

Jan-Wouter Zwart

Some notes on the origin and distribution of the IPP-effect

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1. Introduction

(1) *Past participle morphology (Dutch)*

a. lk heb ge-werk-t
I have GE-work-D
'I have worked.'

b. lk ben ge-kom-en
I am GE-come-N
'I have come.'

c. *Ablaut*

lk heb ge-zong-en (< zingen)
I have GE-sing_{ABL-N}
'I have sung.'

d. *suppletion*

lk ben ge-wees-t (< zijn)
I am GE-be_{SUPPL-N}
'I have gone.'

(2) *Infinitivus pro participio (IPP) (Dutch)*

a. * lk heb ge-wil-d werk-en
I have GE-want-D work-INF

b. lk heb **will-en** werk-en
I have want-INF work-INF
'I wanted to work.'

c. * lk heb hem ge-zie-n werk-en
I have him GE-see-N work-INF

d. lk heb hem **zie-n** werk-en
I have him see-INF work-INF
'I saw him work.'

e. * lk heb ge-staa-n werk-en
I have GE-stand-N work-INF

f. lk heb **staa-n** werk-en
I have stand-INF work-INF
'I was working for a while.'

(3) *IPP with suppletive form (Dutch)*

lk ben **wez-en** zwemm-en
I am be_{SUPPL-N}-INF swim-INF
'I went for a swim.'

2. Word order generalizations

(4) IPP requires: 1-2-3 auxiliary₁ → participle₂ → infinitive₃ (Dutch)

(5) No IPP with: 3-2-1 infinitive₃ ← participle₂ ← auxiliary₁ (Frisian, Stellingwerfs)

(6) *Stellingwerfs* (Bloemhoff 1977)

..dat Jan dat doe-n **kun-d** had (*kunn-en) (3-2-1)
that John thatdo-INF can-D had
'..that John could have done that.'

(7) But: cases of optional IPP with 3-2-1:

a. *Achterhoeks* (Blom & Hoekstra 1996)

..dat ik schriev-m {**will-n**, **e-wil-d**} had (3-2-1)
that I write-INF want-INF GE-want-D had
'..that I had wanted to write.'

- b. *Swabian* (Steil 1989), among other orders
 ..daß d Anna ons bsuach-a **well-a** had (3-2-1)
 that the Anna us visit-INF want-INF has
 ‘..that Anna wanted to visit us.’
- c. *Austrian Bavarian* (Wurmbrand 2004): 3-2-1 with IPP acceptable in judgment task
- (13) Optional IPP in other orders
- a. *Standard German* (Wurmbrand 2004)
 ..daß er es hat **lös-en** könn-en (1-3-2)
 that he it has solve-INF can-INF
 ‘..that he was able to solve it.’
- b. *West Flemish* (Haegeman 1994)
 ..da Valère nie nor us **will-en** kom-en eet (2-3-1)
 that Valery not to house want-INF come-INF has
 ‘..that Valery did not want to come home.’
- c. *Austrian Bavarian* (Patocka 1997)
 ..dama wås lean-a hettn **soi-n** (3-1-2)
 that we something learn-INF had shall-INF
 ‘..that we should have learned something.’
- (14) *New generalization*
 IPP in 2-3 clusters occurs without exception: 1-2-3 Dutch
 2-3-1 West Flemish
 2-1-3 does not occur

3. 2-3 without IPP

- (15) *Samatimeric* (Mileck 1997)
- a. iə hed si **g-se:ŋ** fuəd-fɔa-n ([1]-2-3)
 you:PL have them GE-see-N away-go-INF
 ‘You saw them drive off.’
- b. ɛə hɔd **k-holf-n** ʊmgrɔ:m ([1]-2-3)
 he has GE-help_{ABL}-N dig:INF
 ‘He helped shovel.’
- (16) *Luxemburgisch* (Bruch 1973)
- a. Hoffentlich huet keen dech **ge-si** go-en ([1]-2-3)
 hopefully has noone you GE-see go-INF
 ‘Hopefully noone saw you leave.’
- b. Echhun dat **ge-spier-t** komm-en ([1]-2-3)
 I have that GE-see-D come-INF
 ‘I saw that coming.’
- (17) *Austrian Bavarian* (Patocka 1997)
- a. bin i aa dei **gång** fråg-n ([1]-2-3)
 am I also DEM GE:go_{SUPPL}:Nask-INF
 ‘So I went and asked them too.’
- b. nächdem hât des Gårn **miaß-t** g-wäsch-n wead-n ([1]-2-4-3)
 afterwards has the net must-D GE-wash-N become-INF
 ‘Afterwards the net must be washed.’

