



Om verbet *gide*

– fra middeldansk til 1800-tallet

Sune Gregersen, Københavns Universitet

Projektmøde, *Grammatik i 1800-tallet*
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UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN





Postmodality and the life cycles of modal expressions

2-3 Jun 2022 Caen (France)



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Postmodality and the life cycles of modal expressions

2-3 June 2022

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This conference focusses on the late stages in the evolution of modal items, namely the transition from modal to postmodal domain, demodalization, the internal structure of the postmodal category and the possible remodalization cycles.

Modality's semantic map 111

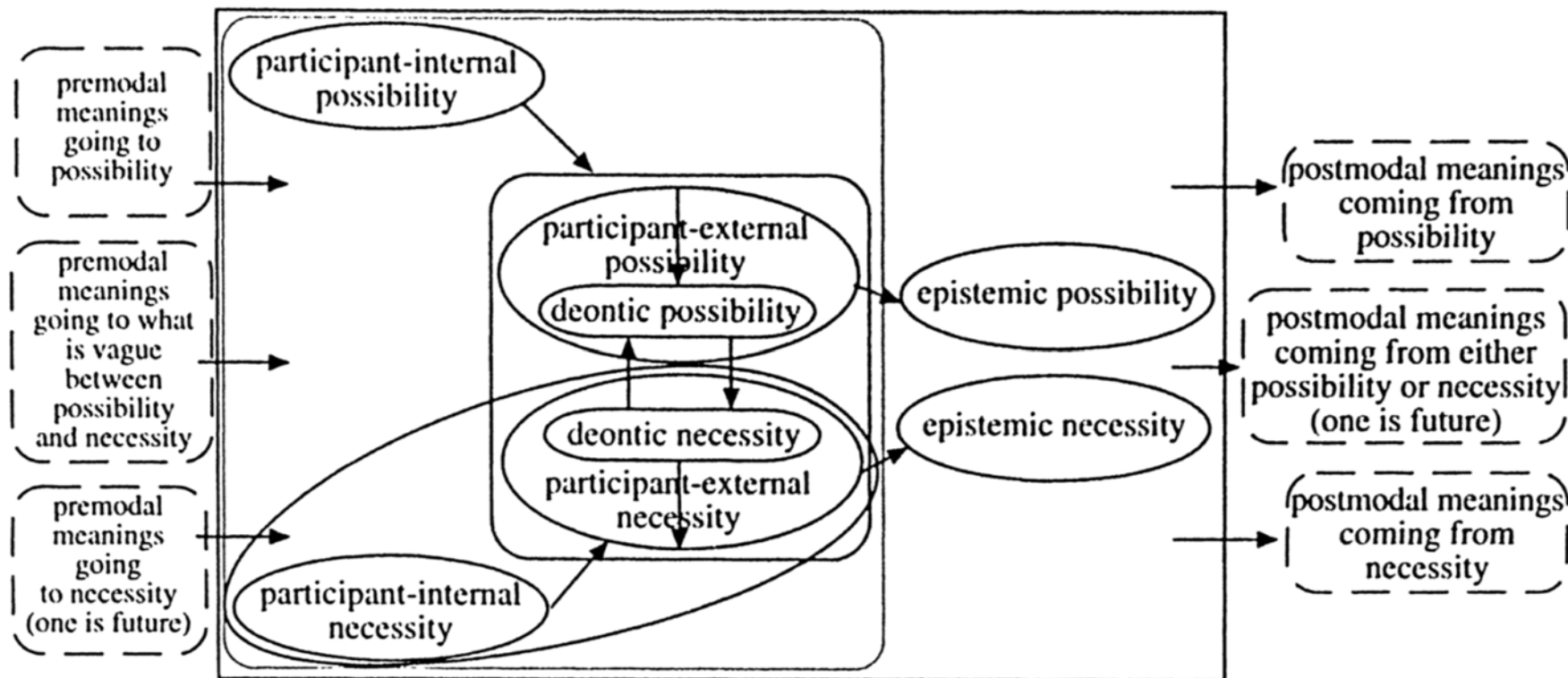


Figure 19. *Modality's semantic map*

van der Auwera &
Plungian (1998)

