

MESO-COMPARATIVE SYNTAX OF PERFECT DOUBLING

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*4th European Dialect Syntax Meeting
 Donostia, 21-23 June 2010*

1 Introduction

Perfect doubling/double compound perfect:

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (1) a. | Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt gehad.
I have today still not smoked had
'I have not yet smoked today.' | <i>South-eastern Dutch</i> |
| b. | Ik heb het gezegd gehad.
I have it said had
'I have said it.' | |
| c. | Ik ben twee keer gevallen geweest.
I am two times fallen been
'I have fallen twice.' | |
| (2) | On a eu mis de l'eau sur les chaises.
one has had put of the.water on the chairs
'Water had been placed on the chairs.' | <i>Franco-provençal</i>
[Carruthers 1994:177] |
| (3) | Co go bio magnà,...
when have.1SG had eaten,...
'When I had finished eating, ...' | <i>Northern Italian: Cereda</i> ¹
[Poletto 2009: 31] |
| (4) | I ha ggässe ghaa und dänn bin i häigange.
I have eaten had and then am I home gone
'I finished eating and then I went home' | <i>Swiss German</i>
[Poletto 2009: 32] |

1.1 Two types of meaning/use

Anterior use: the double compound perfect denotes a state resulting from an event that is located in the past relative to another past event. Roughly: an anterior use is tantamount to a past perfect tense.

¹ Cereda: Central Rural Veneto. Canazei: Rhaetoromance, Fassano Cazet.

- (5) Quand j'ai eu soupé, je suis sorti.
 when I have had dined I am left
 'After having had supper, I left.' [Schaden 2007]
- (6) Wia i hamkumman bin, hot mai schwesta den opfl scho gessen ghobt.
 as I home.come am, has my sister the apple already eaten had
 'When I arrived at home, my sister had already eaten the apple.'
 [Bavarian, Schaden 2007]

Superperfect use: the double compound perfect is used to mark:

“an action or state which is *definitively complete and unlikely to recur*; an action or state which took place or existed in *a distant past*; an action or state which occurred at *an indeterminate point or points in time*; an action or state which *is in some way exceptional; heightened speaker involvement* in the action or state on the part of the speaker” (Carruthers 1994:172, emphasis added)

- (7) Du blé, j'en ai eu récolté du plus beau.
 of wheat I of-it have had harvested of-the more beautiful
 'I've harvested the most beautiful wheat.' [Carruthers 1994]
- (8) J'ai eu voté socialiste.
 I have had voted socialist
 'I once voted for the socialist party, but that was long ago, and I will certainly not do it again.' [Schaden 2009]

This seems to be a way to talk about an event in the past that has current relevance (in the double present perfect, current = now, in the double past perfect, current = past).

- A language may have one but not the other use of the double perfect (e.g. Breton, see Schaden 2007).
- This, for Schaden, is an argument that anterior and superperfect are distinct semantically.
- But how do the two 'constructions' relate to each other, in languages that have them both?
- And how does the semantics map onto the syntax?

1.2 Some sensible questions (and a few answers)

- (i) Do Dutch varieties, like some German ones, have both anterior and superperfect uses?

No. In Dutch dialects, the construction only seems to have the superperfect value:

- (9) Context: I didn't see you eat yesterday. Why not?
 Answer: #Ik heb al gegeten gehad.
 I have already eaten had
 (Intended: 'I had already eaten.')

In this superperfect value, it does not seem necessary that the construction only convey temporal remoteness and indeterminacy (contra Carruthers 1994):

- (10) Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt gehad.
I have today yet not smoked had
'I have not smoked yet today.'
- (ii) Is there a correlation between having the doubling construction and lacking the simple past and the past perfect?

No (Rödel 2007, Schaden 2007). Dutch, Northern Italian dialects and Northern German dialects that are not affected by Präteritumsschwund) are additional reasons to doubt the purported correlation.

- In Dutch varieties, there is no past perfect semantics conveyed (see example 9 above), and there is no lack of simple past tense.
 - Conservative dialects like Friulian have doubling while still preserving both the simple past and the present perfect.
- (iii) Is there a correlation between having *the anterior use* of the doubling construction and lacking the simple past and the past perfect?

If that correlation holds, Friulian is predicted to be like Dutch dialects, in only having the superperfect use. However, (most) Northern Italian varieties seem to have both anterior and superperfect values:

Superperfect:

- (11) L' a abù comanà massa. *Rhaetoromance*
she has had ordered too much
'In her life, she ordered everybody too much.'

