Zwart (1996). Verb Clusters in Continental West Germanic Dialects

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1 Introduction

(1)   a.   (Ik wil) dat hij het boek leest
              I   want that he the book reads
              "I want him to read the book"
    b. *(Ik wil) dat hij leest het boek
    c.   (Hij wil)   het boek lezen
              He   wants the book read-INF
              "He wants to read the book."
    d. *(Hij wil) lezen het boek

- word order in (1a) and (1c) considered to reflect the deep structure ordering of the meaningful elements; the SVO order of main clauses derived by movement of the finite verb to the second position in the sentence

- should be construed as in (2): (1a) and (Ic) may be derived by movement of the object noun phrase to the left

(4)   a.   (Ik wil) dat Jan   het boek snel leest
              I   want that John the book fast reads
              "I want John to read the book quickly."

Arguments:

- finite complement clauses invariably follow the verb, also in embedded clauses and infinitival constructions:

(5)   a.   (Hij denkt) dat ik wil   dat hij het boek leest
              He   thinks that I want that he the book reads
              "He thinks that I want him to read the book."
    b. *(Hij denkt) dat ik dat hij het boek leest wil

2 Verb clusters in Continental West Germanic

elementary cases:

- an auxiliary verb has a past participle in its complement domain

- a modal, causative, or perception verb has an infinitive in its complement domain

more complex clusters arise by iteration of the processes that give rise to these simple clusters

(6) a. (Ik denk) dat Jan het boek heeft gelezen
           I   think that Han the book has   read-Part
           "I think that John has read the book"   1-2
     b. (Ik denk) dat Jan het boek gelezen heeft   2-1

- in Standard Dutch verb clusters, the general word order becomes 1-2-3 (9a), while in High German and Frisian the general word order becomes 3-2-1 (10a)

(9) a. (Ik denk) dat Jan   het boek moet kunnen lezen
           I   think that John the book must can-Inf read-Inf
           "I think John must be capable of reading the book"   1-2-3
     b. *(Ik denk) dat Jan het boek lezen kunnen moet   3-2-1

(10) a. ... wêrom 't   ik de hiele dei sitten bliuwe   moattan   ha
              why   that I the whole day sit-Inf stay-Inf must-Part have-Fin
          "...why I have had to remain sitting all day"   4-3-2-1
      b. *... wêrom 't ik de hiele dei ha moattan bliuwe sitten   1-2-3-4

Exceptions (Standard Dutch):

(11) a. (Ik denk) dat Jan   het boek moet hebben   gelezen
              I   Think that John the book must have-Inf read-Part
          "I think John must have read the book"   1-2-3
      b. (Ik denk) dat Jan het boek moet gelezen hebben   1-3-2
      c. (Ik denk) dat Jan het boek gelezen moet hebben   3-1-2
      d. ?(Ik denk) dat Jan het boek gelezen hebben moet   3-2-1
      e. *(ik denk) dat Jan het boek hebben gelezen moet   2-3-1
      f. *(Ik denk) dat Jan het boek hebben moet gelezen   2-1-3

Infinitivus Pro Participio (IPP): clusters of three verbs, the first of which is an auxiliary, the verb in its immediate complement domain often takes the shape of an infinitive, instead of the expected participial shape:

(12)   a.   (Ik denk) dat Jan   het heeft kunnen/*gekund lezen
             I   think that John the book has   can-Inf/-Part read-Inf
             "I think John could have read the book"   1-2-3
     b.   (Ich glaube) dass J.   das Buch hat lesen   können/*gekonnt
             I   think   that John the book has read-Inf can-Inf/-Part
                                                    1-3-2

Certain 3-2-1 dialects, on the other hand, show a cluster containing two participles and one infinitive next to the matrix auxiliary verb. This is because the IPP-effect is absent in strict 3-2-1 dialects:

(14)   a.   (Ik dacht) dat Jan   het boek gelezen   had kunnen hebben
             I   thought that John the book read-Part had can-Inf have-Inf
             "I thought John could have read the book"   4-1-2-3
     b.   ... omdat zi'j et wei   es   daon   hebben kund   had
               because she it Participle Participle done-Part have-Inf could-Part had
             "... because she may very well have done it."   4-3-2-1

Other double participle constructions do not seem to involve two auxiliary verbs:

(15)   a.   (Ik wist niet) dat Jan   ontslagen   was (?geworden)
             I   knew not   that John fired-Part was become-Part
             "I did not know John had been fired"   3-1-2
     b.   Grad wo   t   abgfaare   gsy   bisch   ...
             just   when you taken-off-Part been-Part are-Fin
             "Just after you had left"   1-3-2

These constructions are curious, in that in all dialects, no matter what the preferred word order in the verbal cluster, the most deeply embedded participle has to precede the hierarchically higher participle.