Outline

1. Background on *gide*
2. Corpus and analytical categories
3. Discussion of findings
- 4. *Bonus: Variation i 1800-tallet***
5. Conclusions

1. Background on *gide*

Present-day Danish *gide*

- Present-day Danish *gide* ['ki:ʁ] + INF expresses the preference or inclination of the subject referent ('feel like', 'bother to'):

(1) *Jeg **gider** ikke læse lingvistik i_dag.*

I GIDE.PRS not read.INF linguistics today

'I don't feel like studying linguistics today.' (Brandt 1999: 48)

Present-day Danish *gide*

- Present-day Danish *gide* ['ki:ʁ] + INF expresses the preference or inclination of the subject referent ('feel like', 'bother to'):

(2) *Egentlig er det da også beundringsværdigt, at nogen*
 in_fact is it after_all also admirable COMP someone

gider *prøve at skabe lidt harmoni i verden*
 GIDE.PRS try.INF to create.INF a_little harmony in world.DEF

'In fact it is also quite admirable that someone bothers to try to create a little harmony in the world.' (KorpusDK 1991)

Analysis of *gide*

- *gide* has been described in different ways.
- As modal:
 - Brandt (1999): "inclination", a subtype of dynamic modality
 - Boye (2002): "agonist-internal force" modality
 - Westergaard (2020): "volitive" modality

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 - Westergaard (2020): “volitive” modality
- As non-modal:
 - van der Auwera et al. (2009: 288): “non-modal – and postmodal – participant-internal” meaning
 - Vikner & Thráinsson (1995: 54): excluded on semantic grounds (no epistemic functions)
 - Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 765, 780, 1426–27): auxiliary, but not a modal

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 - Hansen & Heltoft (2011: 765, 780, 1426–27): auxiliary, but not a modal
- Of course dependent on definition of ‘modality’ (and ‘modal verb’)
 - Compare e.g. van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) and Narrog (2012)

gide 'feel like' ≠ *ville* 'want to'

- Note that the meaning of *gide* is distinct from that of *ville* 'want to':

(3) *Jeg ville gerne være præst, men jeg gad ikke*
 I want.PST gladly be.INF pastor but I GIDE.PST not
tage den uddannelse.
 take.INF that education

'I would like to become a pastor, but I couldn't be bothered to take that education [i.e. theology].' (BT.dk, article from 2002)

History of *gide*

- Earliest (inferred) meaning 'get'
 - Found in Old Icelandic cognate *geta* (ONP, s.v. ²*geta* vb.)
 - Preserved in English loanword *get* (OED, s.v. *get* v.)

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 - Preserved in English loanword *get* (OED, s.v. *get* v.)
- Middle Danish sources: *getæ/gitæ* + PTCP 'be able to':

(4) *Thæt dugh(æer) oc thæm th(æer) æi **gitæ** souæt*
 that benefits also them REL not GIDE.PRS.PL sleep.PTCP
 'This [i.e. poppy seeds] also benefits people who cannot sleep.'
 (tekstnet.dk, HarpS. 39^v, c. 1300)

Gide as an acquisitive modal

- According to van der Auwera et al. (2009), *gide* changed from 'get' to participant-internal possibility ('be able to') to inclination ('feel like')
 - "the extant literature [...] strongly suggests that its early possibility use was participant-internal. Here then it was a 'get' verb that never developed a participant-external possibility sense and later even dropped the participant-internal possibility sense, leaving only the non-modal – and postmodal – participant-internal sense" (van der Auwera et al. 2009: 288)

