

Counterforces to the long-infinitive drift in Dutch auxiliary complements

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Preliminary terminological issue

- What is an auxiliary?
 - Diachronically motivated: broad definition (following Bolinger 1980, Van der Horst 2008, I-VII, §9.5, Krug 2011):
 - Form: combination with other verbs
 - Function: expression of aspect/tense/mood/diathesis meaning
- “The moment a verb is given an infinitive complement, that verb starts down the road of auxiliariness” (Bolinger 1980: 297)

Formal features of Dutch auxiliaries

- Two important things about Dutch auxiliaries (that the audience of this conference is already intimately familiar with):

1. Difference bare infinitive vs. *to* infinitive

a. *Dat* *lijkt* ***te*/* \emptyset** *werken*

that seems to work

'That seems **to**/ \emptyset work'

b. *Dat* *moet* **\emptyset /**te*** *werken*

that must to work

'That **must**/ \emptyset work'

2. Infinitivus pro participio (IPP, Ersatzinfinitiv): in the (analytic) perfect tense, auxiliaries are in the infinitive, rather than in the participle form

c. *Hij* *heeft* ***kunnen* / **gekund*** *werken*

he has **can.INF / *can.PST.PTCP** work

'He has been able to work'

The long infinitive

- Long (or *to*) inf. feature is integrated in auxiliary category
 - Bare inf. is oldest (age-old preterite-present modals invariably have bare inf.)
 - Many verbs oscillate between bare and *to* inf. in the history of Dutch

OLD DUTCH

- a. *tho* ***begunden*** *thie* *wazzer* ***wahsen*** (...)
 then began the waters rise
 'then the waters began to rise'
- b. *tho* ***begunda*** *min* *salfwerz* *meer* *ande* *meer*
 then began my ointment more and more
ze ***stinchene***
 to stink
 'then my ointment began to smell more and more'

- Long-term *to*-inf drift in Dutch,
 - Due to the fact that more and more *to* inf. verbs joined the class of auxiliaries (*beloven* 'promise', *blijken* 'appear', *dienen* 'have to', *dreigen* 'threaten', *hopen* 'hope', *pogen* 'attempt', *proberen* 'try' etc.)
 - Some verbs shift from bare to alternating *to* inf (e.g. *helpen* 'help'), or from alternating to consistent *to* inf. (*beginnen* 'begin') (in simplex verb forms)
 - Small group of age-old preterite-present modals are impervious to *to* drift

Resistance

- Counterforce to *to*-drift: retention and extension of the bare infinitive



Extension of bare infinitive

- Bare inf. held out in:

- a. Horror aequi contexts:

<i>om</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>open</i>	<i>mond</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>staan</i>	<i>kijken (...)</i>
to	with	open	mouth	to	stand	look

'to stand and look in astonishment'

- b. Double infinitive:

<i>met</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>kinderen</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>beginnen</i>	<i>denken</i>
with	those	children	can	you	begin	think
<i>aan</i>	<i>een</i>	<i>volgende</i>	<i>stap</i>			
about	a	next	step			

'with those children you can start to think about the next step'

- c. IPP:

<i>ze</i>	<i>hadden</i>	<i>zitten</i>	<i>slapen</i>
they	had	sit	sleep

'they had been sleeping'

- d. INF/IPP-Homomorphic contexts (i.e. plural present in subordinate clauses):

<i>dat</i>	<i>ze</i>	<i>zich</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>niet</i>	<i>druk</i>	<i>om</i>
that	they	REFL	PARTICLE	not	worried	about
<i>hoeven</i>	<i>maken</i>					
need	make					

