

✧ Perfect doubling does not exist ✧

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1. The phenomenon

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|------------------------|
| (1) | a. | Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt
I have today still not smoked | <i>Standard Dutch</i> |
| | b. | Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt gehad
I have today still not smoked had | <i>Dialectal Dutch</i> |
| (2) | a. | Ik heb het gezegd
I have it said | <i>Standard Dutch</i> |
| | b. | Ik heb het gezegd gehad
I have it said had | <i>Dialectal Dutch</i> |
| (3) | | Ik ben twee keer gevallen geweest
I am two times fallen been | <i>Dialectal Dutch</i> |

Franco-provençal (Carruthers 1994, Paesani, 2001):

- (4) On a **eu** mis de l'eau sur les chaises.
one has had put of the.water on the chairs

Bavarian/Alemannic German (Poletto 2009, Schaden 2007):

- (5) I ha gässa **cha** und denn bin i hei gange
I have eaten had and then am I home gone

Northern Italian (Poletto 2009):

- (6) Co go **bio** magnà,...
when have.1sg had eaten,...

Claims for Dutch:

- (i) The variation between doubling and non-doubling is lexical in nature.
- (ii) Doubling constructions are retentions of diachronic stages in the development of HAVE from a lexical to a functional element.
- (iii) There is no perfect or auxiliary doubling in an analytical sense.

2. Hypotheses and previous research

THE 'LEADING' HYPOTHESIS FROM THE SYNTACTIC ANGLE:

Perfect doubling involves activation of a(n additional) functional head (Poletto 2009).

- German dialects → Terminative Aspect Phrase
- Northern Italian dialects → Anterior Tense Phrase

THE 'LEADING' HYPOTHESIS FROM THE SEMANTIC ANGLE:

Perfect doubling has specific semantics (Schaden, 2007)

- German dialects → past resultative
- French dialects → perfective terminative

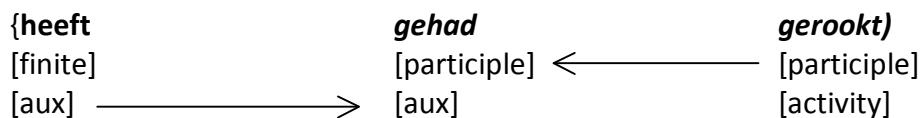
Two considerations:

- (i) The suggested semantics cannot be replicated for the Dutch doubling constructions. Our previous research (Barbiers, Koenenman & Lekakou 2008):
- Doubling constructions accepted in same environments as their non-doubling counterparts → no obvious tense-semantic difference.
 - Difference between doubling and non-doubling constructions is phonological: they have the same underlying syntax.

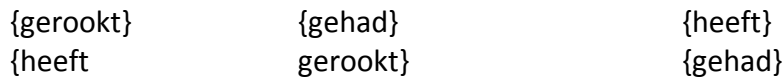
Hypothesis:

Gehad is not spelled out if its formal features (i.e. [auxiliary] and [participle]) are expressed by other heads in the same prosodic phrase (determined by Selkirk's 1986 algorithm: XP movements create additional prosodic boundaries).

