-em joča-vlak-lan kas marte mal-aš manən kalas-en.
 doctor I-DAT.POSS.1SG child-PL-DAT evening until sleep-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 Intended: ‘The doctor told me for the children to sleep until the evening.’

(Burukina 2021; (19b))

The same holds for the dative phrase in single dative constructions. (20) below is felicitous only when the children were awake so that the doctor could address them directly.

(20) Vrač joča-vlak-lan kas marte mal-aš manən kalas-en.
 doctor child-PL-DAT evening until sleep-INF MANƏN tell-PST

‘The doctor told the children to sleep until the evening.’ (Burukina 2021; (20))

Under the current analysis, there is no need to postulate an idiosyncratic complementizer to capture double dative constructions. The “exceptional” property of *manən* is due to a particular stage/type of grammaticalization, which follows from the structure of speech verbs in (16) and Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization which allows downward reanalysis; *manən* is in a stage where *v*, but not Add, is missing due to such a reanalysis. The current analysis also explains why *manən* behaves “verbally” in some respects and non-verbally in others. On one hand, due to the presence of the Add head and the *say* root, it can introduce a goal argument and a clausal argument.⁷ On the other hand, due to the lack of the *v*-layer, which I assume is required for e.g. inflection and verbal affixes to appear, *manən* is no longer verbal and thus behaves non-verbally in all other respects. Therefore, it cannot introduce an external argument (the speaker argument). Also, the form of *manən* is morpho-syntactically invariable, just like other grammaticalized speech verbs found cross-linguistically (see e.g. Cruschina & Remberger 2008). Thus, a negative form which can be derived from a converb, as in (21a), is not available with *manən* under consideration.

(21) a. Maša salam-əm kalas-əde pur-əš.
 Maša hello-ACC tell-CVB.NEG enter-PST
 ‘Maša entered without saying hello.’

b. * Maša t-lat [təšeč kaj-aš man-de] kalas-en.
 Masa you-DAT,2SG here.ELATIVE go-INF tell-CVB.NEG tell-PST
 Intended: ‘Maša told you not to leave.’ or ‘Maša did not tell you to leave.’

(Burukina 2021; (31a/b))

Notice here that, as Burukina (2020, 2021) claims, the ungrammaticality of (21b) also indicates that *manən* in question cannot be analyzed as a converb form of a lexical predicate of saying, even though *manən* is phonologically identical to the converb form of the speech verb *manaš* ‘say, tell’ (see e.g. Koopman & Sportiche 1989, Ozyıldız et al. 2019, Major & Torrence 2021 for analyses of grammaticalized *say*-complementizers as verbs in other languages).

⁷ The lexical verb of saying *manən* (*manaš*) ‘say, tell’, which is the source of *manən* under investigation, can embed a finite clause, but the embedded clause in double dative constructions is restricted to infinitival clause (Burukina 2021). This is a potential problem if the selectional property of $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ has not changed in (17)/(18) in the grammaticalization from the lexical verb (see also (4) above). Thus, it might be the case that the *say* root which contributes to *manən* in double dative constructions has undergone a reanalysis regarding its syntactic and/or semantic selection. I leave this issue for future research.

In this section, I have proposed an analysis of *manən* in double dative constructions based on a slightly modified version of Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs. I have argued that *manən* in question is in a stage of grammaticalization where the *v*-layer is absent but the head introducing the goal argument (the indirect object) is still present. Under the current analysis, this stage follows from a downward reanalysis of speech verbs, and thus a stipulation regarding the exceptional properties of *manən* is not required.

5. Conclusion and remaining issues. In this paper, I have discussed the grammaticalized speech verb *manən* and double dative constructions in Meadow Mari with special attention paid to the status of the indirect object of speech verbs. In double dative constructions, *manən* shows hybrid behavior; it is like a verb in that it can introduce a goal argument, but it does not behave verbally in other respects. Building on Burukina’s (2020, 2021) observations and analysis, I have shown that Saito’s (2019, 2021) analysis of grammaticalization of speech verbs based on a slightly different assumption regarding the structure of speech verbs enables us to capture special properties of *manən* in double dative constructions. I have argued that the exceptional properties of *manən* follows from a particular stage of grammaticalization, where the *v*-layer is absent but the head introducing the indirect object is present.

Before concluding the paper, a few notes regarding remaining issues are in order. The first concerns the optionality of *manən* in double dative constructions. As shown in (7b), repeated below, *manən* is optional in double dative constructions.

- (22) Maša mə-la-m tə-lan-et tol-aš (manən) kalas-en.
 Maša I-DAT-POSS.1SG you-DAT-POSS.2SG come-INF MANƏN tell-PST
 ‘Maša told me for you to come.’

I suggested that this use of *manən* is a realization $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ (and the Add head). So, what about the null version of *manən* in double dative constructions? I tentatively suggest that the combination of Add and $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ can also be realized as phonologically null. One might wonder if $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ can have null exponence, but the existence of a phonologically null speech verb, which is the combination of $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ and *v* (plus Add in some cases), has been argued for in unrelated languages (see e.g. Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2014 for Spanish, Bošković 2017 for Taiwanese, Shimamura 2018 and Saito 2020 for Japanese, cf. Ross 1970). Thus, the null *manən* in double dative constructions can be seen as another case where $\sqrt{\text{SAY}}$ (with Add) does not receive phonological content.

The second point concerns the nature of roots. I suggested that *manən* and double dative constructions can be captured if there is a stage of grammaticalization where the verbalizer layer is missing, but the Add head, which introduces the indirect object (the goal argument) is present. If the proposed analysis is on the right track, this indicates that the indirect object can be introduced even in the absence of the verbalizer layer. This may support the idea that a part of argument structure can be built without a categorizer (see e.g. Harley 2014, cf. Major’s 2021 suggestion that the indirect object of speech verbs can be introduced only when the root is combined with a particular type of verbalizer).

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