

**The Germanic Languages and the SOV/SVO difference**

**IV. Two-Verb Sequences and Germanic SOV-Languages**

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# Abstract

This hand-out will present two examples of syntactic analysis based on dialect variation:

## Section 1.

Considerable variation is found in the order of the non-finite verbs in main clauses like

- (1) a. Du. Hij zal haar horen roepen ('He will her hear shout')  
b. Ge. Er wird sie rufen hören ('He will her shout hear')

both across nine Germanic languages/dialects (Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, Standard German, Swabian German from Stuttgart, Swiss German from Sankt Gallen, Swiss German from Zürich, and Swiss German from Bern) and across six constructions (perfect, passive, durative, causative, perception verbs, and modal verbs).

Based on the facts that Yiddish shows an amount of variation similar to the one found in the (other) Germanic SOV-languages and that no variation at all is found in the Germanic SVO-languages, I will argue that Yiddish is an SOV- rather than an SVO-language.

## Section 2.

Considerable variation is found in the order of the verbs in embedded clauses like

- (2) a. Du. ... dat hij haar hoort roepen ('... that he her hears shout')  
b. Ge. ... dass er sie rufen hört ('... that he her shout hears')

across the same nine dialects and across the same six constructions as in I. above.

Based on the fact that this variation and the variation discussed under I. above shows a surprising degree of parallelism (identity on 49 out of 54 three-way choice points), I will argue that it makes no significant difference whether the higher of the two verbs concerned is finite, as *hoort/hört* in (2), or non-finite, as *horen/hören* in (1). This again means that in embedded clauses in the SOV-Germanic languages, there can be no obligatory movement that involves only finite verbs. This amounts to saying that there is no  $V^{\circ}$ -to- $I^{\circ}$  movement in SOV-Germanic.

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## Language abbreviations

- Af.** = Afrikaans
- Be.** = Swiss German from Bern
- Da.** = Danish
- Du.** = Dutch
- En.** = English
- Fs.** = Frisian
- Ge.** = Standard German
- Ic.** = Icelandic
- SG.** = Swiss German from Sankt Gallen
- St.** = Swabian German from Stuttgart
- WF.** = West Flemish
- Yi.** = Yiddish
- Zü.** = Swiss German from Zürich

# 1. Two-verb sequences and Yiddish as an SOV-language

In section 1 of this hand-out, I will try to show that the view that Yiddish is an OV-language like German and Dutch, not a VO-language like English or Danish, is supported by facts concerning verb sequences, i.e. the order of two (or more) verbs in the same clause.

## 1.1 Introduction

Consider the possible word orders in sentences with two verbs in various Germanic languages (plus French).

(The examples below all use the cognate of the modal verb *will*. In most of the languages, this only has a volitional interpretation, which is expressed in English by the main verb *want*. In English *will* only has a future interpretation, and in Danish *ville* has both a future and a volitional interpretation.)

- (3) En. a. ... that John will buy a house  
b. \*... that John will a house buy  
c. \*... that John a house buy will  
d. \*... that John a house will buy  
e. \*... that John buy will a house  
f. \*... that John buy a house will

- (4) Da. a. ... at Johan vil købe et hus  
b. \*... at Johan vil et hus købe  
c. \*... at Johan et hus købe vil  
d. \*... at Johan et hus vil købe  
e. \*... at Johan købe vil et hus  
f. \*... at Johan købe et hus vil

- (5) Ic. a. ... að Jón vill kaupa hús  
b. \*... að Jón vill hús kaupa  
c. \*... að Jón hús kaupa vill  
d. \*... að Jón hús vill kaupa  
e. \*... að Jón kaupa vill hús  
f. \*... að Jón kaupa hús vill

- (6) Fr. a. ... que Jean veut acheter une maison  
b. \*... que Jean veut une maison acheter  
c. \*... que Jean une maison acheter veut  
d. \*... que Jean une maison veut acheter  
e. \*... que Jean acheter veut une maison  
f. \*... que Jean acheter une maison veut

