

Have-doubling constructions in historical and modern Dutch

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Have-doubling constructions closely resemble periphrastic perfect tense constructions but have an additional, seemingly superfluous form of the verb *have*. Whilst these constructions are only found in a small number of modern Dutch dialects, they appear much more broadly in historical varieties of Dutch. In this article, I present new data from a corpus study of *have*-doubling constructions in Early Modern Dutch (ca. 1500-1700) which reveals both similarities and an important difference with the modern dialectal phenomenon. I argue that there are two structurally distinct types of *have*-doubling in this older period: one which contains a canonical adjective (i.e. with one internal argument) and one with a non-canonical adjective with a *vP* layer (Koeneman et al. 2011). I further show that this sheds new light on the observed link between doubling constructions and the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses, with implications for the nature of this syntactic development.

Keywords: *have*-doubling, periphrastic perfect tenses, participles, syntactic change, Dutch

1. Introduction

This article focuses on *have*-doubling constructions in Dutch, like those in (1).

- (1) a. *Ik heb dat gezegd gehad* (Transitive)
I have that said.PTCP had.PTCP
'I have said that'
- b. *Zij heeft gerookt gehad* (Unergative)
She has smoked.PTCP had.PTCP
'She has smoked' (Barbiers et al. 2008a: 40)

Have-doubling constructions contain two forms of the verb *hebben* ‘have’ (henceforth: *have*) and the lexical past participle of either a transitive, (1a), or an unergative verb, (1b). In present-day Dutch, these constructions are restricted to a small set of south-eastern dialects (Barbiers et al. 2008a: 40; Koeneman et al. 2011: 39) and are absent from modern Standard Dutch.¹ However, *have*-doubling constructions are found much more broadly in historical varieties of Dutch from Late Middle Dutch (ca. 1350–1500) onwards. This makes this construction of great interest from a diachronic perspective. Accordingly, this article addresses the question:

- (2) What determines the availability of *have*-doubling in historical and modern varieties of Dutch?

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews Koeneman et al.’s (2011) analysis of *have*-doubling in modern Dutch dialects. Section 3 presents a new corpus study of these constructions in Early Modern Dutch (ca. 1500–1700). Sections 4 and 5 examine the link between doubling constructions and the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses. Section 6 presents the conclusion.

2. Koeneman et al. (2011)

2.1 Structural analysis

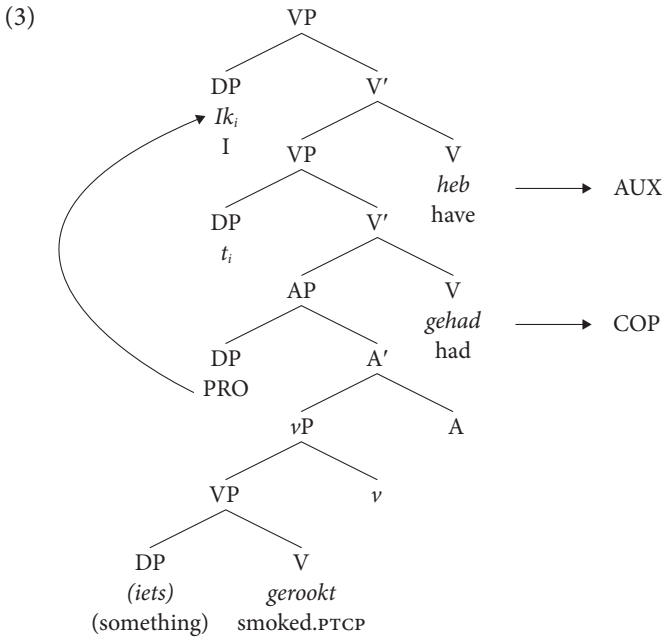
Koeneman et al. (2011) propose that *have*-doubling constructions in modern Dutch dialects should be analysed as in (3).²

1. This article is not concerned with so-called *undative constructions* (Broekhuis and Cornips 1994) which include *have*-doubling instances like (a), repeated from Koeneman et al. (2011: 42).

- (a) *Ik heb het haar geverfd gehad.*
 I have the hair dyed.PTCP had.PTCP
 ‘My hair has been dyed’

Despite their parallel surface structure, undative constructions like (a) have distinct properties from both *have*-doubling variants argued for in this article (cf. Section 3.3 and 3.4). The primary contrast is that undative constructions obligatorily express possession (Broekhuis et al. 1994: 8).