- Standard Dutch: 1-2-3 cluster order



- Dialects: 3-2-1 and 1-3-2 cluster orders

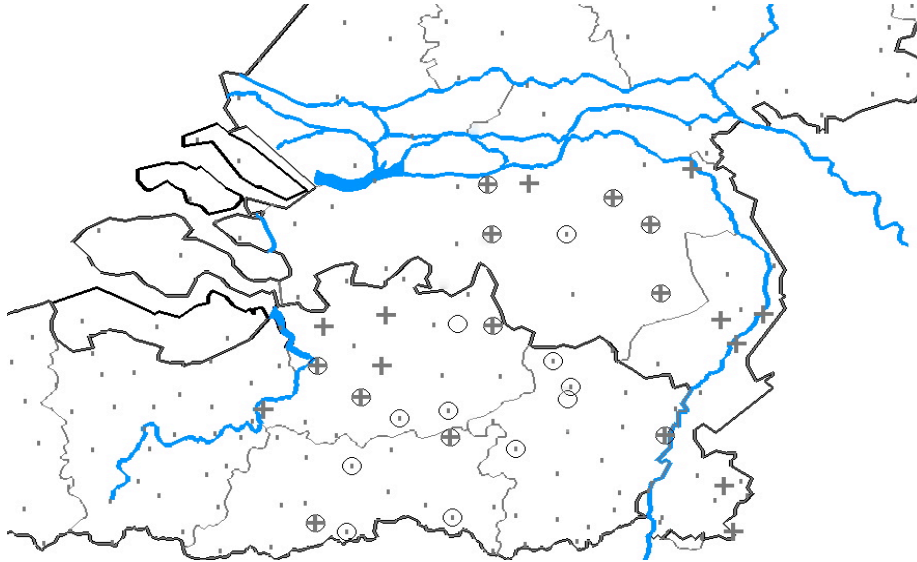


Our recent fieldwork: dialects also accept 3-1-2 (a cluster order pervasive in Standard Dutch).

- (ii) Proximity of the doubling construction with the so-called undative construction (Broekhuis & Cornips 1994, Cornips 1994).

- (7) a. Ik heb de hond ziek (present)
 I have the dog sick
 'My dog is sick.'
- b. Ik heb de hond ziek gehad (present perfect)
 I have the dog sick had
 'My dog has been sick.'
- (8) a. Ik heb de broek gewassen. (Present perfect/Undative)
 I have the trousers washed
 'I have washed my trousers.'/'I have a clean pair of trousers.'

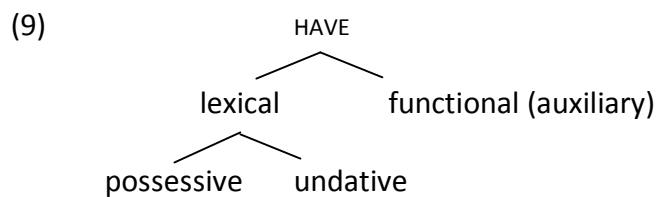
- b. Ik heb [de broek gewassen] **gehad**. (perfect of the undative)
 I have the trousers washed had
 ‘I have had a clean pair of trousers.’



- (22) doubling construction
- + (22) undative construction
- ⊕ (11) overlap

Questions:

(i) Does geographical proximity indicate grammatical proximity? If so, the variation is in the lexical make-up of HAVE.



(ii) How do we fit in perfect doubling?

Hypothesis:

Perfect doubling involves a lexical HAVE too.

- Perfect doubling is not auxiliary doubling.
- Perfect doubling resembles go-doubling (West Flemish; cf. Haegeman 1990, van Riemsdijk 2002) and do-doubling (Schütze 2004):

- (10) a. dank morgen **goan gon** vissen that-I tomorrow go go fish
'that I'm going to go fishing tomorrow'
b. Bob says he is going to join the labour party. It will be interesting to see if he **does do**.
c. Ik **heb** het **gehad**
I have it had

3. Data collection and results

Two phases:

(i) Written questionnaire:

- 70 locations in and around the area where doubling was attested according to SAND (Barbiers et al 2005).
- Questionnaires from 55 locations returned, of which 22 had doubling.
- Two kinds of tasks:

(11) Toen mijn hond in de tuin lag, ... [*drie sigaretten roken*].
'When my dog lay in the garden, ... [*to smoke three cigarettes*].'

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--|
| a. | PRAETERITUM: | ... rookte ik drie sigaretten |
| b. | PRESENT PERFECT: | ... heb ik drie sigaretten gerookt |
| c. | PAST PERFECT: | ... had ik drie sigaretten gerookt |
| d. | PRESENT PERFECT + DOUBLING: | ... heb ik drie sigaretten gerookt gehad |
| e. | PAST PERFECT + DOUBLING: | ... had ik drie sigaretten gerookt gehad |

- (12) a. Ik heb de hele dag hard gewerkt **gehad**.
I have the whole day hard worked had
b. Ik heb de hele dag hard gewerkt.
I have the whole day hard worked

ISSUES UNDER INVESTIGATION:

1. What is the temporal-semantic contribution of the doubling construction?
Unclear, but present perfect doubling does not equal pluperfect. General pattern:

- i. If (11d) accepted, then (11b) accepted.
ii. If (11e) accepted, then (11c) accepted.

2. Is perfect doubling the perfect of the undative construction? Is there a transitivity constraint in the perfect doubling construction?
No, contrary to what is the case in the undative construction.

- (13) a. Ik heb de broek gewassen (gehad)
b. Ik heb vandaag nog niet gerookt (gehad)

Note the fundamental meaning difference between (13a) and (13b):

- In (13a), anybody could have done the washing. The subject of the participle is syntactically absent: the participle is passive.

