

*Somebody that I used to know, or: How do habitual verbal heads emerge?*  
**The case of German *pfllegen* 'use(d) to'**

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*Introduction.* In this talk, we will examine emergence circumstances and the development of the habitual verbal head *pfllegen* (lit. 'maintain') 'use(d) to' in the history of German and show that *pfllegen* grammaticalized into a functional head in the transition from OHG (750-1050) to MHG (1050-1350). We will provide diachronic evidence showing that *pfllegen* in its habitual usage (i) emerged out of the pattern *pfllegen* + DP and (ii) requires a Hab operator restricting the domain of quantification.

*Phenomenon.* In Modern German (1900 - ) the predicate *pfllegen* can be used in two different ways. It can select either for DPs marked for the Accusative case (cf. [1]) or for infinitive complements headed by the infinitival marker *zu* 'to', as exemplified in [2]:

- [1] *Sie pfllegen* [DP *die Tradition* [*der* *Zunft*]]  
they maintain.3PL the tradition of.the craft  
'They cultivate the tradition of the craft.'  
(DeReKo, *Rhein-Zeitung*, 8/2/2013)

- [2] *Bilbaos Parks und Gärten sind nun so grün, weil* [INF *es in Spaniens*  
Bilbao's parks and gardens be.3PL now so green because it in Spain's  
*viertgrößter Stadt ausgiebig* \*(*zu*) *regnen pfllegt*]  
fourth.biggest city extensively to rain.INF use.3SG  
'Bilbao's parks and gardens are now so green because it has been raining extensively in the fourth largest city in Spain.' (DeReKo, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4/12/1999)

*Analysis.* To begin with, we will outline the basic properties of *pfllegen* used as a Hab-head in Modern German. In brief, we assume *pfllegen* to be a Hab-head merging in AspP between VP and CP, which requires a Hab operator binding the event variable and presupposing the plurality of events quantified over (cf. Boneh and Doron 2012). Contrary to Colomo (2011), we argue that a Gen operator cannot restrict the quantification domain of *pfllegen*. Arguments provided for this view come from: (i) different kinds of quantification of events, (ii) the (in)compatibility with punctual adverbial modifications, and (iii) scope relationships between Gen and Hab. Syntactically, we analyze *pfllegen* as a subject-to-subject raising predicate allowing embedding of weather predicates like *regnen* 'rain' (cf. [2]) and triggering an A-movement of the embedded subject into the matrix subject position. As the TP layer is supposed to be absent in German (cf. Haider 2009), we claim that the raised subject occupies [Spec-AspP] as its target. The structural high of AspP, in turn, imposes syntactic restrictions on dependent infinitives disallowing extraposition and, simultaneously, gives rise to restructuring effects, e. g. to the IPP-effect in older stages of German (cf. Hinterhölzl 2009). Diachronically, we shall illustrate that the pattern *pfllegen* + infinitive occurred already in early MHG and that its compositional meaning has remained unchanged until today. We can reanalyze the grammaticalization of *pfllegen* as follows

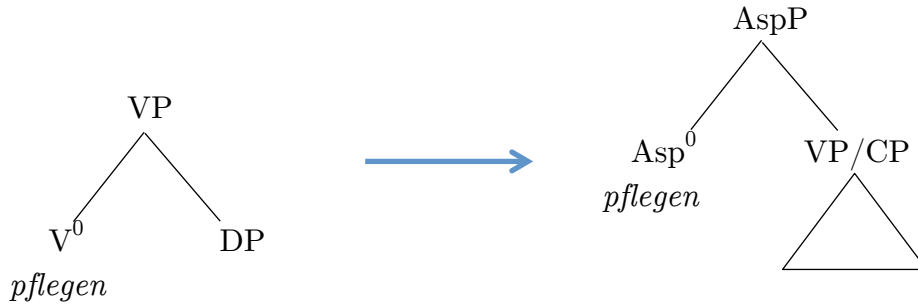


Figure 1: The grammaticalization of *pflegen*

and assume two different lexicon entries:

- a.  $pflegen + DP \rightarrow [[pflegen]] = \lambda x \lambda y [pflegen'(x,y)]$
- b.  $pflegen + infinitive = \Phi_{Hab} \rightarrow \lambda P \lambda s \lambda w [INIT (P,s,w) \ \& \ \mathbf{v}_w' \in MB_{\tau(s),w} \ \exists e [\tau(s) \subseteq \tau(e) \ \& \ ITER (P,e,w')]]$  (based on Boneh & Doron 2008, 2012)

When employed as a transitive lexical V-head, *pflegen* is a two-place predicate quantifying over a set of objects (cf. [1]). We will show that embedded DPs could be marked for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative case in older stages and that only Accusative prevailed. Having undergone a grammaticalization process, *pflegen* became one-place subject-to-subject raising predicate. Following the Late Merge Principle (merge as late as possible) proposed in van Gelderen (2004), *pflegen* merges higher in the structure, i. e. in AspP, extending its quantification domain to events. Here, we will illustrate that the propositional argument could be realized in two different ways: either as a consecutive clause headed by the complementizer *dass* 'that' and with a silent correlate *so* 'so' (= CP) or as an infinitive (= VP). With regard to the first strategy, we will show that finite *dass*-clauses disappeared from the use in late ENHG (1600-1700). As for the latter, we will outline how bare infinitives suppressed their counterparts headed by the infinitival marker *zu* 'to'. The following example with a bare infinitive from the 19th century illustrates that this process was completed first in the 20th century:

- [3] *Die Leitung solcher Arbeiten haben französische Genieoffiziere, wodurch*  
the leadership of.such works have.3PL French genius.officers by.what  
*dieselben weit rascher gefördert werden, als sonst dergleichen hier*  
the.same far quicker sponsor.PTCP PASS.AUX.INF than usually of.that.kind here  
[<sub>INF</sub> *geschehen pflegt*] (DeReKo, KHZ, *Mainzer Journal*, 13/10/1849)  
happen.INF use.3SG

'French genius officers are leading such works, whereby they are sponsored quicker than it usually happens.'

*Conclusion.* As it turns out, *pflegen*'s development provides new insights into how functional heads develop in general. It clearly demonstrates, contrary to what Traugott (1997) claims, that subject raising verbs embedding infinitives can emerge out of the pattern *predicate* + DP and that a control structure as a linking bridge is not required for this development at all.

Selected references: N. Boneh & E. Doron (2012): Hab and Gen in the expression of habituality, in: *Genericity* ed. by A. Mari, C. Beyssade & F. del Prete, 176-191. Oxford: OUP. H. Haider (2009): *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge: CUP.