2. The structure in (3) have been simplified for ease of explanation in the restricted space. In particular, *have* is not represented as a spell-out of a complex *be* with an incorporated preposition (Koeneman et al. 2011: 52). That partially indicates the close link the authors propose between *have*- and *be*-doubling and may account for the apparent auxiliary selection in the constructions (cf. Section 2.2).



Two important features of (3) are as follows. Firstly, *have*-doubling constructions are argued to contain two functionally distinct forms of *have*: an auxiliary *have* and a copular *have*. These two forms of *have* are distinguished by the nature of the complements they select: the auxiliary *have* selects a verbal complement, namely the copular verb *have*, whereas this copular *have* selects an adjectival constituent which contains an embedded lexical participle. Secondly, the adjectival constituent in (3) is a non-canonical adjective given that it has both an internal and an external argument. Structurally, this means that a *vP* layer is present, as *v* is needed to assign an external theta-role (Koenenman et al. 2011: 54). In contrast, canonical adjectives, including participles used adjectivally, typically have only an internal argument and no external argument and thus lack a *vP* layer.

The evidence that the lexical participle is part of an adjectival constituent is that it displays a word order restriction in subordinate clauses. Consider (4).

- (4) ... *dat ik de fiets*
that I the bicycle
- a. *gestolen gehad heb*
stolen.PTCP had.PTCP have
- b. *gestolen heb gehad*
stolen.PTCP have had.PTCP
- c. **heb gestolen gehad*
have stolen.PTCP had.PTCP

- d. **heb gehad gestolen*
 have had.PTCP stolen.PTCP
 ‘... that I have stolen the bicycle’ (Koeneman et al. 2011: 44)

(4a) and (4b) show that the lexical participle *gestolen* ‘stolen’ may precede the two verbal elements but may not follow one, (4c), or both of them, (4d). In the relevant dialects, the same word order restriction holds of adjectival constituents but not of verbal constituents. An adjectival element must precede verbal elements. However, a verbal participle is allowed to follow all the other verbal elements. This is illustrated in (5) in which the verbal participle *gemaakt* ‘made’ follows the two other verbal elements.

- (5) ... *dat hij de fiets voor drie uur moet hebben gemaakt*
 that he the bike before three o'clock must have.INF made.PTCP
 ‘...that he should have repaired the bike before three o'clock’
 (Barbiers, Koeneman and Lekakou 2008b: 13)

The evidence proposed for the presence of a ν P layer in the adjectival constituent concerns the thematic status of the syntactic subject, namely that it is interpreted as an agent in *have*-doubling constructions (Koeneman et al. 2011: 43, 57). This strongly suggests that ν is present in the adjectival constituent, as it is required to assign the external theta-role associated with the participle. Note that in (3), the adjectival head inherits this external theta-role and assigns it to a covert subject in its specifier (Koeneman et al. 2011: 49), which is linked through a control relation with the matrix subject. Another argument for the presence of a ν P layer is that both transitive and unergative participles can occur in *have*-doubling constructions. As unergative verbs have only an external theta-role and no internal theta-role, a ν must be present to assign the theta-role to their external argument.

2.2 (Un)availability of *have*-doubling

Koeneman et al. (2011: 52) propose that *have*-doubling is available in certain Dutch dialects because those dialects allow the adjectival head (A) to select any participle, whereas A in modern Standard Dutch is restricted in which participles it can select. This correctly predicts the availability of *have*-doubling in doubling dialects, as it means that A can select a participle with a ν P layer, as in (3). By making A the locus of variation, Koeneman et al.’s (2011) proposal makes clear empirical predictions which are not restricted to the verb *have* but necessarily apply to any verb which can take A as its complement. Aside from *have*, the copular verb *zijn* ‘be’ (henceforth: *be*) can also take an adjectival complement, i.e. a complement headed by A. Accordingly, *have*-doubling dialects, hypothesized

to have this less restricted A which can combine with any participle, should also allow *be* to combine with any participle. Crucially, this predicts that all dialects with *have*-doubling should also allow *be*-doubling constructions like (6).

- (6) ... *dat hij is gevallen geweest*
 that he is fallen.PTCP been.PTCP
 ‘...that he has fallen’ (Barbiers et al. 2008a: 40)

Parallel to *have*-doubling constructions, *be*-doubling constructions like (6) contain two forms of the verb *be*, together with an unaccusative participle, rather than a transitive or unergative participle.³ I assume the structural representation for *be*-doubling constructions proposed by Koeneman et al. (2011: 50) in (7). Echoing (3), (7) contains distinct copular and auxiliary forms of *be*.