     Descriptive generalization about verb clusters in Continental West Germanic dialects:

- Verb clusters in a number of dialects may be broken up by material properly belonging to the most deeply embedded verb in the cluster

- The generalization regarding Verb Projection Raising is that the material breaking up the cluster must be situated to the left of the verb which the material belongs to (in the sense just described). This implies that the phenomenon is absent from those languages that keep to a strict 3-2-1 order in the verbal cluster.

(17)   a.   We zullen der   moeten   voor zorgen
             we will   there must-Inf for   care-Inf
             "We will have to take care of that"   1..2-3
     b.   (I bi stolz,) das i ha   chöne   über de see schwüme
             I am proud that I have-Fin can-Inf across the lake swim-Inf
             "I'm proud that I have been able to swim across the lake"   1-2-3

The Verb Projection Raising phenomenon in (17) suggests that, properly speaking, the 'ascending' orders (such as 1-2, 1-2-3, 1-3-2, etc.) do not present clusters, since there is a way for independent material to intervene between the members of the string of verbs.

3 Analysis of the verb clusters from an OV point of view

Probleme:

a. There is no consistent direction of adjunction, either across Continental West Germanic dialects, or even within particular Continental West Germanic dialects

b. There is no fixed phrase structure level of the category adjoined

c. It is not clear what triggers the various movements, in the sense that there is no understanding how particular asymmetries are to be explained

d. The parametrization makes no reference to the timing of the movements

e. It is unclear why in the Germanic SOV languages multi-verb constructions show such a variety of word orders within the cluster, whereas in the Germanic SVO languages multi-verb constructions invariably show strictly 'ascending' orders

f. It is unclear why certain phenomena are sensitive to the surface order of the members of the verb cluster

g. The analysis relies on a phrase structural split among the Germanic languages for which there is no independent empirical basis

4 Analysis of verb clusters from an VO point of view

- embedded verbs are generated in a position to the right of embedding verbs; the noun phrase complement of a verb is moved to the left. In cases of multi-verb constructions, the complement of the most deeply embedded verb will appear to the left of the verb cluster:

(19)   a.   ... dat Jan   het heeft   gelezen [het   boek]
              that John has read-Part the   book
       b.   ... dat Jan [het boek]$_i$ heeft gelezen t$_i$

- These elements, then, will not normally interfere with the verb movements giving rise to verb clustering.

- the movements must give rise to crossing paths, rather than nesting paths:

(20)   ... dat Jan [het boek]$_i$ [uit]$_j$ heeft gelezen t$_i$ t$_j$
     (21) *... dat Jan [uit]$_j$ [het boek]$_i$ heeft gelezen t$_i$ t$_j$

- if the functional projection that hosts the object must precede the functional projection that hosts the embedded predicate, it is not excluded that the latter functional projection is generated somewhere between the auxiliary and the participle

(22)   ... dat Jan [het boek]$_i$ heeft [uit]$_j$ gelezen t$_i$ t$_j$

- it appears that, in the VO-approach, VP-Raising can be described independently of the verb movement that gives rise to the formation of verb clusters

- we can maintain that verb clustering never involves movement of verb projections. This significantly reduces the range of variation that the system of grammar allows

- material breaking up the cluster cannot be placed to the right of the verb which it properly belongs to:

(23)   a.   ... dat Jan   [het boek]$_i$ [uit]$_j$ gelezen$_k$ heeft t$_k$ t$_i$ t$_j$
                   that John the   book   out   read-PART has
        b. *... dat Jan [het boek]$_i$ gelezen$_k$ heeft [uit]$_j$ t$_k$ t$_i$ t$_j$
        c. *... dat Jan [het boek]$_i$ gelezen$_k$ [uit]$_j$ heeft t$_k$ t$_i$ t$_j$

- the intervening material in VP Raising constructions must be construed (in a pretheoretical sense) with the verb it belongs to.