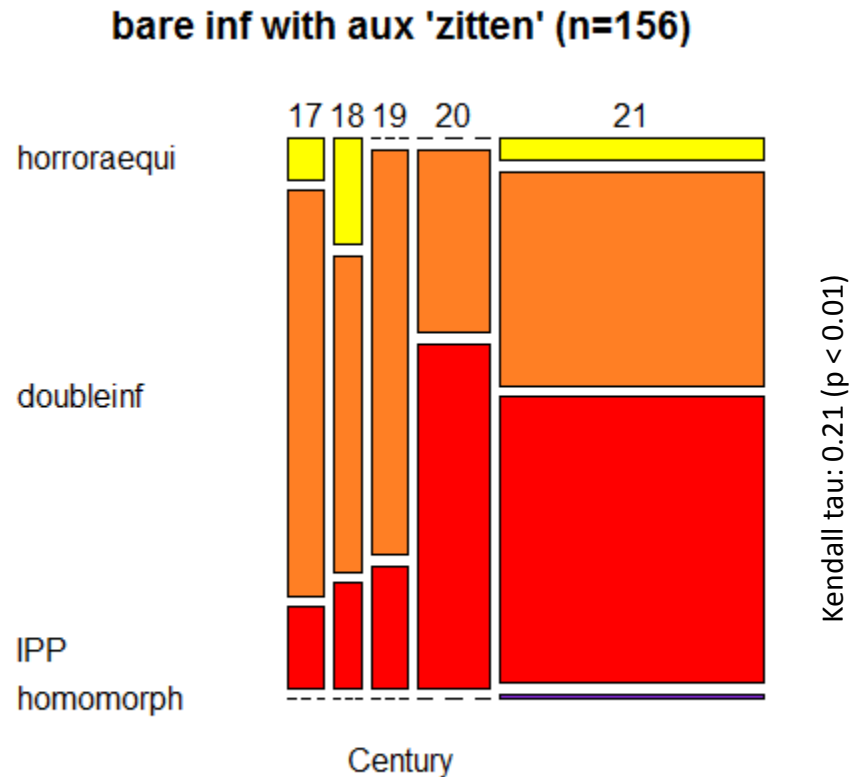
'that they need not be worried about it'

Extension of bare infinitive

- Bare inf. construal held out in:
 - a. Horror aequi contexts
 - b. Double infinitive
 - c. IPP
 - d. INF/IPP-Homomorphic contexts (i.e. plural present in subordinate clauses)
- Hypothesis: diachrony $a > b > c > d$
 - a: broad principle
 - $b > c$: double inf. selected by (bare-inf. selecting) aux., plus analogical extension, supported by other IPP verbs (see also Duinhoven 1997; Van Pottelberge 2002:156-157). Maybe also because of homophony *zit+te* - *zitte*
 - [AUX [INF₁ INF₂]] *Ic wille mi nu gaen sitten resten.* (14th century)
 - [AUX [ERSATZ-INF₁ [INF₂]]] *Recht of soe hadde zitten beiden* (14 th century)
 - [AUX [PST.PTCP [INF]]] *Twine hadstu stille ghestaen beden* (14th century)
 - $c > d$: analogical extension

