Leonie Cornips\textsuperscript{1,2} & Hans Broekhuis\textsuperscript{1,3}

The perfect in (varieties of) Dutch: diachrony, acquisition and doubling

1 Meertens Institute, 2 Maastricht University, 3 Utrecht University

The Perfect: variation workshop. Synchrony, diachrony & acquisition
Trondheim 5-7 November 2015
Structure of the talk

• Introducing perfect in Dutch
  – diachrony
• Child acquisition of *perfect*
  – Ambiguity: verbal or adjectival participle
• Doubling?: regional varieties of Dutch
  – Ambiguity: semicopula *hebben* ‘to have’ or perfect tense
Tense in Dutch (Broekhuis 2015, Syntax of Dutch, Verbs and Verbs phrases, Vol I)

Characteristics of the *perfect* in Dutch

• Binary feature of PERFECT [+/− PAST]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ik heb gewandeld</td>
<td>Ik had gewandeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have walked</td>
<td>I had walked</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• The perfective-tense construction presents the eventuality denoted by the main verb as completed and indicates its relevance for the current moment.
Tense in Dutch (Broekhuis 2015, Syntax of Dutch, Verbs and Verbs phrases, Vol I)

Main verb combines with the perfect auxiliaries hebben ‘to have’ or zijn ‘to be’:

a. Marie heeft een boek gelezen \([\text{perfect}]\)
   Marie has a book read
   ‘Marie has read a book’

b. De bladeren zijn gevallen \([\text{perfect}]\)
   the leaves are fallen
   ‘The leaves have fallen’
The auxiliary *zijn* ‘to be’ and *hebben* ‘to have’ as perfect (for Dutch, Hoekstra 1984)

Two subclasses of nomadic verbs (Burzio 1986):

– *Intransitive* verbs select perfect *hebben* ‘to have’
  Jan *heeft/*is gelachen
  Jan has/is laughed

– *Unaccusative* verbs select perfect *zijn* ‘to be’
  Jan is/*heeft* gearriveerd
  Jan is/has arrived
Impersonal passivization

The auxiliary *zijn* ‘to be’ also acts as a passive auxiliary ‘to have been’:

**Intransitive**

Er is/wordt gelachen
There have been/was laughed

**Unaccusative**

*Er is/wordt gearriveerd
There have been/was arrived
Past/passive participles of unaccusative verbs can be used attributively

Intransitive
*de *gelachen jongen
the laughed boy

*Unaccusative*: past participle may express perfectivity on its own as an attributive modifier:
de *gearriveerde* jongen [perfect]
the arrived boy
The perfect auxiliaries *hebben* ‘to have’ and *zijn* ‘to be’

Some monadic verbs show mixed behavior:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gebloed</th>
<th></th>
<th>gedreven</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>has/is</td>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>has/is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heef/*is</td>
<td></td>
<td>heef/*is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan</td>
<td>has/is</td>
<td>bled</td>
<td>floated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>gebloede</td>
<td>jongen</td>
<td>jongen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>gebloede</td>
<td>jongen</td>
<td>jongen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>gebloede</td>
<td>jongen</td>
<td>jongen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the</td>
<td>bleeded</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>floated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>gebloede</td>
<td>jongen</td>
<td>jongen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>gebloede</td>
<td>jongen</td>
<td>jongen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Er</td>
<td>werd</td>
<td>gebloed</td>
<td>*Er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>was</td>
<td>floated</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was</td>
<td>floated</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>was</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Auxiliary selection and attributive use of the past participle does not only depend on unaccusativity of the verb but are subject to additional aspectual conditions.
Tense in Dutch (Broekhuis 2015, Syntax of Dutch, Verbs and Verbs phrases, Vol I)

Past & passive participles are derived from the verbal stem by addition of the circumfix `ge...d/t` or `ge..en`:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>schop-</td>
<td>geschopt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lees-</td>
<td>gelezen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Systematic exception: complex verbs derived by means of prefixation: `ont-`, `be-`, `ver-` and `her-`
Duinhoven (1985)

• Diachronically, past participles have a non-verbal base: their suffixes originated as postpositions that expressed completeness;

• At some point, the internal structure of these adpositional phrases became obscure, as a result of which they were reinterpreted as adjectival;