- (18) *Siberian Mennonite Plautdiitsch* (Jedig 1969)
- a. äm kunt^a haud-st **kun-t** ne:m^e ([1]-2-3)
 the Walachian had-2SG can-D take:INF
 'You could have taken the Walachian [a horse].'
- b. däi ha:ft **j^e-spi^e-t** äm prodaväts ko:m^e ([1]-2-3)
 DEMhas GE-see-D the merchant come:INF
 'He saw the merchant come.'
- (19) *Zimbrian* (Schweitzer 1939)
- a. de pruoder dahuame henn-en nixt **ga-sex-t** kxenn-j ([1]-2-3)
 the brothers at.home have-him not GE-see-D come-INF
 'The brothers at home did not see him come.'
- b. alora inj hêrre hêt-ar **ga-wou-t** fanġ-an wänte ([1]-2-3)
 then the man has-he GE-want-D take-INFrocks
 'Then the man wanted to pick up rocks.'
- (20) *Afrikaans* (Du P. Scholtz 1963)
- ..dat ek **ge-kom** werk het (2-3-1)
 that I GE-come work:INF have
- (21) Yiddish, Middle High German, Middle Dutch
- (22) *Factors involved*
- a. status of the V3 infinitive
- b. status of the *ge*-prefix

4. Status of the V3 infinitive

- (23) V3 infinitive must be final (*d.n.a.* to Afrikaans, Zimbrian, Yiddish)

- a. *Luxemburgish* (Bruch 1973)
- ob-s de hollänesch **ge-léier-t** hues schwätz-en (2-1-3)
 whether-2SG you Dutch GE-learn-D have speak-INF
 'whether you learned to speak Dutch.'
- b. *Zurich Swiss German* (Lötscher 1978)
- ..wil er en **ghöör-t** hät choo (2-1-3)
 because he him hear-D has come:INF
 '..because he heard him come.'

[Note: Zurich Swiss German has IPP with [1]-2-3, but Lötscher notes that there is a tendency for participles to appear where infinitives are expected, suggesting another case of 2-3 without IPP]

- (24) temporal auxiliary follows the participle in embedded clauses

Siberian Mennonite Plautdiitsch (Jedig 1969)

van mo^a de mut^a niç j^e-štorv^e ve:^a (2-1)
 if only the mother not GE-die:N were
 'If only mother hadn't died.'

- (25) competition with IPP-variant

- a. *Siberian Mennonite Plautdiitsch* (Jedig 1969)
- ji: haud **t'e:n^e** hä:v^e ([1]-2-3)
 you:PL had can:INF mow:INF
 'You could have mown.'

b. *Samatimeric* (Mileck 1997) ([1]-3-2)
 iə hed si fuəd-fɔa-n **sɛ:ŋ**
 you:PL have them away-go-INF see-INF
 'You saw them drive off.'

c. *Luxemburgish* (Bruch 1973) (1-2-3)
 wa keen dech hätt **héier-e** komm-en
 when noone you hadhear-INF come-INF
 '..when noone would have heard you come.'

d. *Austrian Bavarian* (Patocka 1997) (1-3-2)
 wiar i mit knecht unddian håun åabat-n **miass-n**
 how I with servant andmaid have work-INF must-INF
 'how I had to work with servants and maids.'

e. *Zurich Swiss German* (Lötscher 1978) (2-3-1)
 ..wil er en **ghöör-e** choo hät
 because he him hear-INF come:INF has
 '..because he heard him come.'