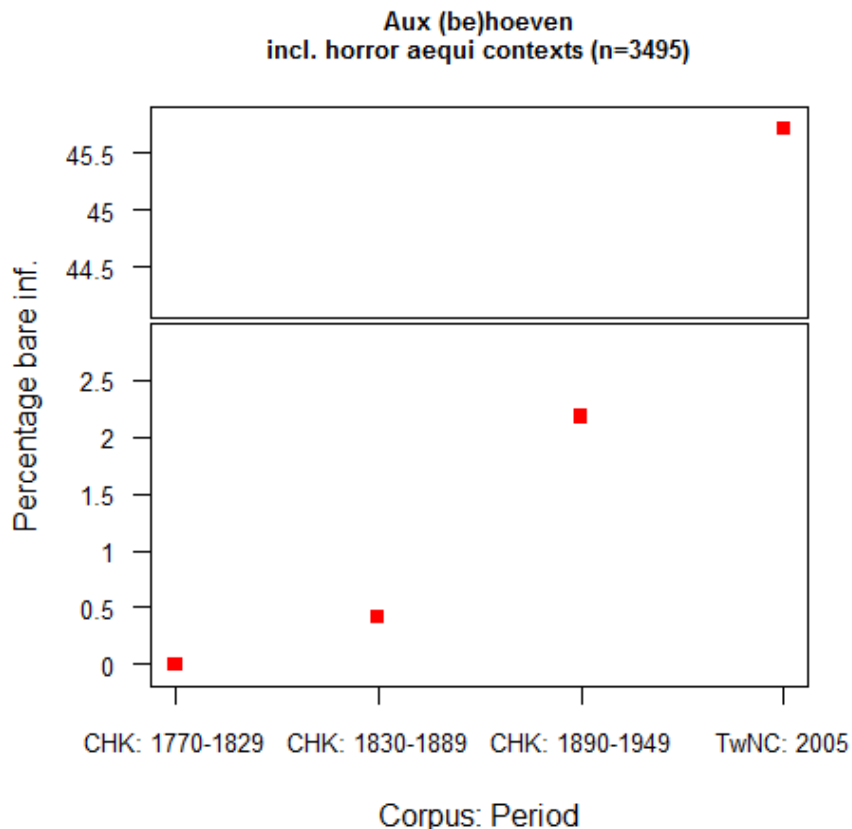
Extension of bare infinitive

- Durative auxiliary *zitten* ('sit') (data partially taken from Brabers 2014)
- Participates in *to*-drift from 17th century onward
- But at the same time: extension of bare infinitive contexts
- Hypothesis: diachrony $a > b > c > d$

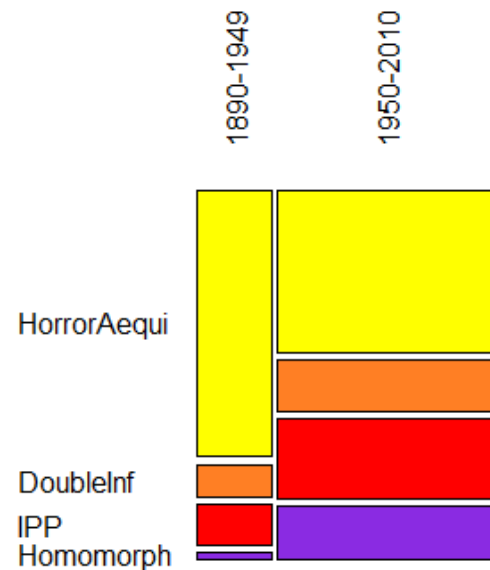


Extension of bare infinitive

- Deontic semi-modal auxiliary *(be)hoeven* ('need to')
- Consistent *to*-inf
- Recent extension of bare infinitives (analogy with deontic core modals)
- Hypothesis: diachrony $a > b > c > d$



Bare inf with aux '(be)hoeven'

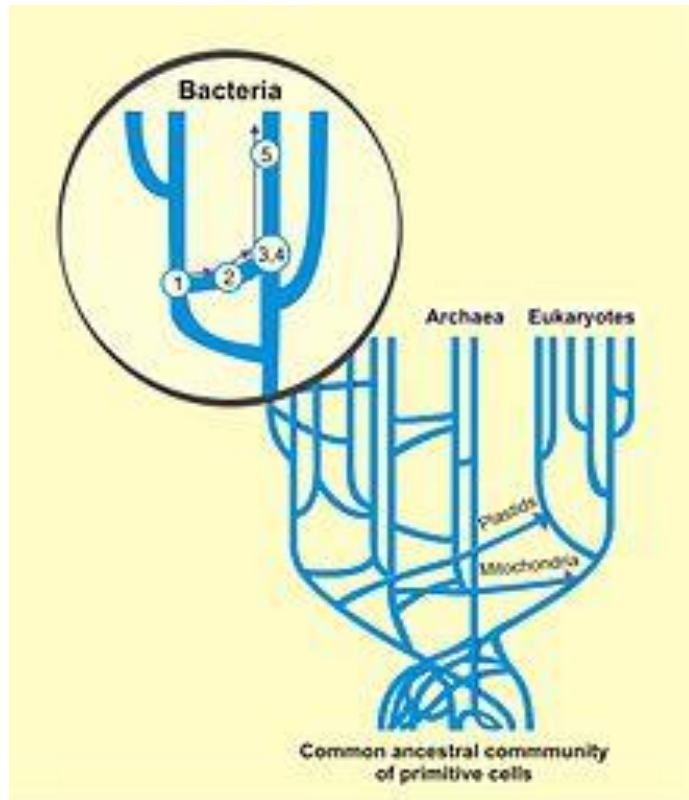


(n = 171, kendall tau = 0.23, p = 0.0006)