• At another stage, the use of adjectival past participles in predicative position led to a verbal interpretation.
Duinhoven (1985)

a. Jan heeft\textsubscript{cop} [\textsubscript{SC}de brief geschreven\textsubscript{A}]
   Jan has the letter written
   denoting a stative property

→

b. Jan heeft\textsubscript{aux} [\textsubscript{SC}de brief geschreven\textsubscript{v}]
   Jan has the letter written
   denoting a completed dynamic eventuality
Ambiguity: verbal of adjectival participles

• Past/passive participles can be used more attributively
  – In prenominal attributive position which is normally occupied by adjectives:
• Het gekookte ei
  the cooked egg
Ambiguity: verbal of adjectival participles

• Past/passive participles can be used more attributively
  – in predicative position of a copular construction

Het ei is gekookt
The egg is cooked
Ambiguity: verbal of adjectival participles

- Past/passive participles can be used more attributively
  - since it can be prefixed with the negative morpheme *on* –un which is hallmark of adjectives

Het (on)gekookte ei
the (un)cooked egg

Het ei is (on)gekookt
the egg is (un)cooked
Ambiguity: verbal of adjectival participles

Semantic difference between verbal and adjectival participles is that the former refer to a dynamic state of affairs and the latter to a stative property:

Jan en Marie zijn getrouwd
John and Mary have married

- are engaged in a marrying event (they have married) - verbal
- being a married couple (they are married) - adjectival
Ambiguity: verbal or adjectival participles

• word order in the verbal cluster
Ambiguity: verbal or adjectival participles

- Past/passive participles are used verbally in perfect-tense constructions
- Past/passive participles can either precede (order 2-1) or follow the perfect auxiliary (1-2)

[active, perfect tense]

dat Jan het boek \(<verkocht>\) heeft \(<verkocht>\)
that Jan the book sold has sold

2 \(\rightarrow\) 1 \(\rightarrow\) 2
Ambiguity: verbal of adjectival participles

- Past/passive participles are used verbally in passive constructions
- Past/passive participles can either precede (order 2-1) or follow the passive auxiliary (1-2)

[pasive]

that the book sold was sold

2 1 2
Disambiguation

The verbal participle is able to precede or follow the auxiliary verb, whereas the *adjectival participle* must precede the copular (2-1 order):

2 1 2

a. dat Jan *gisteren* <getrouwd> is <getrouwd>
   that Jan yesterday married is

b. dat Jan *al jaren* <getrouwd> is <*getrouwd>
   that Jan already years married is
Child acquisition of present perfect

• acquisition of morphology of the perfect auxiliaries *hebben* ‘to have’ and *zijn* ‘to be’ and the past participle

• acquisition of word order: verbal or adjectival participle
location of Heerlen
Acquisition of the perfect

- no information about caregiver input, only adult to adult interaction
67 speakers; 33.5 hours of recording speech

number of tokens in adult corpus

33.5 hours of spontaneous speech:
1,230 tokens of two-verb clusters where
1 = finite:

• 558 tokens of AUX/PERFFIN-PART
• 554 tokens of MODFIN-VINF
The use of the orders 1-2 or 2-1 in the AUXPERF/PASS-PART cluster at the level of group of speakers (community) in Heerlen; 1=finite

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>67 speakers 1=FINITE</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUXPERF/PASS-PART</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>67.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>558</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Categorical and variable use of 1-2 and/or 2-1 order in the AUXPERF/PASS-PART cluster in Heerlen at the level of the individual speaker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1=FINITE</th>
<th>n speakers (n=67)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>categorical use 1-2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>categorical use 2-1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variable use 1-2/2-1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AUXperf/pass-PART
adult Heerlen Dutch

Perfect = finite

External factors wrt distribution 2-1 versus 1-2 order

• no social stratification regarding age, level of education, language background