(26) V3 infinitive may be 'satzwertig' (extraposed)

a. *Samatimeric* (Mileck 1997) ([1]-2-3)
 miə hɔm si **k-sɛ:ŋ** [mid iən kind ha:m gɛ:]
 we have her GE-see-N with her child home go:INF
 'We saw her go home with her child.'

b. *Siberian Mennonite Plautdiitsch* (Jedig 1969) ([1]-2-3)
 dāi ha:ft **j^ə-spi:t** [äm prodaväts ko:m^e]
 DEMhas GE-see-D the merchant come:INF
 'He saw the merchant come.'

(27) *reminiscent of the 'third construction'*

a. *Dutch* (2-1-3)
 ..dat hij het **ge-probeer-d** heeft [te lez-en]
 that he it GE-try-D has to read-INF
 '..that he tried to read it.'

b. *Frisian* (Reuland 1990) (2-1-3)
 ..dat er my dat boek **ferbea-n** hat [te lêz-en]
 that he me that book forbid-N has to read-INF
 '..that he forbid me to read that book.'

(28) *Hypothesis*

- a. 2 = IPP [1 - 2 - 3] (order irrelevant)
- b. 2 = participle [1 - 2] 3 (order irrelevant within [cluster])

(29) 3-2 orders without IPP: intraposition

a. *Austrian Bavarian* (Patocka 1997) (3-1-2)
 wänn-st iawand såg-n hå-st **g-hea-t**
 when-2SG someone say-INF have-2SG GE-hear-D
 'when you heard someone say'

- b. *Samatimeric* (Mileck 1997) ([1]-3-2)
 ɛa hɔd mi kɔm-a **g-sɛ:ŋ**
 he has me come-INF GE-see-N
 'He saw me come.'
- c. *Samatimeric* (Mileck 1997) ([1]-3-2)
 du hɔsdra kox-n **k-holf-n**
 you have.her cook-INF GE-help_{ABL-N}
 'You helped her cook.'
- d. *Luxemburgish* (Bruch 1973) (3-1-2)
 deen de leit moral priedig-en as **gaang**
 REL the people ethics preach-INF is ge:go_{SUPPL}
 'who has gone preach ethics to the people'
- e. *Luxemburgish* (Bruch 1973) (3-1-2)
 deen de leit moral priedig-e **gaang** as
 REL the people ethics preach-INF ge:go_{SUPPL} is
 'who has gone preach ethics to the people'
- f. *Siberian Mennonite Plautdiitsch* (Jedig 1969) ([1]-3-2)
 ät' ha: äm ho:n sjri:-^e **j^e-hi^e-d**
 I have the cock crow-INF GE-hear-D
 'I heard the cock crow.'

(30) 2 = participle 3 [1 - 2] (order within cluster irrelevant) (cf. (28))

(31) The IPP-effect occurs whenever a participle takes an infinitive in its complement domain (i.e. the infinitive is not 'extraposed').

- (32) a. [V1 [V2 [V3]]] IPP
 b. [[V1 [V2]] & [V3]] participle

5. Status of *ge*

(33) *History of ge* (Van Swaay 1899, Van Dijk 1998)

- a. preverb meaning FULL, COMPLETE →
 b. telicity inducing particle →
 c. perfective marker →

(34) But not a perfective marker in all varieties

- a. *Zimbrian* (Schweitzer 1939)
 un hat-en funt-at nôu~ in de tave'rn g'-er hat ga-trinkx-et
 andhas-him find-D still in the tavern where-he has GE-drink-D
 'and he found him still in the tavern where he *was drinking*'
- b. *Afrikaans* (De Vos 2002)
 stadig het die nachte 'n speciale soort puurheid ge-kry
 slowly have the nights a special kind purity GE-get
 'slowly the nights *were achieving* a special kind of purity'

(35) *Hypothesis*
 IPP occurs only where *ge* is a pure perfective marker
 (i.e. not where *ge* is absent [Frisian] or where it has a different status [Afrikaans, Zimbrian, Yiddish])