- (7) [VP Hij_i [VP t_i [AP t_i gevallen_v] geweest_v] is_v]
 ↓ ↓
 COP AUX

However, the prediction that *have*- and *be*-doubling constructions should always co-occur is not fully borne out in modern Dutch dialects. According to Barbiers et al. (2008a: 40), only 12 modern Dutch dialects have *be*-doubling constructions whilst at least 22 have *have*-doubling.⁴ In other words, presuming that these differences cannot be entirely attributed to methodological issues (cf. Barbiers et al. 2008b: 12), it seems that attributing variation to A makes too strong a prediction. The correct empirical observation that needs to be accounted for is not that *have*- and *be*-doubling *must* co-occur but rather that they often do co-occur. I return to this observation in Section 4, after considering the properties of *have*-doubling in Early Modern Dutch.

3. *Have*-doubling in Early Modern Dutch

Whilst Duinhoven (1997: 346–348) discusses *have*-doubling constructions in Late Middle Dutch, little attention has been given to the phenomenon in Early Modern Dutch. Accordingly, a search was conducted of a corpus of 1,600,000 words from the sixteenth century writer D. V. Coornhert (1522–1590) who was

3. See also Footnote (2).

4. It must be stressed that Koeneman et al.’s (2011) study is based on additional, extensive fieldwork compared with that of Barbiers et al. (2008a). However, Koeneman et al. (2011: 66, Footnote 23) also find that *have*- and *be*-doubling do not always co-occur with each other albeit not providing precise statistics for the comparative distribution of the two constructions.

born and spent most of his life in the county of Holland (Bonger 1978: 13–17), where *have*-doubling is not found in modern Dutch. This search yielded 120 *have*-doubling constructions. In Sections 3.1 to 3.3, I examine whether this set of constructions show the same properties seen in modern dialects. This leads me to argue that *have*-doubling constructions had two different structures in this period (Section 3.4).

3.1 Word order

Before examining the word order of constructions in the corpus, it is important to address whether adjectival and verbal constituents obeyed the same word order restrictions in Early Modern Dutch as in modern Dutch. Firstly, whilst more elements could appear after the verbal complex in subordinate clauses in historical varieties of Dutch (van der Horst 2008: 779–781), we can assume that adjectival constituents largely appeared only before the verbal complex in sixteenth century Dutch. Burrige (1993: 83) finds an average of only 8% of elements in the combined category “nominal/adjectival complements” appear after the verbal complex in subordinate clauses in the period 1500–1600.⁵ Secondly, we can also retain our assumption about the distinct word order of verbal constituents. In this period, a verbal participle could follow other verbal elements, as shown by the position of *ghehadt* ‘had’ in (8) from Coornhert (cf. (5)).

- (8) ... *ende welcke wille den voorgang soude moghen hebben ghehadt*
 and which wish the preference should be.able have.INF had.PTCP
 ‘...and which wish might have taken preference’ (VPVE.cclxxjr)⁶

Having addressed these necessary preliminaries, an analysis was conducted of the 100 subordinate clauses in the corpus. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that the lexical participle precedes the verbal elements in the vast majority of constructions in the corpus (92/100), i.e. the 312, 321 and 4123 clusters.⁷ This follows the pattern found in modern Dutch dialects and is the

5. Average calculated from relevant figures (see Burrige 1993: 83, Table 4). As an anonymous reviewer rightly stresses, we cannot draw definitive conclusions on the (im)possibility of certain structures based on corpus data. Nevertheless, the fact that this 8% also includes nominal complements, many of which are likely to have been “linguistic fossils” (Burrige 1993: 90) means this figure provides firm support for the assumption made here.

6. Each primary text is abbreviated according to the initial letters in the first four words of its title, as provided in the references.

7. Compare also the 20 *have*-doubling constructions in main clauses: the lexical participle also precedes the other elements.

