

## Word order variation in verb clusters with receptive *krijgen* 'to get' + past participle in Dutch

One of the best-studied cases of grammatical variation in present-day Dutch is the word order alternation in two-part verb clusters consisting of an auxiliary and a past participle (PP). In such verb clusters, both orders of PP and auxiliary are fine, as illustrated in (1). A number of multifactorial corpus-based studies has shown that this alternation is determined by a large number of both language internal and external factors (e.g. De Sutter 2005, 2007; Bloem, Versloot & Weerman 2014, 2017). However, all of these studies have focussed exclusively on clusters with the auxiliaries *hebben* 'to have', *zijn* 'to be' and *worden* 'to be/become'.

- (1) dat hij gisteren een liedje [gezongen heeft / heeft gezongen]  
that he yesterday a song [sung has / has sung]  
'that he sang a song yesterday'

While verb clusters with 'receptive' or 'semi-passive' *krijgen* 'to get' + a PP show the same variation in present-day Dutch, as illustrated in (2), these have never been investigated before, barring a preliminary study by Coleman & Rens (2016). This might be due to the fact that the receptive construction – and thus also the word order variation it exhibits in verb clusters – is fairly young: earlier corpus studies date its emergence around 1900 (cf. Van Leeuwen 2006, Landsbergen 2009, Coleman 2015). However, in this short period of time, the receptive construction has adopted an increasing preference for the order with the auxiliary first (Coleman & Rens 2016). This can be seen as evidence for the auxiliarization of the receptive construction, since constructions with an adjective or adjectival PP normally only allow for the order with the adjective/PP first (cf. (3)).

- (2) dat hij het boek [overhandigd kreeg / kreeg overhandigd]  
that he the book [handed got / got handend]  
'that he was handed the book'
- (3) dat de winkel al drie dagen [gesloten is / \* is gesloten]  
that the store already three days [closed is / is closed]  
'that the store has been closed for three days already'

This paper presents the results from a corpus-based investigation of this word order variation in verb clusters with receptive *krijgen* 'to get'. We collected data from a diachronic corpus of Dutch newspaper texts for four different periods in the 20<sup>th</sup> en 21<sup>st</sup> century. A mixed-effects logistic regression analysis shows (i) that the variation in *krijgen*-clusters is driven by largely the same language-internal factors as the variation in clusters with *hebben* etc., and (ii) that, in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there has been a significant increase in the relative frequency of the "auxiliarised" *krijgen* + PP order.

From a Construction Grammar perspective, the latter finding is interesting with a view to the position of the receptive *krijgen*-construction in the constructional network: its increasing preference for the auxiliarised order points to the construction loosening its ties with its non-auxiliarised source constructions and developing stronger connections with the older auxiliary constructions with *hebben*, *zijn* and *worden*.

## References

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