- (12) Kwan k o aj bu:t parla:t, o laj vie. *Canezei*
when that I have had talked I went away
'When I had finished talking, I went away.'

- (iv) Is there variation in where the doubling construction can occur (main clauses versus embedded clauses)?

The construction occurs mainly in embedded clauses in Romance, whereas it occurs in matrix clauses in German(ic). Compare (18) to (6), repeated as (19):

- (13) Wia i hamkumman bin, hot mai schwesta den opfl scho gessen ghobt.
as I home.come am, has my sister the apple already eaten had
'When I arrived at home, my sister had already eaten the apple.'

The restriction seems to be less severe in German(ic) (example from Lucerne German, Fischer 1960):

- (14) Won er s Zmettaag abegschletzt gha heed, escht er uuf ond devoo.
 when he the lunch obbled.down had has, is he up and away
 ‘When he had gobbled down his lunch, he made off.’

Does this point to a semantic difference (Schaden 2007), perhaps related to properties/activation of a particular functional head (Poletto 2009)?

2.2 Enter the undative construction

The Dutch varieties display a curious word order restriction in the doubling construction:

- (15) a. ... dat ik de fiets gestolen gehad heb. (3-2-1)
 ... that I the bicycle stolen had have
 b. ... dat ik de fiets gestolen heb gehad. (3-1-2)
 c. *... dat ik de fiets heb gestolen gehad. (1-3-2)
 d. *... dat ik de fiets heb gehad gestolen. (1-2-3)

The restriction is curious because, outside of the doubling construction, the most deeply embedded verb can easily follow the other verbs in the relevant dialects (16):

- (16) a. ... dat hij de fiets voor drie uur moet hebben gemaakt. (1-2-3)
 that he the bike before three o'clock must have.INF made.PCP
 ‘... that he should have repaired the bike before three o'clock’
 b. ... dat hij is gaan zwemmen. (1-2-3)
 that he is go.INF swim.INF
 ‘... that he went for a swim’

The same word order property is displayed in the perfect of the so-called ‘undative’ construction:

- (17) a. ... dat ik de handen gewassen gehad heb. *Limburg Dutch*
 ...that I the hands washed had have
 ‘...that I have had my hands clean.’
 b. ... dat ik de handen gewassen heb gehad.
 ...that I the hands washed have had
 ‘...that I have had my hands clean.’

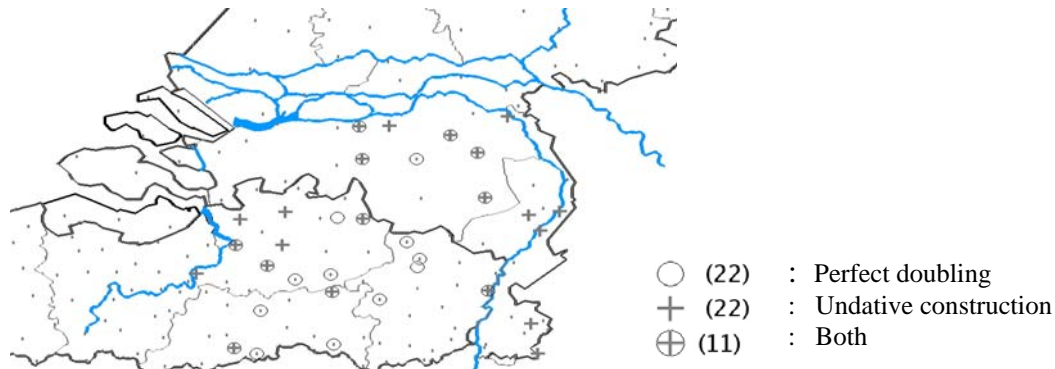
(v) Does perfect doubling reduce to the perfect of the undative?

- (18) a. Ik heb de vrouw ziek. *Limburg Dutch*
 I have the woman sick
 ‘My wife is sick.’
 b. Ik heb de vrouw ziek gehad.
 I have the woman sick had
 ‘My wife has been sick.’

- (19) a. Ik heb het haar geverfd.
I have the hair dyed
'My hair is dyed.'
- b. Ik heb het haar geverfd gehad.
I have the hair dyed had
'My hair has been dyed.'

The answer is no.