6. Aspectual properties of 3-verb clusters

(36) *Atelic*

- a. Ik heb het boek ge-lez-en b. Ik heb het boek lat-en lez-en
 I have the book GE-read-N I have the book let-INF read-INF
 'I read the book.'
 [book is finished] 'I let (sc. them) read the book.'
 [book is not finished, possibly not even read]
- c. Ik hebde film ge-zie-n d. Ik heb de film zien op nem-en
 I have the movie GE-see-N I have the movie see-INF up take-INF
 'I saw the movie.'
 [the whole movie] 'I saw (sc. them) shoot the movie.'
 [some segment of the shooting process]

(37) *Resultative particle impossible*

- a. Ik heb mijn fout ge-zie-n b. Ik heb mijn fout in ge-zie-n
 I have my mistake GE-see-N I have my mistake in GE-see-N
 'I saw my mistake.'
 'I realized my mistake.'
- c. Ik heb het plan (*in) zie-n mislukk-en
 I have the plan in see-INF fail-INF
 'I saw the plan fail.' / '*I realized that the plan had failed.'

(38) *Modals: projected polarity transition, incompatible with resultative*

- a. Hij stierf b. Hij wilde / zou / kon / mocht / moest sterv-en
 he died he wanted / would / could / might / had to die-INF
- c. Hij is ge-storv-en (# maar hij leeft nog)
 he is GE-die-N but he lives still
 'He died, he is dead (but he is still alive).' [contradictory]
- d. Hij heeft will-en / kunn-en / mog-en / moet-en sterv-en (maar hij leeft nog)
 he has want-INF / can-INF / may-INF / must-INF die-INF but he lives still
 'He wanted / could / was allowed / had (to) die (but he is still alive).' [not contradictory]

(39) *Instability of relation auxiliary—modal* (Hoekstra 1997, chapter 3)

- a. Hij hadzull-en sterv-en b. Hij zou ge-storv-en zijn
 he hadshall-INF die-INF he shall:PAST GE-die-N be:INF
 'He would have died, was supposed to die.'
 'He would have died.'

(40) *Postural verb incompatible with telicity*

- a. Hij zit te viss-en b. Hij heeft zitt-en viss-en
 he sits to fish-INF he has sit-INF fish-INF
 'He is fishing, he is angling.'
 'He has been fishing, angling.'
- c. Hij heeft de vijver leeg ge-vis-t (# maar er zijn er nog genoeg over)
 he has the pond empty GE-fish-D but there's plenty left
 'He fished all the fish out of the pond.' [telic]
- d. Hij heeft de vijver leeg zitt-en viss-en (maar er zijn er nog genoeg over)
 he has the pond empty sit-INF fish-INF but there's plenty left
 'He has been busy fishing all the fish out of the pond.' [atelic]

(41) *Accomplishment vs. past activity*

- a. Hij is wez-en zwemm-en b. Hij is zwemm-en
 he is be_{SUPPL}-INF swim-INF he is swim-INF
 'He has been out for a swim.'
 'He is out for a swim.'

- c. Hij is tien minuten wez-en zwemm-en
 he is ten minutes be_{SUPPL}-INF swim-INF
 'He has been out for a swim *for ten minutes*.'
- d. * Hij is in tien minuten wez-en zwemm-en
 he is in ten minutes be_{SUPPL}-INF swim-INF
 (*intended reading*) 'He was back from his swim *in ten minutes*.'

(42) *IPP incompatible with resultative*

- a. Hij heeft **ge-holp-en** allochtonen te ler-en fiets-en
 he has GE-help-N foreigners to learn-INF bike-INF
 'He helped foreigners to learn how to ride a bike.'
- b. Hij heeft allochtonen **help-en**ler-en fiets-en
 he has foreigners help-INFlearn-INF bike-INF
 'He helped foreigners to learn how to ride a bike.'
- c. Hij heeft { tien minuten, *in tien minuten } ge-studeer-d
 he has ten minutes in ten minutes GE-study-D
 'He studies { for / *in } ten minutes.'
- d. Hij heeft zich{ in tien minuten, *tien minuten } rijk ge-studeer-d
 he has REFL in ten minutes ten minutes rich GE-study-D
 'He studied himself to a fortune { in / *for } ten minutes.'
- e. ? Hij heeft zich rijk **ge-holp-en** allochtonen te ler-en fiets-en
 he has REFL rich GE-help-N foreigners to learn-INF bike-INF
 'He made a fortune helping foreigners to learn how to ride a bike.'
- f. * Hij heeft zich rijk allochtonen **help-en**ler-en fiets-en
 he has REFL rich foreigners help-INFlearn-INF bike-INF
- g. ? Hij heeft zich suf **ge-probeer-d** eenvriendin te vind-en
 he has REFL drowsy GE-try-D a girlfriend to find-INF
 'He tried to the very end to find a girlfriend.'
- h. * Hij heeft zich suf **prober-en** eenvriendin te vinden
 he has REFL drowsy try-INF a girlfriend to find-INF