- As a first approximation, we could propose that the order in (6a) results from there being no movement at all, while the order in (6b) is the result of adjunction of the participle to the left of the auxiliary

- the variation in (6) is the result of the absence vs. presence of a particular movement $\rightarrow$ A similar approach could not be as successful if we were to start from the OV-structure in (3)

- From the VO-perspective, it looks like the basic 1-2 order is fixed (i.e., the auxiliary always follows the modal verb), while the 3 verb (the participle) can choose to not move at all, move part way, or move all the way (26a-c):

(26)   a.   [$_{VP}$ moet [$_{VP}$ hebben [$_{VP}$ gelezen]]]   = (11a)
        b.   [$_{VP}$ moet [$_{VP}$ gelezen$_i$-hebben [$_{VP}$ t$_i$]]]   = (11b)
        c.   [$_{VP}$ gelezen$_i$-moet [$_{VP}$ hebben [$_{VP}$ t$_i$]]]   = (11c)
        d.   [$_{VP}$ gelezen-hebben]$_j$-moet [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$]]]   = (11d)
        e.   [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ hebben [$_{VP}$ gelezen]$_j$ moet t$_j$]]   = (11e)
        f.   [$_{VP}$ hebben$_j$-moet [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ [$_{VP}$ gelezen]]]   = (11f)

- The extremely sharp ungrammaticality of (11f), across all Continental West Germanic, as far as I have been able to check, is clearly reminiscent of the ungrammaticality of (23b) (where the embedded predicate appears to be left stranded). This suggests that for licensing purposes the participle is dependent on the auxiliary in the same way as the embedded predicate (or another element in the relevant complement domain) is on the verb selecting it.
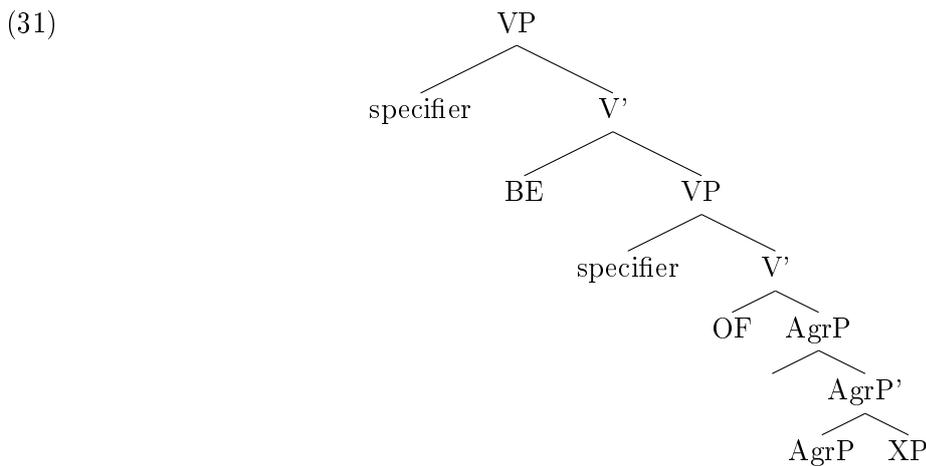
- The generalization then seems to be that the participle must be licensed somewhere to the left of the auxiliary, which leaves the 1-2 order in (6a) and the 1-2-3 order in (lla) a very curious exception indeed.

- On the OV-approach, the general picture of the participle 3 moving gradually leftward (yielding the 1-2-3, 1-3-2, and 3-1-2 orders of (11a-c)) is lost. Three entirely different derivations are needed to reach the three fully grammatical word orders in (lla-c).

- In conclusion, the various word orders discussed here can be derived in a simpler and more restrictive way if it is assumed that the verb phrase in Continental West Germanic is structured as in (2).

5 Patterns of optional movement

- The phenomenon that in certain dialects both the auxiliary-participle order and the participle-auxiliary order are possible is described in terms of optional movement of the participle to the left. But the ungraInmaticality of (lIt) suggests that such optionality in fact does not exist

- If participle movement is optional, movement of the auxiliary to the left of the modal should not interfere with the placement of the participle. Yet this is what happens → participle movement cannot be optional (30)

(30)   a.   ... dat Jan het boek kan   hebben   gelezen
                  that John the book can-INF have-INF read-PART
           "...that John may have read the book"
       b.   *... dat Jan het boek hebben$_i$ kan t$_i$ gelezen

- When the auxiliary moves, only the position preceding the auxiliary remains as a potential landing site for the participle → Kayne (1993) proposes to analyze auxiliary-participle constructions as possessive constructions (*have* should also be treated as a composite of two heads, which I will call BE and OF).