- (7) Yi. a. ... az Jonas vil koyfn a hoyz  
b. ... az Jonas vil a hoyz koyfn  
c.??... az Jonas a hoyz koyfn vil  
d.??... az Jonas a hoyz vil koyfn  
e.??... az Jonas koyfn vil a hoyz  
f. \*... az Jonas koyfn a hoyz vil

- (8) Du. a. \*... dat Jan wil kopen een huis  
b. \*... dat Jan wil een huis kopen  
c. ... dat Jan een huis kopen wil  
d. ... dat Jan een huis wil kopen  
e. \*... dat Jan kopen wil een huis  
f. \*... dat Jan kopen een huis wil

((8b,c,d) from Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986:419, (6))

- (9) Af. a. \*... dat Jan wil koop 'n huis  
 b. ?... dat Jan wil 'n huis koop  
 c. \*... dat Jan 'n huis koop wil  
 d. ... dat Jan 'n huis wil koop  
 e. \*... dat Jan koop wil 'n huis  
 f. \*... dat Jan koop 'n huis wil

- (10) WF. a. \*... da Jan wilt kopen een hus  
 b. ... da Jan wilt een hus kopen  
 c. ... da Jan een hus kopen wilt  
 d. ... da Jan een hus wilt kopen  
 e. \*... da Jan kopen wilt een hus  
 f. \*... da Jan kopen een hus wilt

((10b,c,d) from Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986:419, (7))

- (11) Fs. a. \*... dat Jan wol keapje in hûs  
 b. \*... dat Jan wol in hûs keapje  
 c. ... dat Jan in hûs keapje wol  
 d. \*... dat Jan in hûs wol keapje  
 e. \*... dat Jan keapje wol in hûs  
 f. \*... dat Jan keapje in hûs wol

- (12) Ge. a. \*... dass Johann will kaufen ein Haus  
 b. \*... dass Johann will ein Haus kaufen  
 c. ... dass Johann ein Haus kaufen will  
 d. \*... dass Johann ein Haus will kaufen  
 e. \*... dass Johann kaufen will ein Haus  
 f. \*... dass Johann kaufen ein Haus will

- (13) St. a. \*... dass dr Hans will kaufa s Haus  
 b. ... dass dr Hans will s Haus kaufa  
 c. ... dass dr Hans s Haus kaufa will  
 d. ... dass dr Hans s Haus will kaufa  
 e. \*... dass dr Hans kaufa will s Haus  
 f. \*... dass dr Hans kaufa s Haus will

- (14) SG. a. \*... dass de Hans wil chaufe es Huus  
 b. ... dass de Hans wil es Huus chaufe  
 c. ... dass de Hans es Huus chaufe wil  
 d. ... dass de Hans es Huus wil chaufe  
 e. \*... dass de Hans chaufe wil es Huus  
 f. \*... dass de Hans chaufe es Huus wil

- (15) Zü. a. \*... das de Hans wil chaufe es Huus  
 b. ... das de Hans wil es Huus chaufe  
 c. ... das de Hans es Huus chaufe wil  
 d. ... das de Hans es Huus wil chaufe  
 e. \*... das de Hans chaufe wil es Huus  
 f. \*... das de Hans chaufe es Huus wil

(cf. Haegeman & van Riemsdijk 1986:419, (8))

- (16) Be. a. \*... dass dr Jonas wott choufen es Huus  
 b. ... dass dr Jonas wott es Huus choufe  
 c. \*... dass dr Jonas es Huus choufe wott  
 d. ... dass dr Jonas es Huus wott choufe  
 e. \*... dass dr Jonas choufe wott es Huus  
 f. \*... dass dr Jonas choufen es Huus wott

The above data can be summarised as in the following table:

(17)	En	Da	Ic	Fr	Yi	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	
a.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	... will buy a house
b.	*	*	*	*	✓	*	?	✓	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	... will a house buy
c.	*	*	*	*	??	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	... a house buy will
d.	*	*	*	*	??	✓	✓	✓	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	... a house will buy
e.	*	*	*	*	??	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	... buy will a house
f.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	... buy a house will

The languages have been divided into three main groups: First the ones that are definitely VO (English, Icelandic, Danish), then Yiddish, and finally the ones that are indisputably OV (Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern).