Table 1. Cluster types found in subordinate clauses

Cluster	Example	Occurrences
312	't <i>quaet dat God ... veroorsaect₃ heeft₁</i> the evil that God caused.PTCP has <i>gehad₂</i> had.PTCP	74 (74%) (VDTE.534v)
321	... <i>al vele gaven ontfangen₃ gehad₂</i> already many gifts received.PTCP had.PTCP <i>hebbende₁ ...</i> have.PTCP	1 (1%) (VPVE.cxcvv)
132	<i>dat Godt sulck benijden... niet en heeft₁ voorsien₃</i> that God such envy not NEG has foreseen.PTCP <i>gehad₂</i> had.PTCP	8 (8%) (VDTE.531v)
4123	... <i>dat Christus ... zijn cracht verspreyt₄ soude₁ hebben₂</i> that Christ his power spread.PTCP should have.INF <i>ghehad₃</i> had.PTCP	17 (17%) (WAVZ.264v)

behaviour expected if the lexical participle is adjectival rather than verbal. Orders in which the lexical participle follows all the verbal elements, the position reserved for a verbal participle (cf. (5)/(8)), are not attested. Nevertheless, the lexical participle does follow one of the verbal elements in a minority of examples (8/100), i.e. 132 clusters. Following Barbiers and Bennis (2010: 37–39), I argue that this order is a result of adjectival clause interruption, namely when an adjective appears within a verbal complex. Independent evidence in support of this is provided by examples in Coornhert's work of canonical adjectives like *heerlijck* 'glorious' in (9) appearing between two verbs.

- (9) ... *ende dat God selfs sigh also wil heerlijck maken ...*
and that God self her thus wants glorious make.INF
'...and that God himself wants to make her glorious like that...'
(VOOT.ccccxv)

In summary, all lexical participles in the corpus are adjectival rather than verbal.

3.2 Transitivity

Following the pattern seen in modern Dutch dialects, both transitive (147/167; 88%) and unergative participles (12/167; 7%) appear in doubling constructions in the corpus. In addition, there is a small number of ditransitive participles (8/167; 5%) which have not been previously attested in these constructions in Dutch.

Here, I presume indirect objects are introduced by an empty preposition (Den Dikken 2012) and that this class of verbs can thus be analysed like transitives. Note that the number of lexical participles (167) was higher than that of constructions (120) as some constructions contained two or more co-ordinated participles.

3.3 Thematic status of the syntactic subject

Whilst it is of course not possible to perform definitive syntactic tests, the context surrounding examples can give a clear indication of the thematic status of the syntactic subject. Accordingly, I distinguish two types of syntactic subjects in the corpus.

In the first group, the syntactic subject should be interpreted as an agent. One such instance is shown in (10).

- (10) ... *dat Godt Adam ghedreyght hadde ghehadt metten eeuwighen*
 that God Adam threatened.PTCP had had.PTCP with.the eternal.DAT
Doodt...
 death
 ‘...that God had threatened Adam with eternal death...’ (OEMV.89v)

The context surrounding the example in (10) is God’s threat of death to Adam if he should eat fruit from the forbidden tree. It is clear from this context, that the syntactic subject, *Godt* ‘God’, personally issued the threat to Adam and should thus be interpreted as the agent of the lexical participle *ghedreyght* ‘threatened’.

In the second group of examples, the syntactic subject should be interpreted as a metaphorical recipient, namely an individual who is causally but not actively implicated in the denoted event. This directly follows Broekhuis’ (2017: 15) analysis of the syntactic subject in *have*-copular constructions and corroborates Duinhoven’s (1997: 347) intuitions about the syntactic subjects in *have*-doubling constructions in Late Middle Dutch. Consider (11).

- (11) ... *dat God selve... dat volbrachte ende uytgevoert heeft ghehadt*
 that God self that completed and carried.out.PTCP has had.PTCP
 ‘...that God himself has carried out that [killing of Christ]’ (VDTE.534v)

The context of (11) is a discussion about God’s culpability in the killing of Christ. The intended meaning appears not to be that the syntactic subject, *God* ‘God’, was actively implicated in Christ’s killing, by personally carrying it out, but that he inspired other individuals to do so and was thus causally implicated.⁸ As such,

8. This interpretation of (11) is confirmed by examination of the wider passage in which it occurs, and the theological debate it concerns (Coornhert 1630b: 534r–534v). Examples like

