

# A note on verb clusters in the Stellingwerf dialect

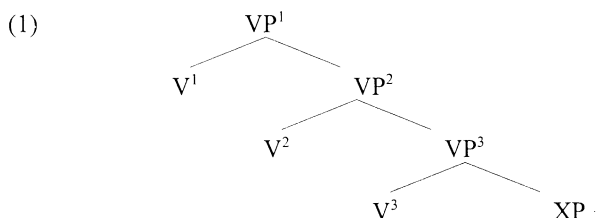
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## 1. Introduction

The Continental West Germanic languages and dialects display a bewildering variety of word orders in sentence final verb clusters (see Stroop 1970, Evers 1975, Schönenberger 1989, Rutten 1991, Haegeman 1992, Hoekstra 1994, Zwart 1994a).<sup>1</sup> In this respect, the Continental West Germanic languages, with the exception of Yiddish (see Den Besten and Moed-Van Walraven 1986), differ sharply from English and the Scandinavian languages, in which the word order is a direct reflection of the hierarchical relations among the verbs.

This suggests that the order of the verbs in English and Scandinavian multi-verb constructions is the 'basic' word order. If English and the Scandinavian languages did have verb movements which could potentially disturb the basic word order in the verb clusters, it would be purely accidental that this basic word order is never disturbed in actual fact. Conversely, the various patterns in Continental West Germanic must be derived by verb movements disturbing the basic pattern in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

If this is correct, the null hypothesis appears to be that also in Continental West Germanic the basic order of the verbs shows a direct correspondence between hierarchy and precedence, as illustrated schematically in (1) (see also Zwart 1993, 1994a, 1994b):



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<sup>2</sup> The verb movement yielding the word order in verb clusters must be distinguished from the verb fronting in main (and sometimes embedded) clauses. The latter occurs overtly in both Continental West Germanic languages and in the remaining Germanic languages.

In some Continental West Germanic dialects, like Dutch, the hierarchical order may surface (*zal kunnen doen* [1-2-3] 'will can do'), whereas in others, like German, the hierarchical order is partly or completely inverted (*wird machen können* [1-3-2] 'will do can' or *machen können wird* [3-2-1] 'do can will').

The movements bringing out the reorderings are traditionally referred to as *Verb Raising* and *Verb Projection Raising*. Until recently, these movements were considered to be *rightward* movements, and the word order variation was derived by stipulating the *direction of adjunction*. The traditional analyses were built on the assumption that the basic structure of a multi-verb construction in Continental West Germanic is the *mirror image* of the structure in (1) (see Zwart 1994b for discussion). In the present approach, verb raising is a leftward movement rule, and adjunction invariably takes place to the left (cf. Kayne 1994).<sup>3</sup> Word order variation may be considered as a matter of overt vs. covert movement (in the sense of Chomsky 1993).<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, I will argue that the word order variation in Continental West Germanic verb clusters results from two different movement processes:

(2) *Movements in verb clusters*

1. adjunction of an infinitival verb to a modal verb (X<sup>o</sup>-movement)
2. raising of a participle to the specifier position of an auxiliary verb (XP-movement)

It is assumed in (2.2) that all other XP-internal elements have been moved out of the XP before the participle moves to the specifier position of the auxiliary verb (i.e. a form of *have* or *be*).<sup>5</sup>

I believe that the evidence supporting the distinction between infinitive movement and participle movement is quite clear. In section 3, I will briefly point out some of the evidence. The main purpose of this paper, however, is to illustrate

<sup>3</sup> Verb Projection Raising in the traditional sense (involving raising of a combination of a verb and a VP-internal constituent) is no longer needed in an analysis of verb raising based on the structure in (1). See Kaan (1992) and Zwart (1993:345), (1994b).

<sup>4</sup> Matters are in fact more complicated if optional word order variation is taken into account (e.g. Dutch *gewerkt heeft* [2-1] 'worked has' next to *heeft gewerkt* [1-2] 'has worked'; cf. Zwart 1994a, 1995 for an analysis of these patterns in terms of movement to two different specifier positions associated with the auxiliary).