Various generalisations can be drawn from these data:

All the VO-languages allow only one and the same order. The OV languages, on the other hand, differ in which order they prefer, and 7 out of 9 OV languages also allow more than one order (actually 8 out of 10 if Yiddish is counted as OV).

Only VO languages and Yiddish allow the indefinite object to occur at the end, (17a). This may be derived as the base order (English, Danish, Icelandic, French) or via extraposition (Yiddish).

Two ways of deriving the order finite verb - infinitive, (17b,d), in OV-languages have frequently been discussed in the literature. Examples like (17d) are called "**verb raising**" in the literature, e.g. in Evers (1975), because the non-finite V° *buy* is taken to "raise" (move) to a position to the right of the finite verb, assuming that the base order in OV-languages is represented by (17c). Similarly, examples like (17b) are called "**verb projection raising**" in the literature, e.g. in Haegeman & van Riemsdijk (1986), because the non-finite V° *buy* and its complement *a house*, which together constitute a projection of V, e.g. VP or V-bar, are taken to "raise" (move) to a position right of the finite verb, again assuming that the base order in OV-languages is represented by (17c).

Notice that the same order is thus ambiguous between OV with verb projection raising as in West Flemish (10b), Afrikaans (9b), Swabian (13b), Sankt Gallen (14b), Zürich (15b), and Bern (16b), and OV with V°-to-I° movement in Yiddish (7b), cf. also Vikner (1997) (or alternatively for Yiddish: VO with both scrambling and V°-to-I° movement):

(18)	a.	WF.	... da Jan	_____	wilt <u>een hus kopen</u>	VPR, (10b)
				└──────────────────┘		
	b.	Yi.	... az Jonas <u>vil</u> a hoyz koyfn _____			V°-to-I°, (7b)
				└──────────────────┘		

One reason to assume these two different possible derivations of the order in (17b), verb projection raising and V°-to-I° movement, is that the languages which allow this order differ with respect to whether they allow lexical elements to occur to the left of the finite verb (cf. that Yiddish is the only language which allows (17b) and which finds (17d) close to unacceptable).

Taking the order in (17b) in Yiddish to be caused by movement of the finite verb to the left (into I°) would explain why it is not possible to have a sentential adverb or the object between the subject (in IP-spec) and the finite verb (in I°), see (19a) and (20a) below, and why it is possible for the finite verb to precede the sentential adverb *maybe*, (21a).

Taking the order in (17b) in Afrikaans, West Flemish, Swabian, Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern not to be caused by movement of the finite verb to the left but by movement of the other elements to the right would explain why it is possible to have a sentential adverb and/or the object between the subject (in IP-spec) and the finite verb (in V°): In (19b-g) only the verb *buy* undergoes verb raising to the right, and in (20b-g) the VP *buy the house* undergoes verb projection raising to the right. This analysis also predicts that (21b-g) is ungrammatical: This word order could not arise by verb projection raising because presumably *maybe* is adjoined to the VP headed by *will*, so that the structure is [*maybe* [[*the house buy*] *will*]] in which the string *maybe the house buy*, which would have had to undergo verb projection raising, does not make up a constituent:

- (19)
- |        |          |         |            |           |             |        |
|--------|----------|---------|------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| a. Yi. | *... az  | Jonas   | efsher     | dos hoyz  | <u>vil</u>  | koyfn  |
| b. Af. | ... dat  | Jan     | miskien    | die huis  | <u>wil</u>  | koop   |
| c. WF. | ... da   | Jan     | messchien  | dat us    | <u>wilt</u> | kuopen |
| d. St. | ... dass | dr Hans | vielleicht | s Haus    | <u>will</u> | kaufa  |
| e. SG. | ... dass | de Hans | villicht   | s Huus    | <u>wil</u>  | chaufe |
| f. Zü. | ... das  | de Hans | vilicht    | s Huus    | <u>wil</u>  | chaufe |
| g. Be. | ... dass | dr Hans | vilech     | ds Huus   | <u>wott</u> | choufe |
|        | ... that | J./H.   | maybe      | the house | will        | buy    |
- (20)
- |        |           |         |            |             |           |        |
|--------|-----------|---------|------------|-------------|-----------|--------|
| a. Yi. | *... az   | Jonas   | efsher     | <u>vil</u>  | dos hoyz  | koyfn  |
| b. Af. | ?... dat  | Jan     | miskien    | <u>wil</u>  | die huis  | koop   |
| c. WF. | ... da    | Jan     | messchien  | <u>wilt</u> | dat us    | kuopen |
| d. St. | ?... dass | dr Hans | veilleicht | <u>will</u> | s Haus    | kaufa  |
| e. SG. | ?... dass | de Hans | villicht   | <u>wil</u>  | s Huus    | chaufe |
| f. Zü. | ... das   | de Hans | vilicht    | <u>wil</u>  | s Huus    | chaufe |
| g. Be. | ... dass  | dr Hans | vilech     | <u>wott</u> | ds Huus   | choufe |
|        | ... that  | J./H.   | maybe      | will        | the house | buy    |
- (21)
- |        |            |         |             |            |           |        |
|--------|------------|---------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| a. Yi. | ... az     | Jonas   | <u>vil</u>  | efsher     | dos hoyz  | koyfn  |
| b. Af. | ?... dat   | Jan     | <u>wil</u>  | miskien    | die huis  | koop   |
| c. WF. | ??... da   | Jan     | <u>wilt</u> | messchien  | dat us    | kuopen |
| d. St. | ??... dass | dr Hans | <u>will</u> | vielleicht | s Haus    | kaufa  |
| e. SG. | *... dass  | de Hans | <u>wil</u>  | villicht   | s Huus    | chaufe |
| f. Zü. | *... das   | de Hans | <u>wil</u>  | vilicht    | s Huus    | chaufe |
| g. Be. | *... dass  | dr Hans | <u>wott</u> | vilech     | ds Huus   | choufe |
|        | ... that   | J./H.   | will        | maybe      | the house | buy    |

These examples thus show that Yiddish has V°-to-I° movement but neither verb raising nor verb projection raising and that Afrikaans, West Flemish, Swabian, and Swiss German from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern have verb raising and/or verb projection raising but not V°-to-I° movement.

Because the finite verb in Yiddish is moved out of its base position by V°-to-I° movement, its position gives no direct indication of OV vs. VO. We therefore have to consider only non-finite verbs when we try to pin down the base position of the verb and its complements in Yiddish clauses.

(As you will already have noticed, this is actually just like main clauses in all V2 languages, cf. hand-out 1. Here we also have to examine the order of the object and a non-finite verb in order to determine OV vs. VO and disregard the finite verb, because the finite verb is moved from its base position to C°.)

## 1.2 Future Perfect

I shall therefore examine constructions where more than one non-finite verb occurs. One such construction is the future perfect. Here we immediately encounter a problem with establishing what the data are in Yiddish. In Diesing (1997), two orders are reported as possible in future perfect in Yiddish:

- (22) a. Yi. Ikh vel hobn gezungen (Diesing 1997:387, (32e,f))  
b. Yi. Ikh vel gezungen hobn  
I will (sung) have (sung) (I will have sung (when we meet again))

However, according to my informant Marvin Herzog (editor-in-chief of *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*, Niemeyer, Tübingen), both (22b) and (26b) are if not ungrammatical then at least rather marked:<sup>1 2</sup>