- In (13b), the matrix subject has done the smoking. The subject of the participle is syntactically present: the participle is active.

3. Is there a sensitivity to aspectual class?

No. We detected no systematic (dis)preference with respect to a particular class:

i. Achievement

- (14) Ik heb ooit eens een kostbare vaas **gebroken** gehad.
I have once an expensive vase broken had

ii. Accomplishment

- (15) Dit bedrijf heeft deze maand drie huizen **gebouwd** gehad.
This company has this month three houses built had

iii. Activity

- (16) Ik heb nog nooit een kat **geaaid** gehad.
I have still never a cat stroked had

iv. Stative

- (17) Ik heb mijn baas altijd **gehaat** gehad.
I have my boss always hated had

4. Is doubling restricted to events in the remote/indeterminate past (Carruthers 1994)?

No. Adding adverbs with different remoteness/specificity characteristics has no effect.

- (18) Ik heb _____ een kostbare vaas gebroken gehad.
I have _____ an expensive vase broken had

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| a. ooit eens 'once' | [+remote, -specific]. |
| b. een uur geleden 'an hour ago' | [-remote, +specific]. |
| c. onlangs 'recently' | [-remote, -specific]. |
| d. op mijn 6 ^e verjaardag 'on my 6th birthday' | [+remote, +specific]. |

(ii) Oral questionnaire

- administered in 12 locations in 4 provinces.
- translation tasks, relative grammaticality judgment tasks.

Issues under investigation:

1. Do the doubling dialects lack the simple past tense (and was this obscured in the written questionnaire due to interference from Standard Dutch)?

No. They clearly have, and use, a simple past.

2. Does doubling in Dutch dialects display the semantic properties attributed to its French and German counterpart (Schaden 2007)?

Yes and no. Two kinds of double compound perfects (Cornu, Paesani, Schaden):

- THE ANTERIOR USE:

- (19) Quand j'ai eu soupe, je suis sorti. (substandard French; Schaden 2009)
when I have had suppered I am left
'After having had supper, I left.'
- (20) Wia i hamkumman bin, hot mai schwesta den opfl scho gessen ghobt. (Alemannic)
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 'SUPERPERFECT' USE:

- (21) Du ble, j'en ai recolte du plus beau.
of wheat I of-it have harvested of-the more beautiful
'I've harvested the most beautiful wheat.'
- (22) I hob d badhos scho azoga khet, abr i hob se widr wegto.
I have the short already onput had but I have it again away.put
'I HAD put on my bathing shorts, but I've put them off again.'

Generalization:

Present perfect + doubling cannot be used to denote an event that happened prior to a point in the past: it is a present tense.

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

Conclusion:

Dutch dialects only have the 'superperfect' use, which requires present relevance.

Properties of the perfect doubling construction:

- It appears in similar contexts as its non-doubling counterpart.
- It is not sensitive to semantic properties of the main verb.
- It is not an undative construction.
- In embedded clauses, the cluster order is predominantly 321 and 312.

4. Synchronic variation as diachronic variation

Three generalizations:

- (i) HAVE developed in several stages from a lexical verb into a functional element.
- (ii) 'Older' versions of HAVE can be retained. Hence, these stages were not successive, but overlapping.
- (iii) The development of HAVE should not be seen in isolation but as a development interacting with the development of participles (Duinhoven 1997).

Two questions:

- (i) Which developmental stages can be distinguished? → Duinhoven

- (ii) What are the present day examples reflecting these stages? → our empirical research and Broekhuis & Cornips (1994)

4.1 The development of the participle (Duihoven 1997)

Stage 1

The participle is an adjunct modifying the clause. It expresses the cause or manner of action and does not modify a particular DP.

- Present day example:

- (24) Jan komt aangelopen *Standard Dutch*
Jan comes ran_{part.}
'Jan comes running'

In (24), *aangelopen* (i) does not denote anteriority and (ii) modifies Jan's coming, not just Jan.

Stage 2

The participle is an adnominal constituent modifying a DP and expressing resultativity. If the verb is BE or BECOME, the participle modifies the subject. If the verb is HAVE, it modifies the object. Hence, we initially do not find participles of unergative predicates. Syntactically, it is a secondary predicate ("bepaling van gesteldheid") of the internal argument, without determining the agent of the action denoted by the verb.