<sup>5</sup> It is assumed here that auxiliaries are lexical verbs rather than functional elements. Hence, the proposal in the text implies that participles are licensed in the specifier position of a lexical category. This is at odds with standard conceptions of licensing in the minimalist framework. I will refrain from discussing this aspect of the analysis here. It is also assumed that infinitives replacing participles (see section 2 below) count as participles. Therefore, they need to be licensed via XP-movement as well.

how the assumptions in (2) help explain the puzzling properties of the verb clusters in the Stellingwerf dialect, reported in Bloemhoff (1979).<sup>6</sup>

## 2. General properties of verb clusters in Continental West Germanic

First, the general properties of Continental West Germanic verb clusters will be briefly illustrated. I will use *V1* to refer to the hierarchically highest verb, in accordance with (1).

In two-verb clusters, if *V1* is an auxiliary (i.e. Dutch *hebben* 'have', *zijn* 'be', or *worden* 'become [used in passive constructions]'), *V2* is a participle (PART):

- (3) a ..dat Jan gewerkt heeft Dutch  
       that John worked-PART has [2-1]  
       '..that John has worked'  
       b \*..dat Jan werken heeft  
       that John work-INF has [2-1]

If *V1* is a modal verb, a perception verb, or a causative verb, *V2* is an infinitive (INF):<sup>7</sup>

- (4) a ..dat Jan kan werken Dutch  
       that John can work-INF [1-2]  
       b \*..dat Jan kan gewerkt  
       that John can worked-PART [1-2]

In three-verb clusters in Dutch, German, and dialects of Dutch and German, if *V1* is an auxiliary, both *V2* and *V3* are infinitives (*V2* is the so-called *infinitivus pro participio*):

<sup>6</sup> The Stellingwerf dialect is spoken in the Southeast of the Dutch province of Friesland, and in the border area of Friesland, Overijssel, and Drenthe. It is traditionally classified as a Saxonian, rather than a Frisian dialect. According to Hoppenbrouwers and Hoppenbrouwers (1993), Stellingwerfs belongs to a group of isolated mixed Frisian/Saxonian dialects. Verb clusters in Stellingwerfs are studied foremost in Bloemhoff (1977; 1979) and recently in Hoekstra (1994) and Den Dikken and Hoekstra (1995) (both using Bloemhoff's material). The Stellingwerf data in this article are all from Bloemhoff as well.

<sup>7</sup> In Dutch, the preferred word order in two-verb clusters is [2-1] when *V1* is an auxiliary, and [1-2] when *V1* is a modal verb.

- (5) a ..dat Jan heeft kunnen werken Dutch  
       that John has can-INF work-INF [1-2-3]  
       ‘..that John has been able to work’  
       b \*..dat Jan heeft gekund werken [1-2-3]  
       that John has could-PART work-INF

In Frisian and Stellingwerfs, however, V2 is not replaced by an infinitive in comparable situations:

- (6) a ..dat Jan dat doen kund had Stellingwerfs  
       that John that do-INF could-PART had [3-2-1]  
       ‘..that John could have done that’  
       b \*..dat Jan dat doen kunnen had [3-2-1]  
       that John that do-INF can-INF had

If V1 is a modal verb, a perception verb, or a causative verb, V2 and V3 are both infinitives, in all dialects of Continental West Germanic:

- (7) a ..dat Jan dat moet kunnen doen Dutch  
       that John that must can-INF do-INF [1-2-3]  
       ‘..that John must be able to do that’  
       b ..dat et regenen gaon zol Stellingwerfs  
       that it rain-INF go-INF would [3-2-1]  
       ‘..that it would start to rain’

### 3. Initial evidence for the distinction between infinitive movement and participle movement

If the distinction between infinitive movement and participle movement in (2) is correct, verb clusters are predicted to differ depending on the nature of the hierarchically highest verb in the cluster (V1).

As is clear from (3) and (4), the morphological properties of V2 depend on the nature of V1: an auxiliary selects a participle, a modal verb selects an infinitive. Let us assume that the trigger for the verb movements that yield the various word orders in verb clusters is a morphological licensing requirement in the sense of Chomsky (1993). If so, the morphological difference between participles and infinitives might be taken to indicate that different licensing processes are involved. This opens up the possibility that infinitives are licensed by head adjunction, whereas participles are licensed by movement to a specifier position.

The *infinitivus pro participio* (IPP) effect in (5) seems to disturb the relation between the nature of V1 and the morphology of V2. However, a closer look at the phenomenon indicates that the IPP effect might even constitute an argument in support of the idea that infinitive movement is head movement.