- No geographic overlap between perfect doubling and the undative:



If the undative and the perfect doubling construction were synchronically or diachronically related, we would expect a set-subset distribution.

- Distinct semantics: the syntactic subject is understood as the Agent of the participle in perfect doubling; in the undative there is arguably no Agent of the participle.

One thing shared by the two constructions: the most deeply embedded predicate is adjectival, as indicated by the word order restriction.

3 The analysis of Dutch dialects

Claims:

- ⇒ There is no doubling in an analytical sense.
- ⇒ What we have are combinations of 'auxiliary' BE/HAVE with 'copula' BE/HAVE.
- ⇒ The copulas take adjectival complements. The microvariation resides (primarily) in how adjectives are formed from participles across varieties.

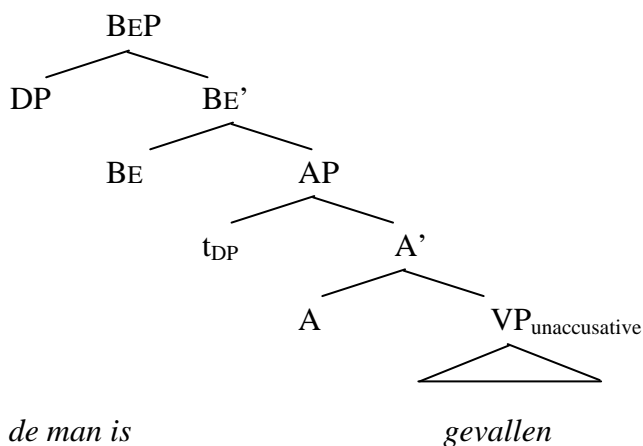
	<i>Parameter 1: value +</i>	<i>Parameter 1: value -</i>
<i>Parameter 2: value +</i>	undatives, perfect doubling	undatives
<i>Parameter 2: value -</i>	perfect doubling	-

Table 1: microvariation in Dutch dialects

- a'. dat de vaas nu al twee uur stuk is
that the vase now already two hours broken.ADJ is
'that the vase has been broken for two hours already'
- b. dat het zwembad nu al twee uur gesloten is
that the pool now already two hours closed.PART is
- b'. dat het zwembad nu al twee uur dicht is
that the pool now already two hours closed.ADJ is
- (26) a. De vaas blijft voor altijd gebroken.
the vase remains for always broken
'The vase remains broken forever.'
- b. Het zwembad blijft voor altijd gesloten.
the pool remains for always closed
'The pool remains closed forever.'
- c. *De man blijft voor altijd gevallen.
the man remains for always fallen
'The man remains fallen forever.'
- d. *De man blijft voor altijd aangekomen.
the man remains for always arrived
'The man remains arrived forever.'
- (27) a. *dat de vaas voor altijd is stuk / gebroken
that the vase for always is broken.ADJ /broken.PART
- b. *dat het zwembad voor altijd is dicht / gesloten
that the pool for always is closed.ADJ /closed.PART
- (28) a. *dat de man al twee uur gevallen is
that the man already two hours fallen is
that the man has fallen for two hours already
- b. *dat de trein al twee uur aangekomen is
that the train already two hours arrived is
'that the train has arrived for two hours already'

(20) **Parameter 1**

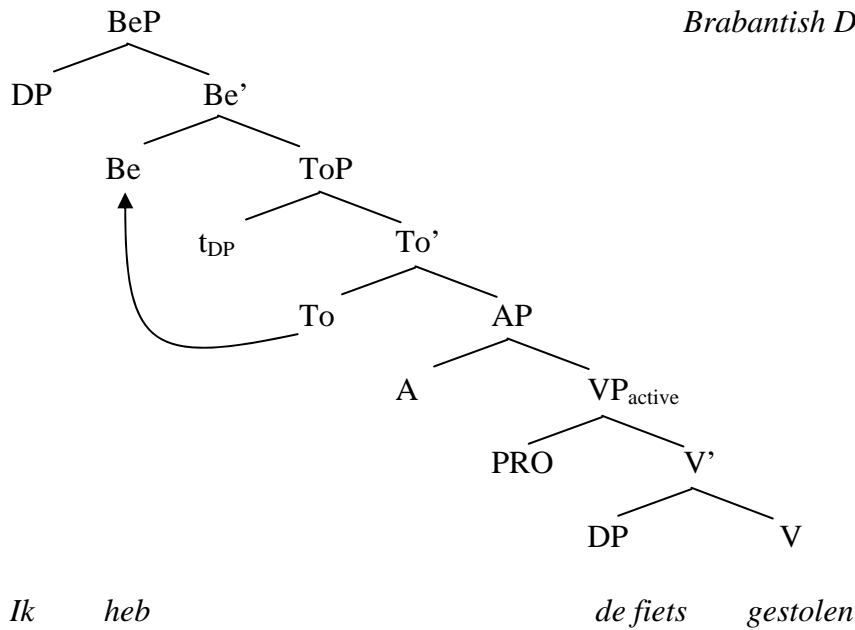
Adjectival head A needs to/does not need to select VP_{passive} .