Lateral transfer

- Diachronically, a construction often derives from multiple lineages (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2013 on 'multiple source constructions')
 - "[I]nnovations in language change may derive not just from one, but from different source constructions at once. That is, change often seems to involve some interaction between lineages or between different branches of a lineage" (p. 473)
- Synchronically, a construction often displays contamination effects at its fringes (Pijpops & Van de Velde 2015)
- 'Travelling features' (De Smet & Van de Velde 2014), by human propensity for blending:
 - Categories recruit members from different sources. E.g. English determiner category:
 - *a(n)* < numeral 'one'
 - *the* < demonstrative 'that'
 - *some* < adjective 'single'
 - But newly recruited members may:
 - fail to adopt all of the behaviour of the recruiting category
 - introduce new behaviour to the recruiting category
 - transfer behaviour of the recruiting category to their source category

Lateral transfer



Lateral Gene Transfer

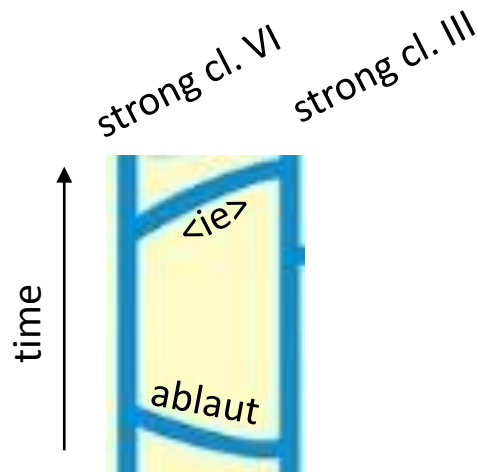
- Common in biological evolution (e.g. antibiotic resistance, mitochondriae ...)
- Applicable to linguistics
 - Used for loans (lineage ~ language)
 - ‘Language-internal’ loans: intraference (Croft 2000: 148-156) (lineage ~ construction)
 - Example: analogical levelling
OE *dón* ‘do’
 - 1SG OE *dō* ME *do*
 - 2SG OE *dēst* ME *dost*
 - 3SG OE *dēth* ME *doth*

Lateral transfer

- Back and forth:
 - Strong Gmc. verbs: ablauting classes (I-VI) vs. reduplicating class VII
 - Reduplicating class has been ‘infected’ by ablauting classes in WGmc.
 - Ablauting class III has been ‘infected’ by new ablaut of class VII

III: χeip (help:PRS.3SG) $\sim \chi alp$ (help:PRET.3SG) > MID. *halp* > PdD *hielp*

VII: $\chi laup$ (run:PRS.3SG) $\sim \chi e-glaup$ (run:PRET.3SG) $> \chi l\bar{e}_2p$ (run:PRET.3SG) > MID. *liep*



Lateral transfer

- Back and forth:
 - Auxiliaries: bare inf. vs. long. inf.
 - Bare inf. class has been partially ‘infected’ by long. inf. (long inf. drift)
 - In turn, the long. inf. class has been partially ‘infected’ by bare inf. class
 - Through double inf.
 - Through IPP (looks like double inf.)
 - Extension to homomorphic contexts (looks like IPP)
- Further extension:
 - Pseudo-homomorphic contexts: preterite V-late + inf:

<i>Dat</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>handschoenen</i>	<i>vergaten</i>	<i>kopen</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>London (...)</i>
that	we	gloves	forgot	buy	in	London

‘that we forgot to buy gloves in London’

<i>Toen</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>elf</i>	<i>uur</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>morgen</i>
when	I	at	eleven	hour	in	the	morning
<i>het</i>	<i>café</i>	<i>binnentrad</i>	<i>waar</i>	<i>mannen</i>	<i>zaten</i>	<i>koffiedrinken</i>	
the	bar	entered	where	men	sat	koffiedrinken	

‘when at eleven in the morning, I entered the bar where two men sat down and drank coffee’

Conclusions

- Gradiance results from recruitment of new category members
- Lateral two-way travelling of features between lineages (ubiquitous force)
- Via sneaky inconspicuous routes (see also De Smet 2012, Van de Velde & Weerman 2014)
- Via surface resemblances (see also Joseph 1992, Enger 2013, Van der Horst & Van de Velde 2013, Pijpops & Van de Velde 2015 on 'local generalizations')

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