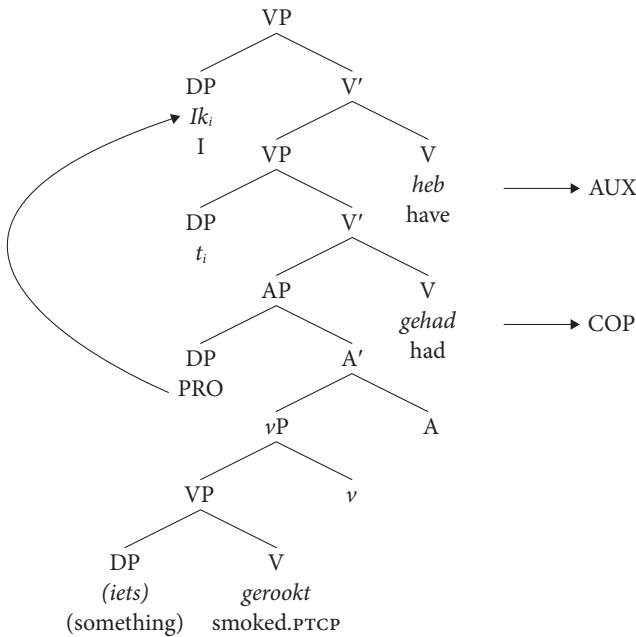
the syntactic subject is a recipient rather than an agent. Importantly, this recipient interpretation is only possible in constructions with a transitive lexical participle.

Accordingly, the syntactic subjects contrast with those in modern Dutch dialects which are always agents and never recipients (Koeneman et al. 2011: 43).

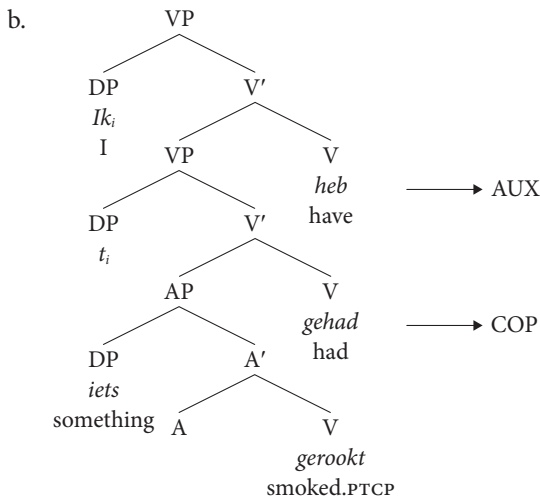
3.4 Theoretical implication: Two kinds of *have*-doubling

The empirical evidence presented in Sections 3.1 to 3.3 has revealed two important similarities between *have*-doubling constructions in Early Modern Dutch and those in modern Dutch dialects: the lexical participles pattern with adjectival constituents in their word order and can also be from either a transitive or unergative verb. However, there is one important difference with constructions in modern Dutch dialects, namely that the syntactic subject is not always an agent but can also be a recipient. Accordingly, I propose that two structural analyses are required for *have*-doubling constructions in Early Modern Dutch. These are shown in (12).

(12) a.



(11) seem to be identical to causative *have*-doubling structures in modern English. Further research should address whether historical Dutch also distinguished between stative and eventive causative *have* structures and had an experiential *have* construction. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for highlighting the English parallels.



Koeneman et al.'s (2011) structure in (12a) contains a non-canonical adjective and accounts for *have*-doubling constructions in Early Modern Dutch which have an agentive syntactic subject, including all those with unergative participles. In contrast, the structure in (12b) (cf. Broekhuis 2017: 15, Example (24b)) contains a canonical adjective and accounts for a subset of the doubling constructions with a transitive participle, namely those with a recipient subject. Unlike in (12a), the adjectival constituent in (12b) does not have a ν P layer so the participle's external theta-role is not assigned. Instead, the DP argument in [Spec, AP] must obligatorily be assigned an internal theta-role by the embedded participle. Only transitive but not unergative participles are able to satisfy this requirement, as only the former have an internal theta-role. The different interpretation of the syntactic subjects in (12a) and (12b) is explained as follows. In both (12a) and (12b), the matrix subject is assigned a theta-role by *have* but only the participle in (12a) also assigns its external theta-role, i.e. to the covert argument in [Spec, AP]. This establishes a control relation with the matrix subject, resulting in the syntactic subject's agentive interpretation in (12a). In (12b), the participle does not assign its external theta-role and no control relation is established, so the syntactic subject is interpreted as a recipient according to the theta-role it is assigned by *have*.⁹

In the next section, I examine the implications this theoretical finding has for the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses.

9. Note that many syntactic proposals for participles (e.g. Kratzer 1994) feature an adjective with a bare VP complement, as in (12b). It is more unusual for an adjective to select an active ν P complement, as in (12a); the reader is directed to Koeneman et al. (2011: 56–57) for this observation and arguments for the rejection of an alternative proposal.