=> Stable variation
AUXperfpass-PART
ADULT HEERLEN DUTCH
1=FINITE

*Internal factors wrt 2-1 versus 1-2 order*

- no effect of negation, extraposed PP, tense (past versus present tense ‘have’) regarding 1FIN-2 or 2-1FIN order in AUXFIN-PART cluster (Cornips & Ribbert 2006, Haegeman 1998, Wurmbrandt 2006)
**MODFIN-VINF cluster**: kunnen 'can', moeten 'must', willen 'want', mogen 'may', zullen 'shall'
The use of the orders 1-2 or 2-1 in MODFIN-VINF cluster at the level of group of speakers (community level) in Heerlen (1=finite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOD-INFinitIVE</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>99.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>554</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The use of the orders 1-2 or 2-1 in \textit{ASP}^{\text{FIN}}-\textit{VINF} cluster at the level of group of speakers (community level) in Heerlen (1=finite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1=FINITE</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASP-INF\text{INITIVE}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acquisition of the perfect

Do the children acquire the linguistic conditionings (morphology of the deepest embedded verb and type of auxiliary) of the two verb clusters - MODFIN-VINF/ and Perfect AUXFIN-PART - at the same time and in the same way?
Methodology (taken from Zuckerman 2001)

Subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2;8 - 3;10</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5;0 - 5;11</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location: Heerlen
Methodology (taken from Zuckerman 2001)

Procedure:
Method: a question answering task (elicited production), regarding 30 pictures presented to the subjects. The task of answering a question was employed in order to encourage the subjects to begin their answers with *Omdat* 'because', which is a complementizer in Dutch, and by that to encourage the use of an embedded structure. All the questions where therefore *Why*-questions.
Example:
15 test sentences eliciting Perfect AUXFIN-PART
Perfect: AUX+Partiple cluster

Picture shows Kikker with a ball in the sky (Kikker 'frog' is a well-known child figure).

Experimenter: "Kikker heeft de bal gegoooid. De bal vliegt in de lucht" (Kikker throws a ball. The ball is in the sky)
Expected Child’s answer

Puppet: Waarom vliegt de bal in de lucht?
'Why is the ball in the sky

Expected answer: present perfect:

Omdat Kikker de bal gegoooid heeft 2-1
because Frog the ball thrown has

or:

Omdat Kikker de bal heeft gegoooid 1-2
because Frog the ball has thrown
MOD+Infinitive cluster

- 15 test sentences eliciting MODFIN-VINF

Picture shows Kikker with skates on the ice.

Experimenter: "Kikker wil schaatsen. Hij is op het ijs" (Kikker wants to skate. He is on the ice)
MOD+Infinitive cluster

Puppet: Waarom is Kikker op het ijs?
'Why is Kikker on the ice'

Expected answer:
*Omdat* Kikker *wil* schaatsen 1-2 order
because Frog want skate

or:
*Omdat* Kikker *schaatsen* *wil* 2-1 order
because Frog skate want
## Results MOD+Infinitive cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>n=19 age: 2;8-3;10</th>
<th>n=15 age: 5;0-6;0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOD-INF</td>
<td>tokens %</td>
<td>tokens %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>5/56 9</td>
<td>2/164 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>51/56 91</td>
<td>162/164 99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Results Perfect AUX+Part. cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>n=19 age: 2;8-3;10</th>
<th>n=15 age: 5;0-6;0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUX-Part</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>4/15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>11/15</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Comparison children-adults Mod+Inf cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>adults n=67</th>
<th></th>
<th>children n=34</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOD-Inf tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>1/118 0</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/320 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>117/118 100</td>
<td></td>
<td>312/320 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Comparison children-adults

### Perfect tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>age</th>
<th>adults n=67</th>
<th>children n=34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aux +Part tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>376/558</td>
<td>20/99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>182/558</td>
<td>79/99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX-Part</td>
<td>2;8-3;10 n=19</td>
<td>5;0-6;0 n=15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>categorical use 1-2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>categorical use 2-1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variable use 1-2/2-1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perfect:
• children start out with categorical order where there is variability in the adult community
• children start out with opposite word order (1-2 instead of 2-1)

Modal cluster:
• children start out with categorical order following input
• children start out with same word order (1-2)
DISCUSSION

Are the linguistic conditionings (morphology of the deepest embedded verb and type of auxiliary) of the two verb clusters acquired at the same time and in the same way?