- (23) En. a. This film, we will have seen (by the time you come back from holidays)  
b. \*This film, we will seen have
- (24) Ic. a. Þessa mynd myndum við hafa séð  
b. \*Þessa mynd myndum við séð hafa
- (25) Da. a. Denne film vil vi have set  
b. \*Denne film vil vi set have
- (26) Yi. a. Dos dozike film veln mir hobn gezen (Katz 1987:140)  
b. ??Dos dozike film veln mir gezen hobn
- (27) Du. a. Deze film zullen wij hebben gezien  
b. Deze film zullen wij gezien hebben
- (28) Af. a. \*Hierdie rolprent sal ons het gesien  
b. ?Hierdie rolprent sal ons gesien het
- (29) WF. a. \*Dienen film goan wonder een gezien  
b. Dienen film goan wonder gezien een
- (30) Fs. a. \*Dizze film sille wy hawwe sjoen  
b. Dizze film sille wy sjoen hawwe
- (31) Ge. a. \*Diesen Film werden wir haben gesehen  
b. Diesen Film werden wir gesehen haben
- (32) St. a. \*Dr Film werdet mr han gsaea  
b. Dr Film werdet mr gsaea han
- (33) SG. a. \*Dä Film werdet mer ha gsee  
b. Dä Film werdet mer gsee ha
- (34) Zü. a. \*Dee Film werded mer haa gsee  
b. Dee Film werded mer gsee haa
- (35) Be. a. \*Dä Fium wärde mer ha gsee  
b. Dä Fium wärde mer gsee ha

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<sup>1</sup>In Afrikaans, the form *het* is used both as the finite form and the infinitive of the auxiliary *have*, cf. Donaldson (1993:230). The main verb *have* has a separate infinitive, *hê*.

<sup>2</sup>The interpretation of *werden* in Swabian and the three Swiss German variants is not so much one of future as one of epistemic modality, which is also possible in High German (cf. e.g. Zifonun et al. 1997:1900).

Whether or not Yiddish allows (26b), it is important to notice that it is not only VO-languages and Yiddish that allow examples like (26a), as Dutch also allows (27a).

The exact same point can be made by means of the following set of future perfect examples, except that here it is Weissberg (1988) with whom my informant disagrees:

- (36) En. a. I will have finished the work (by the time you come back from holidays)  
 b. \*I will finished have the work
- (37) Ic. a. Ég myndi hafa lokið vinnunni  
 b. \*Ég myndi lokið hafa vinnunni
- (38) Da. a. Jeg vil have afsluttet arbejdet  
 b. \*Jeg vil afsluttet have arbejdet
- (39) Yi. a. Ikh vel hobn farendikt di arbet  
 b. Ikh vel farendikt hobn di arbet  
 (M. Herzog (p.c.): ??, Weissberg 1988:147: fine)
- (40) Du. a. Ik zal dit werk hebben beëindigt  
 b. Ik zal dit werk beëindigt hebben
- (41) Af. a. \*Ek zal die werk het gedoen  
 b. Ek zal die werk gedoen het
- (42) WF. a. \*K goan da werk een gedoan  
 b. K goan da werk gedoan een
- (43) Fs. a. \*Ik sil dit wurk hawwe beëinige  
 b. Ik sil dit werk beëinige hawwe
- (44) Ge. a. \*Ich werde die Arbeit haben getan  
 b. Ich werde die Arbeit getan haben
- (45) St. a. \*I werd d Erbet han do  
 b. I werd d Erbet do han
- (46) SG. a. \*Ich werd t'Arbet ha gmacht  
 b. Ich werd t'Arbet gmacht ha
- (47) Zü. a. \*Ich wirt d Arbet haa gmacht  
 b. Ich wirt d Arbet gmacht haa
- (48) Be. a. \*I wirde t Arbeit haa gmacht  
 b. I wirde t Arbeit gmacht haa

The results may be summarised as follows. The VO-languages and Yiddish and Dutch allow the a-examples, and the OV-languages including Yiddish and Dutch allow the b-examples:

(49)

En	Ic	Da	Yi	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	0	1	2	perfect
1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will have	seen		future perfect
1	1	1	1/2	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will have	finished		future perfect

The languages are set up as in (17) above. The verbs have been numbered, starting with "0" for the finite verb. The question of the relative order of the two non-finite verbs can thus be seen as the question of which of the two non-finite verbs precedes the other, and this is the figure given in the table ("1" thus refers to the a-examples, "2" to the b-examples).