4. Link to the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses

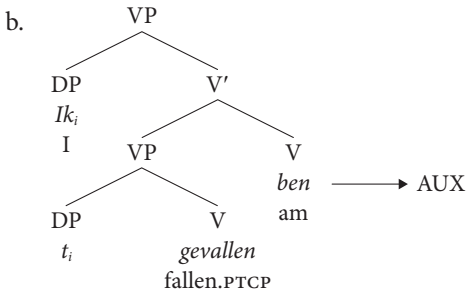
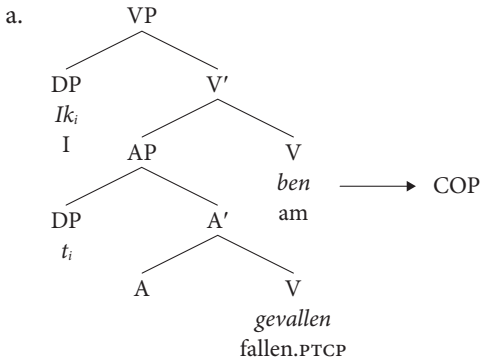
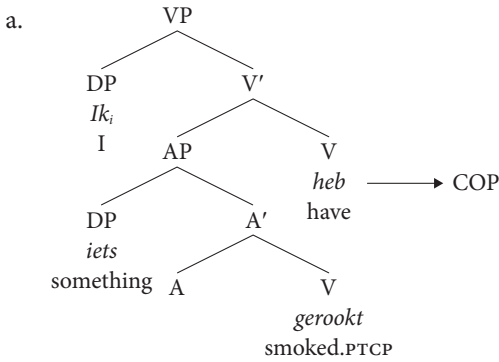
Duinhoven (1997: 348) and Broekhuis (2017: 20–21) argue that the emergence of *have*-doubling constructions in historical varieties of Dutch is linked to the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses. Aside from the obvious surface similarity in the two constructions, their emergence also dates to approximately the same period (cf. van der Horst 2008: 196–198; Broekhuis 2017: 20).

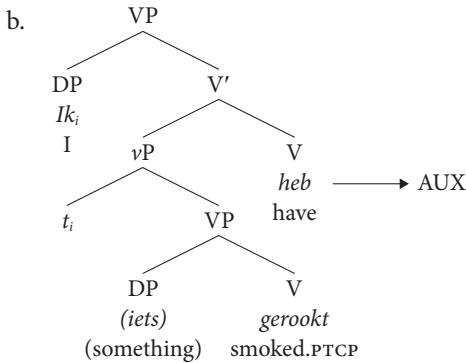
In Dutch, the perfect tenses are formed from a verbal past participle and an auxiliary selected according to the participle's transitivity. This is illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *Ik ben gevallen* (Unaccusative)
 I am fallen.PTCP
 'I have fallen'
- b. *Ik heb het boek gekocht* (Transitive)
 I have the book bought.PTCP
 'I have bought the book'
- c. *Ik heb geslapen* (Unergative)
 I have slept.PTCP
 'I have slept'

The rise of the perfect tenses was gradual (Kern 1912: 32), as has also been observed of syntactic change more broadly (Kroch 2000: 719). Relevant for this context, *be* + unaccusative and *have* + transitive constructions like (13a) and (13b) appeared before *have* + unergative constructions like (13c). An account of the rise of the perfect tenses should capture both its gradual nature and its link with the emergence of doubling constructions.

Kern (1912: 1–33) argues that the perfect tense constructions in (13) arose from three related processes. Firstly, he argues that the *be* + unaccusative construction resulted from the reanalysis of a *be*-copular construction with an adjectival participle predicated of the subject of the clause and the *have* + transitive construction resulted from the reanalysis of a *have*-copular construction with an adjectival participle predicated of the object of the clause. In other words, the adjectival participles in both these copular constructions were canonical adjectives with one internal argument. I illustrate the reanalyses below.

(14) *Reanalysis of be-copular construction: (a) → (b)*(15) *Reanalysis of have-copular construction: (a) → (b)*



Secondly, Kern argues that the *have* + unergative construction resulted from analogy to the *have* + transitive construction. It is necessary to assume a distinct process of analogy rather than one of reanalysis if we take the copular construction in (15a) to be the only *have*-copular construction. This is because (15a) contains a canonical adjective and thus requires the participle to have an internal argument which unergatives lack (cf. Section 3.4).