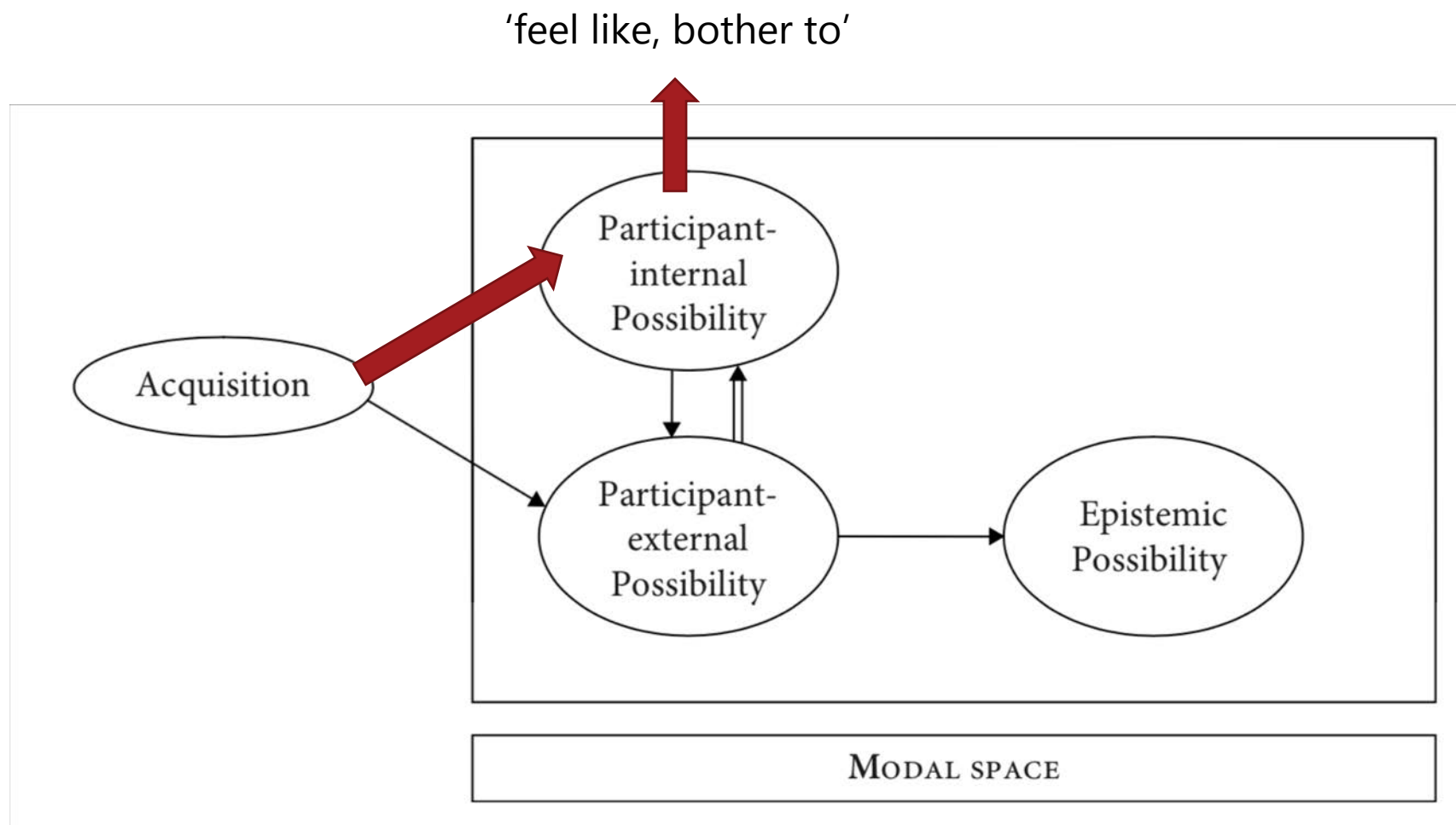
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- However, this is more a hypothesis than a conclusion, and as the authors note, "we need detailed historical work to answer the question about the direction of the development" (ibid.)
- Main question: **How did the present-day meaning of *gide* develop out of its earlier possibility meaning?**

Development of *gide* (initial hypothesis)



Based on Map 10 in
van der Auwera et al.
(2009: 293)

2. Corpus and analytical categories

Corpus and analysis

- Custom-made corpus from different sources, covering c. 1300–2000.
 - Major sources tekstnet.dk (c. 1300–1515), renæssancesprog.dk (c. 1515–1700), *Archive of Danish Literature* (ADL, c. 1700–), KorpusDK (c. 2000)
- Searched for possible spelling variants of *gide* and exported results to spreadsheets.