- Our conclusion: the participle has developed from an adjunct into the head of an embedded predication without a realized agent; the participle is stative.
- Present day example: the *undative construction* (Broekhuis & Cornips 1994):

- (25) Zij had d'r haar geverfd. *Standard Dutch*
She had her hair dyed
'Her hair was dyed.'

- (26) Hij had de fiets gestolen. *Dialectal Dutch*
he had the bicycle stolen
'He had his bicycle stolen.'

Stage 3

The participle is a complement of the verb. In contrast to the adnominal construction, the subject of the matrix clause is now the Agent of the participle.

- Our conclusion: the participle heads an embedded predication, and is now active.
- The source of the perfect doubling construction as attested in Brabantish dialects.

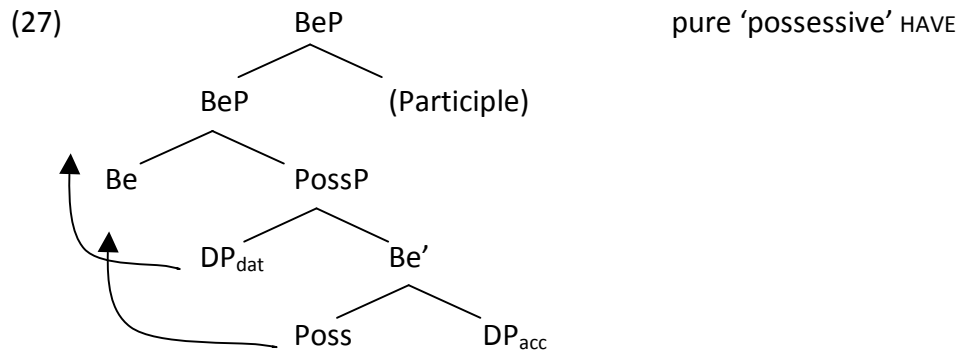
Stage 4

The participle is now the only predicate of the clause.

4.2 The development of HAVE

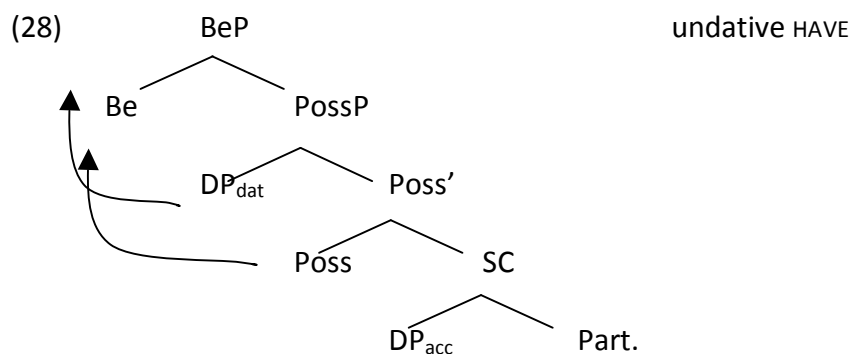
Stage 1

HAVE is fully lexical, the participle is an adjunct. In the spirit of Kayne (1993), HAVE consists of an element encoding possession incorporating into BE. The dative argument raises.



Stage 2

The Poss head now selects a small clause headed by the participle. The participle is a stative predicate and its subject is the DP_{acc}. There is no Agent role. The dative raises. This is the analysis of Broekhuis & Cornips (1994).



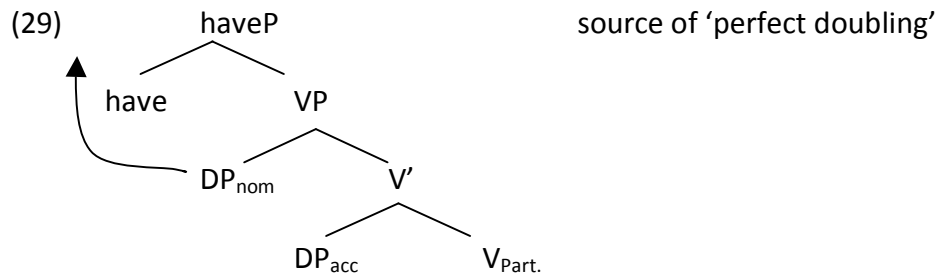
At this stage the possessive relation becomes more abstract, as the arguments that Poss relates to each other are no longer two DPs, but a DP and a small clause.