(29) *Southern Dutch*

BE selects an AP and consequently functions as an copula.

(35)

Brabantish Dutch



HAVE-doubling:

(36) [BeP BE [ToP TO [BeP ...]]]

Evidence in favour of the adjectival status of *gestolen* in (35)/(34):

(36) dat ik de fiets...
that I the bike

Brabantish Dutch

- a. *heb gehad gestolen (1-2-3)
have had stolen
- b. *heb gestolen gehad (1-3-2)
have stolen had
- c. gestolen gehad heb (3-2-1)
stolen had have
- d. gestolen heb gehad (3-1-2)
stolen

Summing up: a single parameter gives us variation among Dutch dialects pertaining to perfect doubling, namely BE- and HAVE -doubling.

4 The analysis of Romance

There are reasons to doubt the applicability of this analysis in Romance (Northern Italian dialects, henceforth NID).

- i. The participle in doubling has a different shape (*bio*) from the past participle of (lexical) 'have' (*budo*):

- (37) a. Co so **bio** sta ciamà,... *Cereda*
 when am had been called
 ‘When I have been called’
- b. El ga **budo** la freve
 he has had the temperature
 ‘He had a temperature’
- ii. The doubling past participle occurs before the passive auxiliary:
- (38) a. Co so **bio** sta ciamà,... *Cereda*
 when am had been called
 ‘When I have been called’
- b. Kan ke l’è **stat** ruat *Canezei*
 when that he is been arrived
 ‘When he arrived’
- c. Kan ke l’**abù** stat fat su, l’è encie sutà ju *Canezei*
 when that it has been done, it is also dropped
 ‘When it has been finished gathering, it has also been dropped’

This shows that it cannot be a lexical form (or a “little v”) directly taking a small clause as its complement, because it is higher than another auxiliary, i.e. inside the functional domain of the clause.

Could there be a bi-clausal structure? It is not possible to duplicate a low adverb, which should be possible in bi-clausal contexts.

- (39) *Co no i ga pi bio pi dito, ... *Cereda*
 when not they have anymore had anymore said
- iii. The additional auxiliary occurs higher than some low adverbs like *più* ‘anymore’, while this is not the case for normal past participles (data in (40) from Canezei):
- (40) a. Kanke l’a abü più tout jü chela medejina, l’è stat miec
 when he has had no more taken down that medicine, he is been better
 ‘When he stopped taking that medicine, he recovered’
- b. *Kanke l’a più abü tout jü chela medejina, l’è stat miec
 when he has no more had taken down that medicine, he is been better
- (41) a. No é più abù freit.
 not have more had cold
 ‘I was not cold anymore’
- b. *No é abü più freit.
 not have had more cold
- iv. Contrary to other verbs, including the passive past participle ‘been’, the doubling past participle displays agreement with the object:

Appendix

Have-doubling II: the undative construction

A1 The view from Dutch

Claim: variation in the (un)availability of the undative construction relates to a different parameter, having to do with the decomposition of HAVE.

- (1)/(21) **Parameter 2**
HAVE can/cannot be used as the spell-out of BE + AT.

First, note that Standard Dutch seems to have a version of the southern undative:

- (2) a. Ik heb de deur altijd dicht. *Standard Dutch*
'I always have the door closed.'
b. Ik heb het raam zelden open.
I have the window seldom open
'I seldom have the window open.'