Vanden Wyngaerd (1994) observes that all dialects in which the V2 participle is replaced by an infinitive use the prefix *ge-* in the formation of the participle. Vanden Wyngaerd argues that the prefix *ge-* is adjoined to the verb stem, and blocks adjunction of the infinitival verb to the modal participle (for reasons that do not concern us here). If this generalization turns out to be correct, the movement process in (2.1) is supported by the very existence of the *infinitivus pro participio* effect.<sup>8</sup>

Evidence in support of the XP-movement in (2.2) can be found in West Flemish.

In West Flemish (WF), the verb cluster can be broken up by various types of intervening material (see Vanacker 1970 for a survey). In (8), the intervening element is the direct object of the V2:

- (8) ..da Valère eet willen *dienen boek* kuopen WF  
 that Valery has want-INF that book buy-INF [1-2-3]  
 ‘..that Valery wanted to buy that book’

In the analysis of Kaan (1992) and Zwart (1994) (see also Vanden Wyngaerd 1989), the object *dienen boek* in (8) has been raised from its base position to the right of *kuopen* to its licensing position in the specifier position of an AgrOP situated between V2 *willen* and V3 *kuopen*:

- (9) [<sub>VP1</sub> eet<sub>1</sub> [<sub>VP2</sub> willen<sub>2</sub> [<sub>AgrOP</sub> [*dienen boek*]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>V3</sub> kuopen<sub>3</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]

A construction like (8) is also possible when the V1 is a modal verb:

- (10) ..da Valère *zou* willen *dienen boek* kuopen WF  
 that Valery would want-INF that book buy-INF  
 ‘..that Valery would want to buy that book’

Next to (8), the following word order is grammatical, with the VP2 preceding the V1 (cf. (9); cf. Den Dikken 1994:83, with reference to Haegeman, p.c.):

- (11) ..da Valère willen *dienen boek* kuopen eet WF  
 that Valery want-INF that book buy-INF has [2-3-1]  
 ‘..that Valery wanted to buy that book’

<sup>8</sup> It is not the case, however, that all dialects that use *ge-* always display the IPP effect, witness German counterexamples with perception verbs and causative verbs (e.g. *lesen gesehen hat* [3-2-1] ‘read-INF seen-PART has’ next to *hat lesen sehen* [1-3-2] ‘has read-INF seen-PART’).

Assuming the structure in (9), the word order in (11) can only be derived by moving the VP2 to the left of the V1. This shows that the complement of the auxiliary *eet* is licensed through XP-movement, as stated in (2.2).

- (12) [VP<sub>1</sub> [VP<sub>2</sub> willen<sub>2</sub> [A<sub>gr</sub>OP [dienen boek]<sub>i</sub> [V<sub>3</sub> kuopen<sub>3</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]<sub>j</sub> [ eet<sub>1</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ]]

If (2) is correct, there should not be a construction parallel to (11) with a modal V1. And in fact, (11) is ungrammatical if *eet* is replaced by *zou*:

- (13) \*..da Valère willen dienen boek kuopen zou WF  
that Valery want-INF that book buy-INF would [2-3-1]

This shows that the complement of a modal verb is not licensed through XP-movement, as stated in (2.1).

More generally, I have not been able to find, in any of the dialects of Continental West Germanic, 2-3-1 verb clusters in which V1 is a modal verb. This is independent of the nature of V2 (i.e., the type *hebben gelezen kan* [2-3-1] 'have-INF read-PART can' is unattested, as far as I have been able to ascertain).<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. Modal verbs vs. auxiliaries in Stellingwerfs

Bloemhoff (1979:31,33) notes the following contrasts in the Stellingwerf dialect:

- (14) a Zol hi'j dat daon hebben kund? Stellingwerfs  
would he that done-PART have-INF could-PART [1..4-3-2]  
'Could [=zol kund] he have done that?'  
b \*..dat hi'j dat daon hebben kund zol  
that he that done-PART have-INF could-PART would [4-3-2-1]

<sup>9</sup> A 2-3-1 cluster with V2 a perception verb or a causative verb does not sound altogether impossible to me (e.g. ??*zien lezen heeft* [2-3-1] 'see-INF read-INF has'), although I have not actually found examples in the dialects I looked at. Generally, causative/perception verbs appear to behave differently from modal verbs. For example, the High German absence of the IPP effect mentioned in note 8 seems restricted to clusters involving a causative or perception verb V2. Also, Bloemhoff (1995) notes curious cases of 2-1-3 clusters in certain areas of the Stellingwerf region (e.g. *zien heb staan* [2-1-3] 'see-INF(IPP) have-FIN stand-INF'). Extraposition cases aside, 2-1-3 clusters throughout Continental West Germanic appear to be utterly impossible. Bloemhoff (1979:37) notes that 2-1-3 clusters are impossible with modal V2, suggesting again that perception verbs display aberrant behavior. I have also heard one native speaker of Frisian use Dutch 2-1-3 clusters with a causative V2 (*leren laten tekenen* 'learn-INF let-FIN draw-INF').