Corpus and analysis

- Caveat: *gide* is not a high-frequency item, so relatively few examples analyzed per period.
 - But enough to identify possible bridging contexts in the relevant period.

Time period	Years	Wordcount (appr.)	Examples
Early Middle Danish	c. 1300–1400	100,000	32
Late Middle Danish	c. 1400–1525	355,000	66
Early Modern Danish	c. 1525–1700	500,000 (+ Bible, 900,000 w.)	69
Late Modern Danish	c. 1700–1850	689,000	59
Recent Danish	c. 1850–2000	732,000 (+ KorpusDK)	56
			282

Annotation

- Annotated for various features, including clause type, tense, subject, negation, form and meaning of complement, meaning of *gide*, etc.
- Most important here:
 - MEANING OF *GIDE*: possibility (internal/external), preference, or ambiguous
 - FORM OF COMPLEMENT: infinitive, participle, or other (e.g. elliptical)

3	, strakte sig, med Skove og Marker, længer, end hun kunde øine. Der var saa meget hun	gad vide, men Søstrene vidste ikke at give Svar paa Alt, derfor spurgte hun den gamle Bedstemoder	andersen-eventyr	gad	PST	vide	INF	KNOW	SUB-REL	hun	–	–	PREF
4	egen Pose og arbeidede med de tomme Væve, og det til langt ud paa Natten. »Nu	gad jeg dog nok vide, hvor vidt de ere med Tøiet!« tænkte Keiseren, men han var ordenligt	andersen-eventyr	gad	PST	vide	INF	KNOW	DECL	jeg	–	dog nok	PREF
5	ud med Sproget. Hvad mon vel i det næste Aar vil skee? Hvad mærkeligt? Ja, jeg	gad gjerne see Min egen Skjæbne, Kunstens, Land og Riges, Men Bedstemoder vil, sligt skal ei siges.	andersen-eventyr	gad	PST	see	INF	SEE	DECL	jeg	–	gjerne	PREF

3. Discussion of findings

Semantic development

Time period	Years	POSS	AMBIG	PREF	TOTAL
Early Middle Danish	c. 1300–1400	32	–	–	32
Late Middle Danish	c. 1400–1525	66	–	–	66
Early Modern Danish	c. 1525–1700	42	12	15	69
Late Modern Danish	c. 1700–1850	2	3	54	59
Recent Danish	c. 1850–2000	–	–	56	56

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Change in 17th century

- Switch from possibility to preference in the period c. 1600–1700 (at least in Copenhagen)

(5) ***Gider*** *hand icke gaaet allene ...*
GIDE.PRS he not walk.PTCP alone

'If he [the sick man] is not able to walk on his own ...' (tekstnet.dk, *Henrick Smids Lægebog*, 1577)

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(6) *Ieg **gad** icke holdt samtale med hender*
 I GIDE.PST not hold.PTCP conversation with her

'I couldn't be bothered to converse with her' (renæssancesprog.dk, *Jammers Minde*, 1674)

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Også i svensk, dog muligvis allerede i 1500-tallet (SAOB, *gitta*, bet. 2 og 3)

Observation 1: context of change

- Participant-internal possibility (ability) due to current constitution or condition (e.g. stamina or appetite) – and always in the context of negation!

(7) *da satte det aff med sin appetit oc*
 then set.PST it off with REFL.POSS appetite and

gad *icke fortæret synderligt*
 GIDE.PST not consume.PTCP particularly

'... then it [a sick child] lost its appetite and could not [would not?] eat much' (Vonsild Parish Register, 1689)

Observation 2: 'contingent' ability

- Apparently *gide* never expressed 'general' participant-internal possibility – always ability CONTINGENT on some other factor (health, stamina, appetite...)