NO
developmental stages in Dutch


stages:
1 MOD
2 MOD + INF
3 Perfect: AUX + PART

4 Heerlen children reflect 1 through 3
acquisitional path

- type of verbal cluster (children in Heerlen)
MOD-INF much frequenter than Perfect and its AoO earlier than Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PERFECT</th>
<th>MOD-INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age 3</td>
<td>15/285</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age 5</td>
<td>84/225</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
acquisitional path

• Mistakes by the Heerlen children

  AUX + INF

  but never  MOD + PART

Infinitive is acquired before past participle
acquisitional path

- expected according test design
  AUX-PART replaced by MOD-INF but not the reverse:
  expected: omdat hij voor heeft gelezen
            because he has read
  BUT uttered:
  omdat hij voor wil lezen (Frederique 4;5)
  because he wants read
## Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>MOD-INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>age 3</strong>&lt;br&gt; categorical (n=0)</td>
<td>categorical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>age 5</strong>&lt;br&gt; variable (n=7)</td>
<td>categorical</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=> converging towards community pattern

**Perfect:**
- **at age 3**: overgeneralization 1-2 order
  - is the categorical order in the MOD-INF cluster
  - is acquired earlier
Analysis

Claudia 3;5:
ADJ AUX
beetje *moe* was adjective left of finite verb
a bit tired was

if the participal in the Perfect is more an adjectival element, the verb has to undergo raising, resulting in a 2-1 order
Analysis

Developmental stages:
1) child starts out with categorical 1-2 order which is the community order for the MOD-INF cluster
2) child has to acquire participle morphology for the perfective tense
3) the moment the child acquires participle morphology, she is able to raise the verb in the cluster resulting in 2-1 order at the age of 5 (more adjectival reading)
4) variable order in Perfective cluster emerges as in community / adult interaction
Doubling?: regional varieties of Dutch

• Cases of compound tenses featuring an additional, participial HAVE
• two verbal participles?
The perfect in (eastern varieties of) Dutch

a) Ik heb de broek gescheurd gehad.
   I have the trousers torn had
   ‘My trousers were torn’

b) Ik heb de handen gewassen gehad.
   I have the hands washed had
   ‘My hands were washed’

• doubling?: syntactic element (word, morpheme, morphosyntactic feature) is expressed two or more times, including agreement and concord
perfect doubling

• syntactic doubling is only apparent
  – dative inalienable possession construction
  – copular *zijn* ‘to be’
  – semicopular *hebben* ‘to have’ and *krijgen* ‘to get’
Dative inalienable possession construction

*SD a) Hea hat **zich de heng** gewesche.
   he has refl. the hands washed
   'He washed his hands.'

SD b) Hij heeft **zijn** handen gewassen
   he has his hands washed
   'He washed his hands.'
Dative *inalienable* possession construction


De *handen bevriezen* Jan\textsubscript{dat.}/hem\textsubscript{dat.}.

the hands freeze Jan/him

‘Jan's/His hands are freezing.’
Dative inalienable possession construction
Dative alienable possession construction

*standard Dutch but *ok* in the dialects of Limburg

Hij het **zich** **et** **hemd** gewasse.
He has refl. the shirt washed
'He washed his shirt.'
Dative alienable possession construction
Dative alienable possession construction

* in the dialects of Limburg and regional Dutch

*Hij het de heng gewasse.
He has the hands washed
'He washed his hands.’
Copular-construction with a possessive dative

*SD  a. De buik is me<sub>dat</sub>. vies.
    the stomach is me dirty
    'My stomach is dirty.'

*SD  b. Hem<sub>dat</sub>. zijn de haren grijs.
    him are the hairs grey
    'His hair is grey.'

The copular verb <i>zijn</i> 'be' is able to assign dative case to the possessor (Broekhuis & Cornips 1994/2012)
Copular-construction with a possessive dative

SD a. Mijn buik is vies.
    My stomach is dirty
    'My stomach is dirty.'

SD b. Mijn haren zijn grijs.
    My hairs are grey
    ‘My hair is grey.’
Hebben ‘have’ and krijgen ‘to get’ expressing inalienable possession

a. Ik heb/krijg de buik vies.
   I have/got the stomach dirty
   ‘My stomach is dirty.’

b. Hij heeft/krijgt de haren grijs.
   he has/gets the hair grey
   ‘His hair is grey.’