- (43) Conclusion: ! the V2 participle in 3-verb clusters would not have triggered application of perfective *ge*
 ! IPP results not from suppression of *ge* but from failure to add *ge*

7. The historic development

(44) *Side by side*

- a. auxiliary + *ge*-marked participle
 b. auxiliary + *ge*-less participle + infinitive
 c. modal + infinitive + infinitive

- (45) Result: analogical pressure to assimilate the *ge*-less participle to the infinitive (cf. Paul 1920: 129)

(46) *In between forms*

- a. *West Flemish* (De Schutter 1974)
 Hij is **wees-t** viss-en
 he is be_{SUPPL}-D fish-INF
 'He has been out fishing.'
- b. *Zeeuws* (De Schutter 1974)
 Hij is **wees-t-en** viss-en
 he is be_{SUPPL}-D-INF fish-INF
 'He has been out fishing.'

- Altenburgisch* (Weise 1900)
- b. ..dass ihm kein Menschwas hat **konn-t** an-hab-en (1-2-3)
 that him no man something has can-D on-have-INF
 ‘..that noone could do anything to him.’
- c. wenn man das hätte **konn-t** wiss-en (1-2-3)
 when one that had can-D know-INF
 ‘If one only could have known that.’
- d. *Dillingen (Saar)* (Labouvie 1938)
 Er hat nicht **möch-t-en** komm-en
 he has not may-D-INF come-INF
 ‘He was not allowed to come.’
- e. *Early Middle Dutch* (Heersche 1991)
 ..of hi also also recht es hem heuet **dae-n** sinn-en
 whether he thus like just is him has do_{SUPPL}-N excuse-INF
 ‘..whether he thus rightly let himself be absolved.’

(47) *Interference Frisian* (Wolf 1996)

- a. rinn-en sjoe-n → b. sjoe-n rinn-en → c. sje-n rinn-en
 run-INF see_{ABL}-N see_{ABL}-N run-INF see-INF run-INF

8. 2-3 as a unit for spell-out

(48) *let*

- a. laten stikken b. laten zitten
 let suffocate let sit
 ‘abandon, leave to one’s own devices’ ‘give up, forget about’
- c. laten vallen
 let fall
 ‘drop, cease to pursue’ ‘abandon, withdraw support’

(49) *see*

- a. iemand zien zitten b. iemand niet zien staan
 someone see sit someone not see stand
 ‘appreciate someone’ ‘ignore someone, fail to respect someone’

(50) *noncompositionality*

- a. Hij heeft mij lat-en stikk-en b. # Ik benge-stik-t
 he has me let-INF suffocate-INF I am GE-suffocate-D
 ‘He abandoned me.’ ‘I suffocated’
 (not ‘I was abandoned’)
- c. Hij heeft mij nooit zie-n zitt-en
 he has me never see-INF sit-INF
 ‘He never liked me.’
- d. # Ik heb nooit ge-zet-en volgens hem
 I have never GE-sit-N according.to him
 ‘I never sat, according to him.’
 (not ‘He never liked me.’)

(51) *fronting*

- a. Ik heb hem niet zie-n zwemm-en
 I have him not see-INF swim-INF
 ‘I did not see him swim.’

- b. * Zwemm-en heb ik hem niet zie-n / ge-zie-n
 swim-INF have I him not see-INF GE-see-N
- c. Zie-n zwemm-en heb ik hem niet
 see-INF swim-INF have I him not
 'I did not see him swim.'

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