(8) *Øynene tyngis saa at hun nøye gider oplat dem*
 eyes.DEF weigh.PASS so COMP she hardly GIDE.PRS open.PTCP them

'The eyes become heavy so that she is hardly able to open them'
 (tekstnet.dk, *Henrick Smids Lægebog*, 1577)

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(9) ... *saa ilde tillpaß, at de gide iche siunget*
 so poorly constituted COMP they GIDE.PRS.PL not sing.PTCP

'[Parishioners who are] so ill at ease that they cannot sing' (tekstnet.dk, *Palladius' Visitatsbog*, 1543)

Icelandic *geta*

- Parallel in Icelandic cognate *geta* in (10), described as ‘temporary’ by Thráinsson & Vikner (1995: 85)?
 - But what about (11) from Thráinsson (2019: 629)?

(10) *Jón kann að synda en hann **getur** ekki synt núna.*
J. can to swim.INF but he GETA.3SG not swim.PTCP now
‘John knows how to swim but cannot swim now.’

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(11) *Hún **getur** ekki talað dönsku.*
she GETA.3SG not speak.PTCP Danish

‘She cannot speak Danish’ [= does not know how to]

Observation 3: participant-**external** possibility

- Note: in the Early Middle Danish texts (c. 1300–1400), almost all examples are participant-external (*pace* van der Auwera et al. 2009)
 - Does this meaning develop before contingent participant-internal possibility, or are the high figures c. 1300–1400 due to genre effects? More research needed.

(12) *brytær man skip þa ma hans kost aldrih uare*
 wreck.PRS man ship then may his goods never be.INF
*urak e mæþæn han **gitær** sialfær burhit*
 wreckage ever while he GIDE.PRS self salvage.PTCP

‘If someone is shipwrecked, his possessions may not be [considered] wreckage as long as he himself is able to salvage [them]’ (tekstnet.dk, Scanian Law, c. 1300)

Types of possibility, 1300–1700

Time period	Years	INTERNAL	AMBIG	EXTERNAL
Early Middle Danish	c. 1300–1400	4	1	27
Late Middle Danish	c. 1400–1525	57	14	5
Early Modern Danish	c. 1525–1700	38	4	–



Diachronic change from participant-external to contingent participant-internal possibility?