(31)

```
                        VP
                      /    \
                specifier   V'
                          /    \
                        BE      VP
                              /    \
                        specifier   V'
                                  /    \
                                 OF    AgrP
                                         \
                                         AgrP'
                                        /    \
                                     AgrP     XP
```

- I assume that in possessive constructions, like (32a), the lexical projection XP in (31) is an NP, whereas in auxiliary-participle constructions, like (32b), XP equals VP. Finally, in constructions containing a secondary predicate, like (32c), XP is a Small Clause:

(32)   a.   ... dat Jan   [een boek]$_i$ heeft t$_i$
                that John a   book   has
          "...that John has a book"
       b.   ... dat Jan   [het boek]$_i$ heeft [$_{VP}$ gelezen t$_i$]
                that John the   book   has   read-Part
          "...that John has read the book"
       c.   ... dat Jan   [het boek]$_i$ [uit]$_j$ heeft [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ t$_j$]
                that John the   book   out   has
          "...that John has finished the book"

(33)   ... [het boek]$_i$ [$_{VP}$ − BE [$_{VP}$ − OF [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{VP}$ gelezen t$_i$]]]]

- there are two specifier positions associated with have, indicated by the double hyphens in (33). I would like to propose now that the participle gelezen can be licensed in each of these two specifier positions

(34)   a.   ... [het boek]$_i$ [$_{VP}$ − BE [$_{VP}$ gelezen$_j$ OF [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]]]
       b.   ... [het boek]$_i$ [$_{VP}$ gelezen$_j$ BE [$_{VP}$ − OF [$_{AgrP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ t$_i$]]]]

- The variation among the Continental West Germanic languages with respect to the position of the participle can now be described in terms of which of the two specifier positions in (33) may be occupied by the participle.

- This analysis differs from the one entertained in section 4, in that participle movement was described as adjunction to a head in section 4, and as movement to a specifier position in this section.

- Contrary to what one would expect under the scenario under consideration here, the clausal complement does not appear to the left of the auxiliary, as pointed out to me by Daniel Büring (p.c.). I will not discuss this issue here, leaving the phrase structure status of the participle in (34) open.

- As the facts in (11a-c) show, the optionality in the placement of the participle is not exhausted by the two variants yielded by (34). In particular, the participle may appear at the far left of a multi-verb cluster, and at various positions in between if the cluster contains more than three verbs.

(37)   a.   ... dat Jan het boek gelezen   moet   hebben
                   that John the book read-PART must-FIN have-INF
                "... that John must have read the book."   = (11c)
    b. ?... dat Jan het boek moet   gelezen   kunnen hebben
                   that John the book must-FIN read-PART can-INF have-INF
                "... that John must have been able to read the book."   1-4-2-3

- A first approximation therefore could be to assume that in (37) the participle is licensed in the specifier position associated with the modal verb. This analysis cannot work if the modal verb itself needs the specifier position involved to license the verb in its immediate complement domain. Moreover, on the basis of the pair in (38), one would expect to find the pair in (39) also, if the complement of the modal were to move as a phrase:

(38)   a.   ... dat Jan het boek moet   lezen
                   that John the book must-FIN read-INF
                "... that John must read the book."
    b.   ... dat Jan het boek lezen moet

(39)   a.   ... dat Jan het boek moet   hebben   gelezen
                   that John the book must-FIN have-INF read-PART
                "... that John must have read the book."   = (11a)
    b. *... dat Jan het boek [$_{\text{hebben}}$ gelezen] moet   = (11e)

- I will assume that a modal may 'take over' from an infinitival auxiliary (i.e., license the participle in its specifier position) on the basis of the licensing relation that exists between the modal and the infinitive

(40)   a.   [$_{\text{VP}}$ gelezen$_i$ (hebben$_j$)-moet [$_{\text{VP}}$ (hebben$_j$) [$_{\text{VP}}$ t$_i$]]]

- Spelling out the higher copy yields the High German order 3-2-1, spelling out the lower copy yields the Standard Dutch order 3-1-2.

(41)   ... dat Jan het boek gelezen zou moeten kunnen hebben
        that John the book read-PART should-FIN must-INF can-INF have-INF
        "... that John should have been able to read the book."   5-1-2-3-4

- The capacity to license the participle in a specifier position is transferred with each adjunction

- The distribution of intervening material in Verb Projection Raising constructions and the distribution of participles seem to be regulated in essentially identical ways

(43)   a.   ... dat Jan het boek (uit) gelezen   (*uit) moet   (*uit) hebben
                   that John the book (out) read-PART (out) must-FIN (out) have-INF
                "... that John must have finished the book."   3-1-2
    b.   ... dat Jan het boek (uit) moet   (uit) hebben (uit)   gelezen
                   that John the book (out) must-FIN (out) have-INF read-PART (out)
                "... that John must have finished the book."   1-2-3

6 Conclusion

- the mechanism of the IPP-effect and the word order generalizations associated with it have been glossed over

- the question of 'Verb Projection Raising material' intervening between an auxiliary and a participle has not been discussed