

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	xi
List of abbreviations.....	xv

Chapter 1

1.0	Introduction	1
1.1	The present study	2
1.1.1	Research questions	2
1.1.2	Syntactic framework.....	3
1.1.3	Data collection	5
1.2	Chapter outline	8

Chapter 2

2.0	Introduction	11
2.1	The Dutch / Frisian language situation	12
2.2	Language contact.....	15
2.2.1	Borrowing, imposition and change	15
2.2.2	Where do we find change?.....	16
2.3	Syntactic change	18
2.4	Parameters.....	23
2.4.1	Types of parameters	23
2.4.2	Parameter sizes	27
2.5	Towards a hypothesis.....	30

Chapter 3

3.0	Introduction.....	35
3.1	The nominal infinitive.....	39

3.1.0	Introduction	39
3.1.1	A mixed structure	42
3.1.2	Nominal contexts for the [ən]-infinitive.....	46
3.1.2.1	The determiner context	46
3.1.2.2	The bare context	48
3.1.2.3	<i>To</i> -infinitives and prepositions.....	50
3.1.2.4	Complement of verbs.....	53
3.1.2.5	Interim summary.....	56
3.1.3	Independent evidence for [ən] as an n ⁰	56
3.1.4	Lowering of [ən]	57
3.1.5	Possible problems and alternative analyses.....	60
3.1.6	The nominal infinitive in Dutch.....	62
3.1.6.1	Evidence for [ə] as an n ⁰	65
3.1.6.2	Alternative analyses.....	67
3.1.7	The parametric difference	70
3.2	The verbal infinitive	71
3.2.0	Introduction.....	71
3.2.1	The structure of the verbal infinitive.....	72
3.2.2	Verbal contexts for the [ə]-infinitive.....	74
3.2.2.1	Modal verbs.....	74
3.2.2.2	<i>Litte</i> ("let").....	75
3.2.2.3	Bare in argument position	76
3.2.2.4	Topicalization.....	78
3.2.2.5	Purposive adjunct	78
3.2.3	The verbal infinitive in Dutch.....	80
3.2.4	Alternative analyses	82
3.2.5	The parametric difference	84
3.3	Changes in Frisian infinitives	85

3.3.0	Introduction.....	85
3.3.1	The items.....	86
3.3.2	Results.....	89
3.3.2.1	General results.....	89
3.3.2.2	Individual patterns.....	93
3.3.2.3	Discussion.....	97
3.3.3	Influence from Dutch.....	99
3.4	Conclusion.....	101

Chapter 4

4.0	Introduction.....	103
4.1	Frisian noun incorporation.....	106
4.1.0	Introduction.....	106
4.1.1	Incorporation of a classifier.....	110
4.1.1.1	The linking suffix.....	111
4.1.1.2	The lack of a NumP.....	114
4.1.1.3	Incorporation of mass nouns.....	115
4.1.2	Head movement.....	116
4.1.3	A Move parameter.....	121
4.1.4	Challenges for this analysis.....	123
4.1.5	Alternative analyses.....	125
4.1.5.1	Dyk (1997).....	126
4.1.5.2	Basilico (2016).....	128
4.1.5.2	Root-root compounds.....	129
4.1.6	Interim summary.....	130
4.2	Dutch pseudo-noun incorporation.....	130
4.2.0	Introduction.....	130
4.2.1	Phrasal movement and the size of the argument.....	133

4.2.2	A Move parameter.....	138
4.2.3	Alternative analyses.....	139
4.3	A note on verbs like <i>pianospelen</i> (“piano-play”).....	142
4.4	The parametric difference.....	144
4.5	Changes in Frisian noun incorporation.....	146
4.5.1	Introduction.....	146
4.5.2	The items.....	146
4.5.3	Results.....	149
4.5.3.1	General results.....	149
4.5.3.2	Individual results.....	152
4.5.3.3	Discussion.....	155
4.5.4	Influence from Dutch.....	156
4.6	Conclusion.....	157

Chapter 5

5.0	Introduction.....	159
5.1	The semantics of the absentive.....	162
5.1.1	The semantics of the Dutch and Frisian absentive.....	162
5.1.2	Crosslinguistic variation.....	166
5.2	Silent GO in the absentive.....	168
5.2.0	Introduction.....	168
5.2.1	The structure of the Frisian absentive.....	168
5.2.2	The structure of the Dutch absentive.....	172
5.2.3	Arguments for a silent GO.....	173
5.2.4	Variation between the Dutch and Frisian absentive.....	176
5.2.4.1	A <i>te</i> -infinitive vs. a bare infinitive.....	176
5.2.4.2	Other verbs in the absentive.....	177
5.2.4.3	The passive absentive.....	179

5.2.4.4	Direct objects in the absentive	182
5.2.6	Challenges for this analysis.....	186
5.3	The parametric difference	189
5.4	Alternative analyses	191
5.4.0	Introduction	191
5.4.1	The absentive as a principle B effect.....	192
5.4.2	The absentive as an AWAY-predicate.....	194
5.5	Changes in the Frisian absentive	198
5.5.0	Introduction	198
5.5.1	The items	199
5.5.2	Results	204
5.5.2.1	General results.....	204
5.5.2.2	The parametric change.....	209
5.5.2.3	Individual patterns.....	210
5.5.2.4	Discussion.....	213
5.5.3	Influence from Dutch	215
5.6	Conclusion	216

Chapter 6

6.1	Summary.....	219
6.1.1	Chapter 2: Language contact and change	220
6.1.2	Chapter 3: Infinitival suffixes.....	221
6.1.3	Chapter 4: Noun incorporation	223
6.1.4	Chapter 5: The absentive.....	225
6.2	Language variation and change.....	228
6.3	Additional data.....	231
6.3.1	The phenomena	232
6.3.2	Verb second in embedded clauses.....	232

6.3.3	Complementizer agreement.....	233
6.3.4	Complementizer after relative pronoun	234
6.3.5	Preposition stranding	234
6.3.6	The Imperativus-Pro-Infinitivo (IPI) construction	235
6.3.7	The verbs <i>gean</i> & <i>bliuwe</i>	236
6.3.8	Some concluding remarks.....	238
6.4	Suggestions for further research.....	238
	References.....	241
	Appendix.....	251
	Samenvatting in het Nederlands.....	281
	Curriculum Vitae.....	293