Types of possibility, 1300–1700

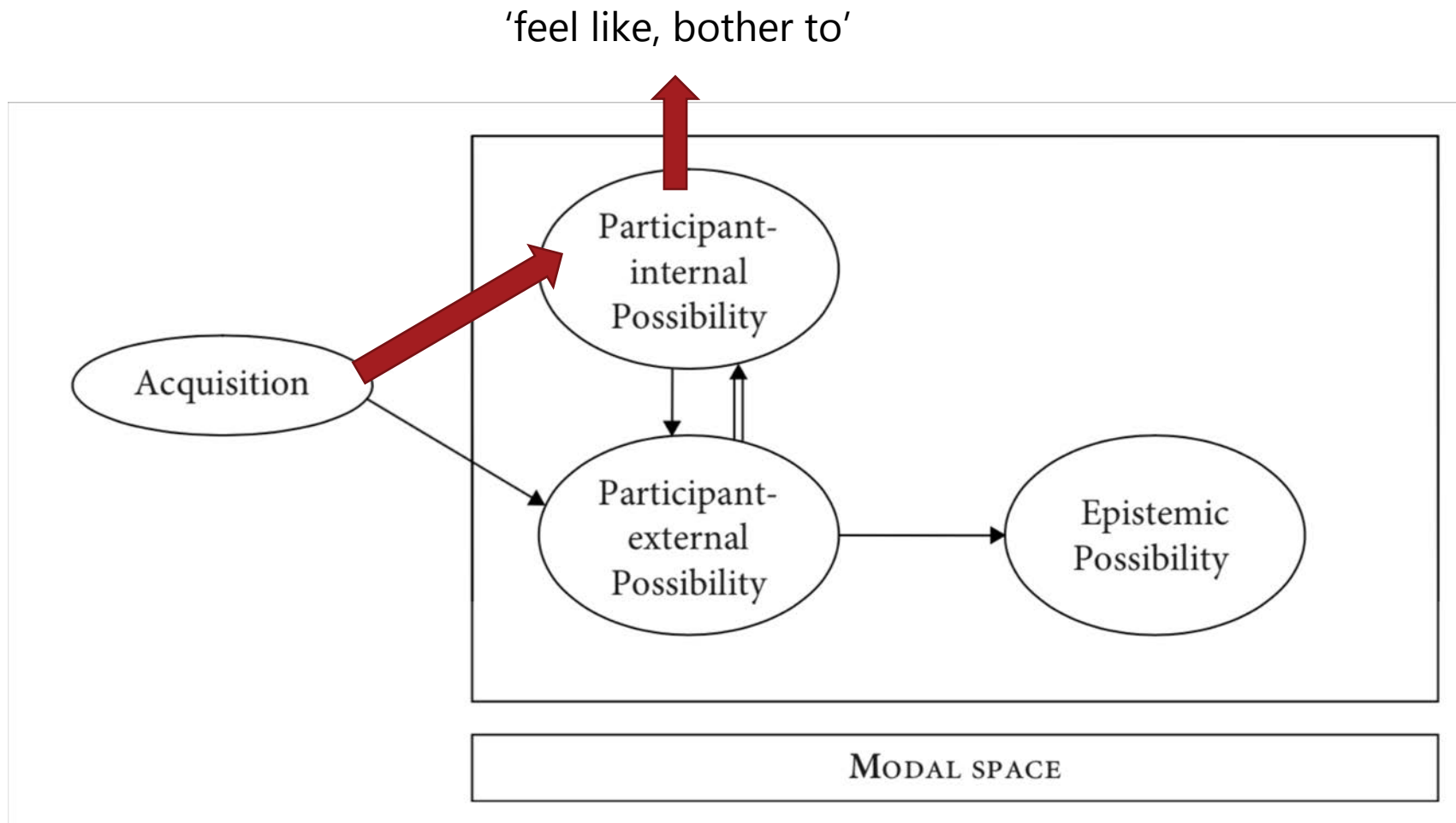
Hvordan mon udviklingen er foregået i fornsvenska?