All the results of 1.2-1.7 will be summarised together in this fashion in the table in (194) in section 1.8 below.



### 1.3 Passive

Consider now a different kind of data, with the perfect tense of a passivised verb (Icelandic has no verb corresponding to *bring*):<sup>3</sup>

- (50) En. a. Presents have been brought  
b. \*Presents have brought been
- (51) Da. a. Gaver er blevet bragt  
b. \*Gaver er bragt blevet
- (52) Yi. a. Matones zaynen gevorn gebrakht  
b. Matones zaynen gebrakht gevorn  
(both are from den Besten et al. 1986:117, (14), see also Geilfuß 1991:171, (2))
- (53) Du. a. Kado's zijn worden gebracht  
b. Kado's zijn gebracht worden
- (54) WF. a. \*T zyn kados geweest gebrocht  
b. T zyn kados gebrocht geweest
- (55) Fs. a. \*Kado's binne wurde brocht  
b. Kado's binne brocht wurde
- (56) Ge. a. \*Geschenke sind worden gebracht  
b. Geschenke sind gebracht worden
- (57) St. a. \*Gschenk sen worda brochd  
b. Gschenk sen brochd worda
- (58) SG. a. \*Gschenk sind worde brocht  
b. Gschenk sind brocht worde
- (59) Zü. a. \*Gschänk sind worde bbracht  
b. Gschänk sind bbracht worde
- (60) Be. a. \*Gschänk si worde bbraacht  
b. Gschänk si bbraacht worde

In the next set of examples, the future tense of a passivised verb, there is disagreement as to whether Yiddish allows the sequence where the participle is final:

- (61) En. a. The book will be bought  
b. \*The book will bought be
- (62) Ic. a. Bókin mundi verða keypt  
b. \*Bókin mundi keypt verða
- (63) Da. a. Bogen vil blive købt  
b. \*Bogen vil købt blive
- (64) Yi. a. Dos bukh vet vern gekoyft (M. Herzog (p.c.):\*, den Besten et al.: fine)  
b. Dos bukh vet gekoyft vern  
(both are from den Besten et al. 1986:117, (15), see also Geilfuß 1991:171, (3))

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<sup>3</sup>An expletive pronoun is obligatory in (54) in West Flemish, though not in the other languages. This presence or absence of the expletive does not seem to influence the position of the verbs. On the form and variation of West Flemish expletives, see Grange & Haegeman (1989).

- (65) Du. a. Het boek zal worden gekocht  
 b. Het boek zal gekocht worden
- (66) Af. a. \*Die boek sal word gekoop  
 b. Die boek sal gekoop word
- (67) WF. a. \*Dienen boek goa worden gekocht  
 b. Dienen boek goa gekocht worden
- (68) Fs. a. \*It boek sil wurde kocht  
 b. It boek sil kocht wurde
- (69) Ge. a. \*Das Buch wird werden gekauft  
 b. Das Buch wird gekauft werden
- (70) St. a. \*Des Buach wird werda kaufd  
 b. Des Buach wird kaufd werda
- (71) SG. a. \*Das Buech wirt werde gkouft  
 b. Das Buech wirt gkouft werde
- (72) Zü. a. \*Das Buech wirt weerde gchauft  
 b. Das Buech wirt gchauft weerde
- (73) Be. a. \*Das Buech wirt wärde gchouft  
 b. Das Buech wirt gchouft wärde

Again with the caveat that opinions are divided on Yiddish, there are three groups: only (a) in the VO-languages, (a) and (b) in Yiddish and Dutch, and only (b) in the other OV-languages. For a table of the findings, I refer to the one in (194) in section 1.8 below.