An issue with Kern's model is that it only partially explains the link between the rise of the perfect tense and the emergence of *have*-doubling. Specifically, this model only accounts for one of the two types of *have*-doubling constructions identified in Section 3. These are repeated in (16).

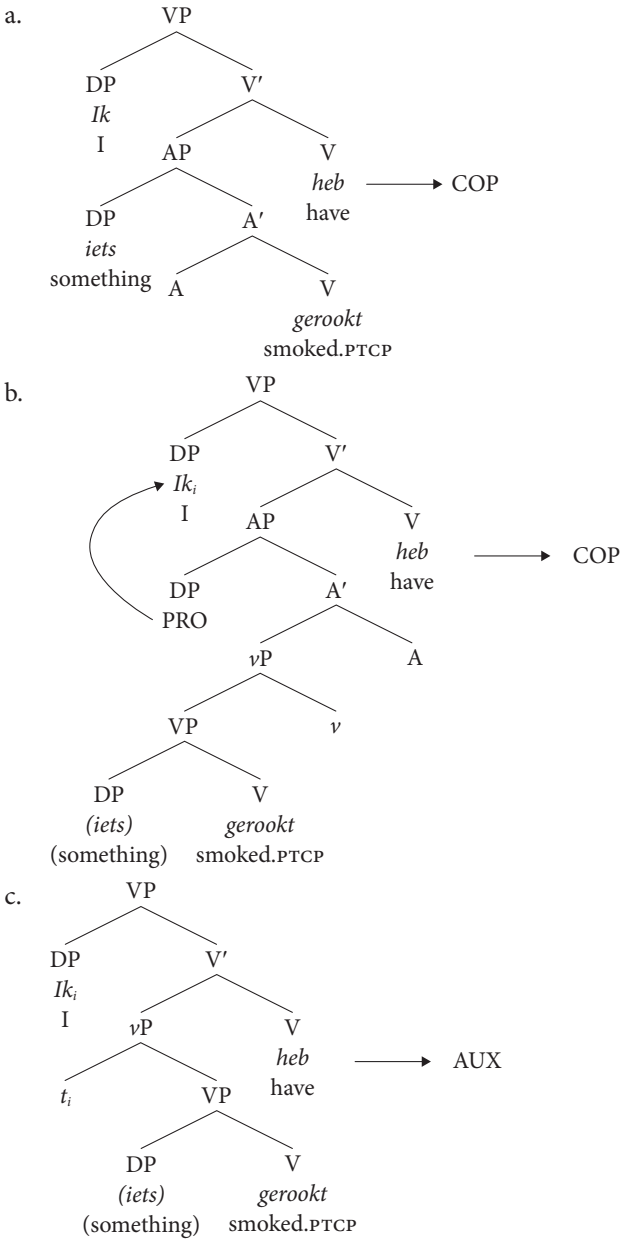
- (16) a. *Non-canonical adjective doubling construction*
 $[_{VP} Ik_i heb_V [_{VP} t_i [_{V'} [_{AP} PRO [_{A'} [_{vP} [_{VP} (iets) gerookt_V] v] A]]]]]]$
 b. *Canonical adjective doubling construction*
 $[_{VP} Ik_i heb_V [_{VP} t_i [_{V'} [_{AP} iets [_{AP} A gerookt_V]]]]]]$

Kern's account easily explains the occurrences of the (16b)-construction: it is the present perfect of the copular construction in (15a). Thus, the link between the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses and the availability of (16b) would be that it is possible when both (15a) and (15b) are available simultaneously. However, Kern's account does not explain the availability of the (16a)-construction because this requires a *have*-copular construction containing a non-canonical adjective as its base, which simply does not exist in Kern's model. Accordingly, Kern's account does not capture the link between the rise of the perfect tenses and the emergence of *have*-doubling constructions in its entirety.

I propose these facts can be easily captured with the adapted model in (17) which involves two reanalyses.

(17) Proposed model of development of *have*-periphrastic perfect tenses:

(a) → (b) → (c)



Note that the start and end points of this model are the same as those in Kern's model: the start point in (17a) is a *have*-copular construction containing a canonical

adjective, whilst the end point in (17c) is a present perfect tense construction with a verbal participle selected by an auxiliary *have*. The innovation I propose is an intermediate stage, namely (17b), which involves a *have*-copular construction with a non-canonical adjective, i.e. an adjective with a *vP* layer.