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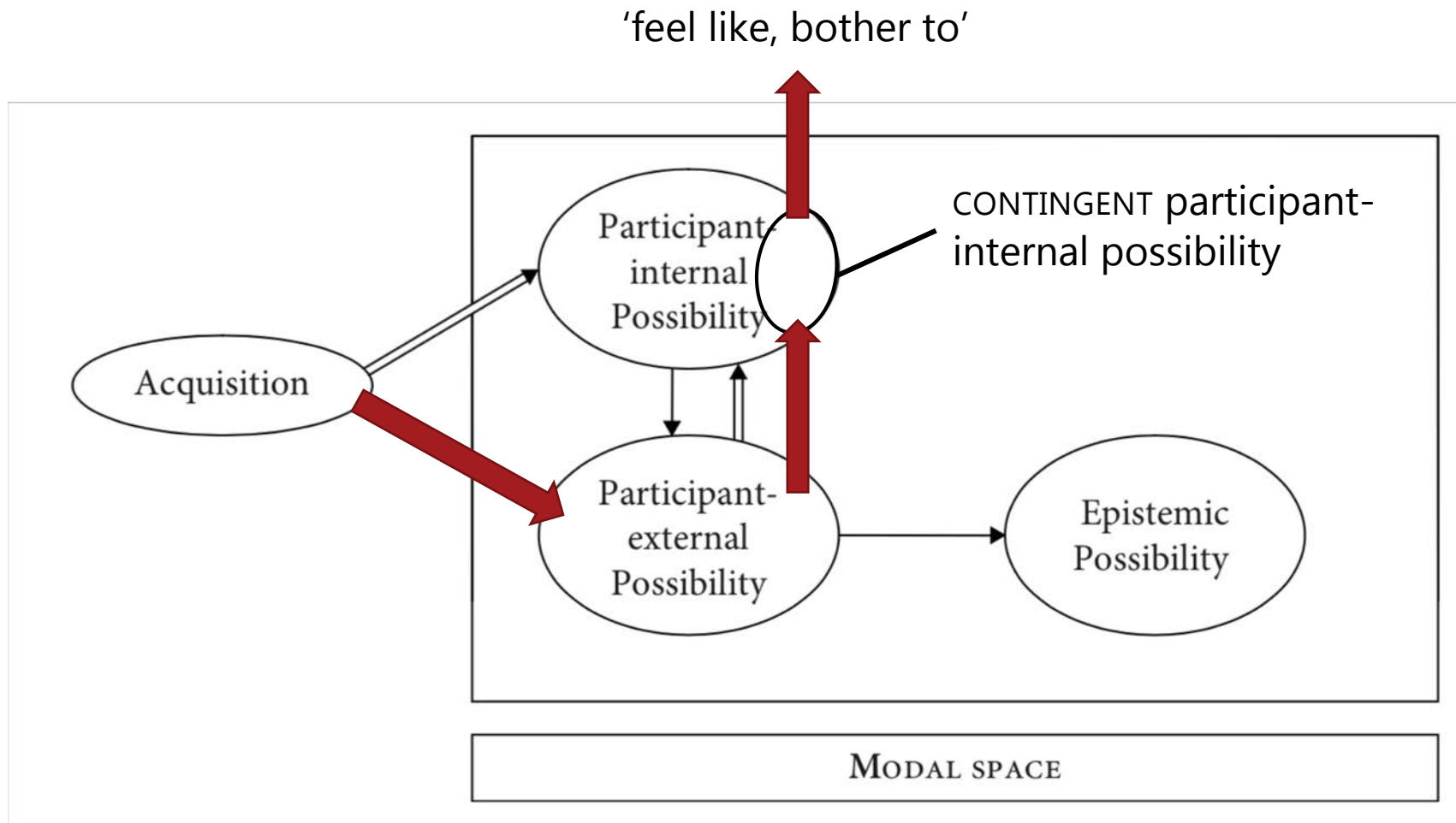
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Development of *gide* (revised hypothesis)



Based on Map 10 in
van der Auwera et al.
(2009: 293)

4. Variation i 1800-tallet

Development in complement types

Time period	Years	PTCP	INF	OTHER	TOTAL
Early Middle Danish	c. 1300–1400	32	–	–	32
Late Middle Danish	c. 1400–1525	56	2	8	66
Early Modern Danish	c. 1525–1700	56	6	7	69
Late Modern Danish	c. 1700–1850	29	26	4	59
Recent Danish	c. 1850–2000	6	47	3	56

6

Only with *vide* 'know' in the fixed expression *(jeg) gad vidst* 'I wish I knew ...'

Development in complement types

- Change from PTCP to INF complement in Late Modern Danish (1700–1850), apparently standard from c. 1800
 - Høysgaard (1747: § 380): *gide* can only take a participle
 - “det Verbum gider tager al-eneste Supinum til sig, saas: Jeg gider hørt &c.”
 - Baden (1785: 215): *gide* should be used with a participle – infinitive “incorrect”
 - “Det Verbum gider tager Perfect. Partic. Passiv. til sig, i Stedet for Præsens Infin. Act.; f.Ex.: jeg gider ikke giort det; jeg gider ikke tænkt derpaa (gøre det, tænke derpaa, er urigtigt).
 - Jens Baggesen, *Labyrinten* (1792–93) mainly uses PTCP complements
 - Hans Christian Andersen, *Eventyr* (1835) only uses INF complements

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- Constructional analogy with modal verbs, but only after change from possibility to preference (*pace* Falk & Torp 1900: 219–220)
 - What are the conditioning factors?