Stage 3

HAVE no longer derives from Poss incorporating into BE. Three consequences: (a) HAVE becomes a base-generated raising verb; (b) the DPs, in need of a theta-role, get reanalyzed as arguments of the participle; (c) The participle becomes an active verb.¹ DP_{nom} is the

¹ This may have happened in two stages. First, the participle is verbal and passive and the higher DP becomes the indirect (dative) object of this predicate. This gives us a construction close to the English 'They had their suitcases packed'. Second, the higher DP becomes the agent of the participle, which is now reanalyzed as active. This predicts that the English construction can also have been retained, preferably in the southern dialects. We do not know if this prediction is borne out.

external argument of the underlying predicate (in contrast to previous stage, where there was no Agent role).



Stage 4

HAVE is reanalyzed as a functional auxiliary head associated with a Tense/Aspect projection. It no longer selects a clause but is involved in the formation of compound tenses. At this stage, it is possible to use auxiliary HAVE to construct the present perfect of the retained constructions of stages 1, 2 and 3.

- This gives the doubling effect.
- Strictly speaking, this is no perfect or auxiliary doubling.

4.3 Extension to BE

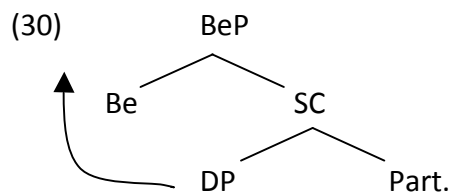
The development is similar, the main difference being the absence of the poss head.

Stage 1

BE/HAVE are lexical, the participle is an adjunct.

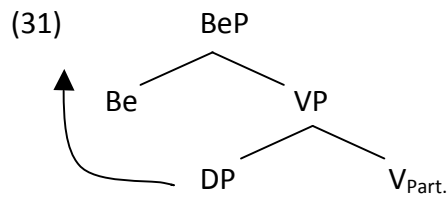
Stage 2

BE/HAVE are lexical, participle is a stative predicate used adnominally.



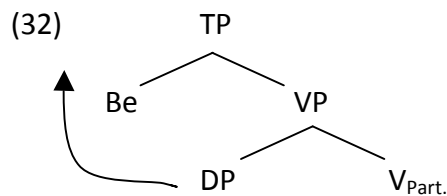
Stage 3

The complements of BE/HAVE are verbal. The participle does not denote a state predicated of the DP, but a change of state verb taking the DP as an internal argument.



Stage 4

BE/HAVE become functional heads associated with a Tense/Aspect projection.



At this stage, it is possible to use auxiliary BE to construct the present perfect of the retained constructions of stages 1, 2 and 3.

- This gives the doubling effect.
- Strictly speaking, this is no perfect or auxiliary doubling.

5. Discussion/outlook

Features of the analysis:

- Perfect doubling reflects a retention of a diachronic development affecting HAVE: in this respect, it is similar to the (perfect of) pure 'possessive' HAVE and the undative construction.
- BE/HAVE are raising verbs throughout the first three stages. This explains why they cannot undergo passivization (Broekhuis & Cornips 1994).
- We now have a parallel between HAVE/DO/GO-doubling: they all involve the co-occurrence of a lexical and a functional head.

Unresolved issues:

- What is the semantics of have in stage 3 and what distinguishes it from its use in stage 4?
- Does the analysis carry over to other Germanic, and Romance, dialects?
 - Are the different properties due to differences in the diachronic development? Cf. the different development of have and be in English, as argued by McFadden & Alexiadou (to appear).
 - Or is it the case that the diachrony is more or less similar but the semantics of the stage 3 construction is underspecified enough to allow room for variation (the actual variation being determined by what other tenses are available in the language)?

- Is there a correlation with verb cluster orders? Excluding dialects with verb projection raising, the only possible orders that were accepted are 321 and 312.
 - It suggests that *gehad* is lexical rather than functional.
 - But raising verbs usually allow reordering with the head of their complement:

- (33) a. dat Jan vandaag nog niet schijnt₁ te roken₂
that Jan today not yet seems to have smoked
b. *dat Jan vandaag nog niet heeft₁ gehad/hebben₂ gerookt₃
that Jan today yet not has had/have smoked

Note, however, that this is not a minimal pair. *Schijnen* cannot be embedded under functional have (cf. also Wurmbrand 2002):

- (34) *dat Jan vandaag niet heeft geschenen/schijnen te roken.
That Jan today not has seemed/seem to smoke

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