This model has multiple advantages. First of all, it fully captures the link between the rise of the perfect tenses and the emergence of *have*-doubling constructions. As the intermediate construction in (17b) involves a non-canonical adjective, it allows participles with an external argument, including unergatives. As such, whenever the copular construction in (17b) and the periphrastic perfect tense construction in (17c) co-occur in a language variety, the (16a) doubling construction is possible. The empirical observations discussed in Sections 2 and 3 are now explained. Early Modern Dutch still had both the constructions in (17a) and (17b) so could allow both types of *have*-doubling in (16). However, the modern Dutch dialects have only retained the structure in (17b) so only allow the non-canonical adjective doubling construction, (16a). The loss of the (17a)-structure is a natural consequence of the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses: as (17c) rises in salience the older constructions in (17a) and (17b) decrease in salience and are eventually lost.

Further, the proposed model in (17) obviates the recourse to analogy by encompassing constructions with unergatives and thereby captures the gradual nature of the rise of the *have*-perfect tenses. This is because the reanalysis steps in (17) involve minimal structural changes. The first reanalysis step between (17a) and (17b) essentially comprises only the addition of a *vP* layer, whilst the principal difference between (17b) and (17c) is the absence of an AP layer in (17c).¹⁰ In contrast, the reanalysis for the *have* + transitive construction in Kern's model, (15), would need to involve a much more drastic change, i.e. an immediate categorial shift from an adjectival constituent with only an internal argument to a verbal constituent with both an external and an internal argument. However, the same measure of gradualness captured by (17) in fact already underlies Kern's analysis of the development of the *be*-perfect tenses in (14). Kern's one step reanalysis in (14) involves a shift which is categorial but nonetheless minimal, like the reanalysis steps in (17). This is because an unaccusative verbal participle like *gevallen* 'fallen' in (14b) only requires an internal argument like the canonical adjectival participle in (14a). Hence, Kern's (14) should be paired with (17) rather than his (15).

10. These minimal structural changes are of course accompanied by necessary but equally minimal structural reconfigurations.

5. Link between *have-* and *be-*doubling

Moreover, the proposed pairing of (14) and (17) captures the empirical observation made in Section 2.2, namely that *have-* and *be-*doubling constructions often co-occur but need not co-occur. Specifically, I argue that this is because the connection between *be-* and *have-*doubling constructions is an indirect one. *Have-* and *be-*doubling constructions are indirectly linked in the sense that the availability of both constructions is linked to the rise of the perfect tenses. As such, just as *have-*doubling results from the co-existence of either of the copular constructions in (17a/b) and the perfect tense construction in (17c), the availability of *be-*doubling results from the co-existence of the copular *be-*construction in (14a) and the perfect tense construction in (14b). On the one hand, the proposed trajectories for the rise of the *be-* and *have-*perfect tenses are distinct which explains why *have-* and *be-*doubling constructions do not always co-occur in modern dialectal varieties. On the other hand, syntactic constructions rarely change in isolation. In other words, whilst the rise of the *have-* and *be-*perfect tenses involve distinct trajectories, we expect these changes to be conditioned by the same broader linguistic factors in the relevant language. Accordingly, this predicts that *have-* and *be-*doubling constructions may often co-occur but need not co-occur.¹¹

6. Conclusion

In this article, I examined the properties and availability of *have-*doubling constructions in modern and historical varieties of Dutch. Based on new empirical evidence, I argued that two distinct *have-*copular structures are required to account for the phenomenon in Early Modern Dutch, namely one selecting a canonical adjective and the other selecting a non-canonical adjective (cf. Koeman et al. 2011). Furthermore, I argued that the link between the emergence of doubling constructions and the rise of the periphrastic perfect tenses is explained by an adapted model of the development of the *have-*perfect tenses which successfully captures broader aspects of this syntactic change.

11. There is also a significant geographical overlap between Dutch dialects with *have-/be-*doubling and those with three-part perfect passives like (b) (cf. Barbiers et al. 2008a: 40, 41).

(b) *Het huis is verkocht geworden.*

The house is sold.PTCP became.PTCP

'The house has been sold'

(repeated from Barbiers et al. 2008a: 41)

Forms like (b) are also found in historical varieties of Dutch (van der Wal 1986: 194–201), suggesting a further correlation which should be examined in future research.

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