• The semicopulas hebben 'have' and krijgen 'get' cannot assign dative case to the possessor which must therefore receive nominative case
• The possessive dative shows up as the surface subject (Broekhuis&Cornips 1994/2012).
de pd-constructie
(synthese)

gekozen
0 x---
1 x○
2 x○
3 x□
4 x●
5 x●

(zie 541)

C. van Bree
1

de band lek-constructie
(synthese)

gekozen
0 x: --
1 x: O
2 x: D
3 x: D
4 x: O
5 x: O

(zie 5.3)

C. van Bree
(Un)dative constructions

• The copular verb *zijn* 'be' is able to assign dative case to the possessor:
  De buik is *me*<sub>dat.</sub> vies.
  the stomach is me dirty

• the semicopulas *hebben* 'have' and *krijgen* 'get' cannot assign dative case to the possessor which must therefore receive nominative case (Broekhuis and Cornips 1994)

  *Ik*<sub>i</sub> heb/krijg de buik<sub>i</sub> vies.
  I have/got the stomach dirty
  ‘My stomach is dirty.’
Ambiguities

*standard Dutch*

Zijn fiets is gestolen.

his bicycle is stolen

Passive construction: ‘His bike has been stolen.’

[\textit{is} = \text{passive auxiliary, verbal reading}]

Semi-copular construction: ‘His bike is stolen.’

[\textit{is} = \text{copular, state reading}]
Ambiguities

Dutch

a. passive participle:
   Zijn fiets is *vanmorgen* (door Peter) gestolen.
   his bicycle is *this.morning* by Peter stolen
   ‘His bicycle has been stolen (by Peter) yesterday.’

b. copular construction:
   Zijn fiets is *sinds gisteren* (*door Peter) gestolen.
   his bicycle is *since yesterday* by Peter stolen
   ‘His bicycle is stolen since yesterday.’
Distinguishing perfect and semi-copular constructions

**Dutch**

1-2

dat zijn fiets *vanmorgen /*sinds gisteren* is gestolen.
that his bicycle this.morning/since yesterday is stolen
‘that his bicycle has been stolen yesterday.’

• the participle cannot occur postverbally when the
  adverbial phrase is *sinds gisteren*, which is a hallmark
  for adjectival (non-verbal) status.
Distinguishing perfect and semi-copular constructions

regional varieties of Dutch

Hij *heeft* de fiets *gestolen*.
he has the bicycle stolen

Perfect construction: ‘He has stolen the bike.’
Semi-copular construction: ‘His bike was stolen.’
Distinguishing perfect and semi-copular constructions

*regional varieties of Dutch*

a. Hij heeft de fiets *gestolen gehad*.
   he has the bike stolen had

b. Hij heeft de fiets *vies gehad*.
   he has the bike dirty had

Semi-copular Construction: ‘His bike was dirty/stolen’
Duinhoven (1985)

a. Jan heeft\_cop [\_\_\_SCde brief geschreven\_A]
   Jan has the letter written
   denoting a stative property

\Rightarrow

b. Jan heeft\_aux [\_\_\_SCde brief geschreven\_v]
   Jan has the letter written
   denoting a completed dynamic eventuality
Tense in Dutch (Broekhuis 2015, Syntax of Dutch, Verbs and Verbs phrases, Vol I)

• In regional varieties of Dutch having a productive semi-copular *hebben* ‘to have’ construction, the ambiguity between denoting a stative property and a completed dynamic eventuality still exist.

• Subject needs to be semantically licensed, probably a possessor as in regional varieties

\[
c. \text{Jan}_{\text{poss}} \text{ heeft}_{\text{aux}} [_{SC}\text{de brief geschreven}_A] \\
\text{Jan has the letter written}
\]
Conclusion (1)

- Diachronically, the use of adjectival past participles in predicative position led to a verbal interpretation.
- Children acquire perfect tense later than modal + infinitive. In Heerlen, they acquire the 1-2 order before 2-1.
- Thus, the order in which the participle is unambiguously an adjectival participle (2-1 order) is acquired later than the 1-2 order.
Conclusion (2)

• In regional varieties of Dutch having a productive semi-copular *hebben* ‘to have’ construction, the ambiguity between denoting a stative property and a completed dynamic eventuality still exist.

• Thus, participle construction in regional Dutch varieties is only superficial a doubling structure: the perfect construction is ambiguous with a semi-copular construction in which *hebben* ‘have’ cannot assign dative case to the possessor which must therefore receive nominative case