Variation i 1800-tallet

Tekst	År	Korpus/udg.	Længde	<i>gide</i>	INF	PTCP	Andet
Ewald, <i>Levnet og Meeninger</i>	1774–78	ADL	32.000	3	2		1
Biehl, <i>Mit ubetydelige Levnets Løb</i>	1787	ADL	25.000	2		2	
Holberg (Baggesen), <i>Niels Klim</i>	1789	ADL	72.000	4	1	2	1
Jens Baggesen, <i>Labyrinten</i>	1792–93	ADL	95.000	19	3	16	
Søren Pedersen, <i>En fæstebonde liv</i>	1809–11	Schousboe 1983	49.000	2		2	
H.C. Andersen, <i>Eventyr, bd. 1</i>	1835	ADL	73.000	8	8		
Ole Kollerød, <i>Min Historie</i>	1840	Ransy 1978	150.000	3		3	
Søren Kierkegaard, <i>Forførerens Dagbog</i>	1843	SKS	52.000	2	2		
Christian Winther, <i>Fire Noveller</i>	1843	ADL	25.000	5	3		2
Thomasine Gyllembourg, <i>To Tidsaldre</i>	1845	ADL	61.000	3	3		
Erik Skram, <i>Gertrude Coldbjørnsen</i>	1879	ADL	78.000	4	4		
Herman Bang, <i>Ved Vejen</i>	1886	ADL	40.000	2	1	1	
Erna Juel-Hansen, <i>En ung Dames Historie</i>	1888	ADL	59.000	9	9		
Karl Gjellerup, <i>Møllen</i>	1896	ADL	102.500	8	7	1	
Gustav Wied, <i>Lystige Historier</i>	1896	ADL	36.000	3	2	1	

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gad vidst

Hvem bruger PTCP i 1800-tallet?

- *gide* + PTCP hos bonden Søren Pedersen og forbryderen Ole Kollerød – de skønlitterære forfattere har alle INF (undtagen i *gad vidst*)
- (13) *Jeg og min halvbroder forligtes best, hvorfor jeg **gad** gjerne værete hos ham* (Pedersen, 1809-11)
- (14) *ieg **gad** nok seet paa satan, hvor hand har smosse sig med saa fee en mundfuld, som hand der fik fat paa* (Kollerød, 1840)

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- Også eksempler i *Danmarks Breve*, vist især hos forf. født før ca. 1800:

(15) *... naar man ikke **gider** talt enten om sig eller om dem selv*
(N.F.S. Grundtvig til B.S. Ingemann, 1824)

Hvem bruger PTCP i 1800-tallet?

- *gide* + PTCP desuden optegnet i sjællandske og jyske dialekter (især i Sønderjylland iflg. JO's redaktører)

(16) *jeg gider næsten ikke rejst mig* (ØMO, meddeler fra Tuse)

(17) *æ hå·'r såmænḡ aḡær **gað** gḡow'r mæ dæn ulæj'liqhið*

'Jeg har såmænd aldrig gidet gjort mig den ulejlighed' (JO, meddeler fra Agger, f. 1861)

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- Men ikke i bornholmske kilder?

5. Conclusions

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 - Context of change: situations where inability/disinclination is contingent on current constitution, e.g. stamina or appetite

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- Early Middle Danish texts (14th c.): *gide* almost exclusively used for participant-external possibility
 - Source of participant-internal meaning, or distribution due to genre? More research needed!
- Analogical change from PTCP to INF complement, but only after change from possibility to inclination
 - Clearly analogical association with modal verbs even if 'inclination' meaning is not considered truly modal

Topics for future work

- Development in Early Middle Danish – from participant-external to participant-internal possibility?

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Er den moderne betydning måske en svensk novation som har bredt sig vestpå i 1600-tallet?

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Mange tak!