The HAVE occurring in (2) can be selected by 'auxiliary' HAVE; (3), containing the present perfect versions of (2), illustrates this 'doubling' effect:

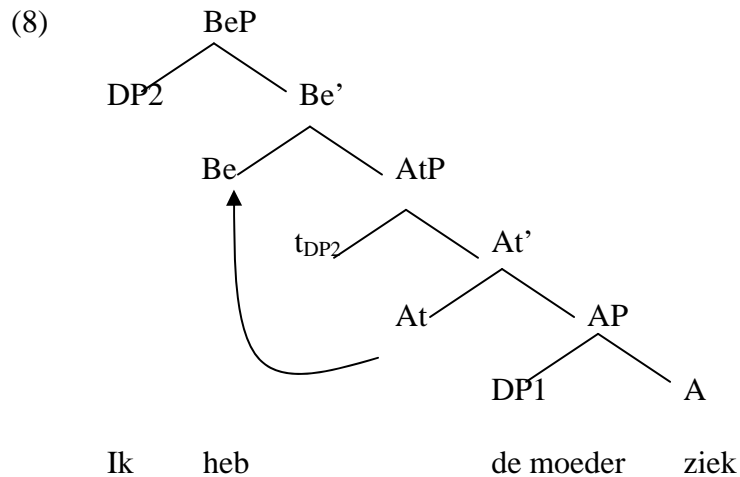
- (3) a. Ik heb de deur altijd dicht gehad. *Standard Dutch*
I have the door always closed had
'I have always had the door closed.'
b. Ik heb het raam zelden open gehad.
I have the window seldom open had
'I have seldom had the window open.'

- The Standard Dutch undative is restricted: it only admits adjectives denoting a point on a bounded: e.g. *open* 'open', *dicht* 'closed', *vast* 'fixed', *los* 'loose', *vol* 'full', *leeg* 'empty'.

The relevance of bounded scales is also evident in the case of adjectival complements to modals in Standard Dutch (Barbiers 1995, 2000), as shown in (4) (and see Vanden Wyngaerd 2001 for the same restriction operating in resultative constructions):

- (4) a. Het raam moet open/*groot
the window must open/big
'The window has to be made open/big'
b. De man moet dood/*ziek
the man must dead/ill
'The man must be made dead/ill.'

We relate this restriction to the properties of the preposition TO contained in HAVE. TO expresses PATH (Jackendoff 1983), and can thus be seen as a pointer, a directional relation between an entity and a **fixed** point on a scale. This scale may involve time, place, number or degree. An adjective like 'long', contrary to e.g. 'empty', provides a scale but does not denote a fixed point on that scale.



In sum, parameter 2 regulates the distribution of the southern-type undative:

- (1)/(21) **Parameter 2**
HAVE can/cannot be used as the spell-out of BE + AT.

Standard Dutch lacks this construction, because its HAVE only decomposes as BE+TO. The construction it does have has different properties, which at least partly fall out from the requirements of the subcomponents of the HAVE that it does have.

A2 Undative in Romance

Friulian displays optional agreement with a postparticipial object (ungrammatical in standard Italian, but similar to Old Italian). (Cf. Paoli (1997))

- (9) a. Marie e a mangiadis li caramelis.
Mary SCL has eaten-FEM.PL the sweets-FEM.PL
'Mary has eaten the sweets.'
- b. Tony el a mangiâs i carciofs.
Tony SCL has eaten-MASC.PL the artichokes MASC.PL
'Tony has eaten the artichokes.'

Notice however, that Friulian also admits OV, but with obligatory agreement:

- (10) a. O ai lis sigaretis dismenteadis
I have the cigarettes-PL forgotten-PL
b. O ai dismenteadis lis sigaretis
I have forgotten-PL the cigarettes-PL
'I have forgotten the cigarettes'
- (11) a. O ai dismentea:t lis sigaretis
I have forgotten.SG the cigarettes.PL
b. *O ai lis sigaretis dismentea:t
I have the cigarettes.PL forgotten.SG
'I have forgotten the cigarettes'

- This construction only has a resultative/stative interpretation, as attested by the fact that sentences like the following are ungrammatical

(12) *O ai lis fantatis rivadis
I have the girls arrived

- The construction is similar to cases like the English ‘I had my hair cut’ or the Dutch undative construction.
- On the above analysis of undatives (see also Broekhuis & Cornips 1994), we do not expect a *by*-phrase to be possible, since the small-clause predicate is adjectival and not verbal. However, Friulian informants generally like the sentences better when there is an agent in the sentence:

(13) E ai simpri li sigaretis fumadis da to pari.
I have always the cigarettes smoked by your father
‘All the cigarettes I have are smoked by your father’