- (15) a ..dat hi'j dat daon hebben kunnen zol S'werf  
           that he hat done-PART have-INF can-INF would [4-3-2-1]  
           '..that he could have done that'
- b \*Zol hi'j dat daon hebben kunnen?  
           would he that done-PART have-INF can-INF [1..4-3-2]

In (14a), V2 is a participle, surprisingly selected by a modal V1. One way to account for this would be to assume that the cluster in (14a) contains an empty auxiliary verb *hebben* 'have' between V1 and V2. In that case, (14a) would contain a five verb cluster.

However, this solution is rejected by Den Dikken and Hoekstra (1995), on the ground that (14a) does not show the semantic features that a double *hebben* analysis predicts.<sup>10</sup> The empty *hebben* analysis would also predict, other things being equal, that (14b) is a possible structure, contrary to fact (cf. (16)).

- (16) ..dat hi'j dat daon hebben zol Stellingwerfs  
           that he that done-PART have-INF would [3-2-1]  
           '..that he would have done that'

I will therefore assume that there is not an empty *hebben* involved in the cluster in (14a), following Den Dikken and Hoekstra (1995).

Nevertheless, I believe the morphological character of the V2 in (14a) cannot be ignored. If we were right before, elements bearing participial morphology cannot be licensed by head movement (2.2).

With this in mind, consider the contrast in (14). Assuming a head initial basic structure, as in (1), *kund* in (14b) must originate to the right of *zol* and must end up to the left of *zol* by way of movement. However, since *kund* is a participle, *kund* cannot adjoin to *zol* via head movement, by (2.2).

By the same token, movement of *kund* to the left of *zol* as part of a larger structure *hebben kund* or *daon hebben kund* is excluded.

*Hebben kund* would be the result of adjunction of *hebben* to the participle *kund* (see below, (17b)). On standard conceptions of adjunction, this would not affect the categorial status of the participle. By (2.2), then, *hebben-kund* would still have to be licensed in a specifier position, which is impossible with a modal V1.

<sup>10</sup> The double *hebben* analysis was explored in an earlier version of Den Dikken and Hoekstra (1995), presented at the TABU-dag, Groningen, June 24. See also Bloemhoff (1979:33-34).

13 The idea that the modal verb is turned into a licenser of the participle by the adjoined infinitival auxiliary is also needed to account for the standard 3-2-1 order in German *gemacht haben kann* 'made-PART have-INF can-FIN', also possible in dialects of Dutch and marginally in Standard Dutch. The preferred 3-1-2 order of Standard Dutch (*gedaan kan hebben* 'made-PART can-FIN have-INF') can be accounted for if we assume that the infinitival auxiliary adjoins to the modal verb covertly, so that the participle is licensed in the specifier of the modal-auxiliary combination at LF (Eric Hoekstra, p.c.). If adjunction of the auxiliary has the effect of creating a derived licensing position for the participle, verb raising is crucially different from functional head movement (e.g. AgrS-to-C movement). In Zwart (1993, III.4.3.2), I have argued that functional head movement does not create a derived licensing position for XPs (e.g. after AgrS-to-C movement, the subject is still licensed in the specifier position of AgrS, not in the specifier position of C).



<sup>15</sup> I refrain from discussing the ungrammaticality of (15b) in this article. Again, there may be a blocking mechanism at work here.

<sup>16</sup> See note 9 on 2-1-3 clusters involving perception verbs and causative verbs.

verbs is licensed via head movement, whereas the complement of auxiliaries is licensed via movement to a specifier position.

Finally, if participles are licensed in specifier positions, and specifier positions are always to the left, there is no way in which a simple 1-2 cluster consisting of an auxiliary and a participle (e.g. Dutch *heeft gewerkt* 'has worked', a variant of (3a)) can be derived starting from a head final basic structure. This we may take to be strong evidence in support of (1) as the basic structure of multi-verb constructions in all Germanic languages.

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