The exact same picture emerges from passive verbs embedded under a different modal (with the only differences that these are not possible in Icelandic and Danish: In Icelandic, the modal and the passive meaning is expressed by the same verb, *verða*. In Danish, under an obligation modal like *must*, the non-periphrastic *s*-passive must be used, i.e. *bygges* instead of *blive bygget*, cf. Vikner 1988:24, n13, Allan et al. 1995:316-317, and Thráinsson & Vikner 1995:66).

- (74) En. a. A house must be built (before one can live in it)  
 b. \*A house must built be
- (75) Yi. a. A hoyz muz vern geboyt (M. Herzog (p.c.):\*, den Besten et al.: fine)  
 b. A hoyz muz geboyt vern  
 (both are from den Besten et al. 1986:117, (16), see also Geilfuß 1991:171, (4))
- (76) Du. a. Een huis moet worden gebouwd  
 b. Een huis moet gebouwd worden
- (77) Af. a. \*'n Huis moet word gebou  
 b. 'n Huis moet gebou word
- (78) WF. a. \*En us moet worden gebouwd  
 b. En us moet gebouwd worden
- (79) Fs. a. \*In hūs moat wurde boud  
 b. In hūs moat boud wurde
- (80) Ge. a. \*Ein Haus muß werden gebaut  
 b. Ein Haus muß gebaut werden

- (81) St. a. \*A Haus muass werda baud  
 b. A Haus muass baud werda
- (82) SG. a. \*Es Huus muess werde phout  
 b. Es Huus muess phout werde
- (83) Zü. a. \*Es Huus mues weerde pout  
 b. Es Huus mues pout weerde
- (84) Be. a. \*Es Huus mues wärde bbout  
 b. Es Huus mues bbout wärde

## 1.4 Durative and IPP

Consider now a different type of example, the durative expression *remain standing* (which is not found in Icelandic). First in the perfect:

- (85) En. a. The people have remained standing  
 b. \*The people have standing remained
- (86) Da. a. Menneskene er blevet stående  
 b. \*Menneskene er stående blevet
- (87) Yi. a. Di layt zenen geblibn shteyn  
 b. Di layt zenen shteyn geblibn
- (88) Du. a. De mensen zijn blijven staan  
 b. \*De mensen zijn staan blijven
- (89) Af. a. De mense het bly staan  
 b. \*De mense het staan bly
- (90) WF. a. De mensen zyn bluven stoan  
 b. \*De mensen zyn stoan bluven
- (91) Fs. a. \*De minsken binne bleaun stean  
 b. De minsken binne stean bleaun
- (92) Ge. a. \*Die Leute sind geblieben stehen  
 b. Die Leute sind stehen geblieben
- (93) St. a. \*D Leid sen bliaba schdanda  
 b. D Leid sen schdanda bliaba
- (94) SG. a. \*T'Lüet sind plibe schto  
 b. T'Lüet sind schto plibe
- (95) Zü. a. \*D Lüüt sind bblibe schtaa  
 b. D Lüüt sind schtaa bblibe
- (96) Be. a. T Lüt si blibe schtaa  
 b. \*T Lüt si schtaa blibe

(Lockwood 1995:135)

and then in the future:

- (97) En. a. The people will remain standing  
 b. \*The people will standing remain
- (98) Da. a. Menneskene vil blive stående  
 b. \*Menneskene vil stående blive

- (99) Yi. a. Di layt veln blaybn shteyn  
 b. Di layt veln shteyn blaybn
- (100) Du. a. De mensen zullen blijven staan  
 b. \*De mensen zullen staan blijven
- (101) Af. a. De mense sal bly staan  
 b. \*De mense sal staan bly
- (102) WF. a. De mensen goan bluven stoan  
 b. \*De mensen goan stoan bluven
- (103) Fs. a. \*De minsken sille bliuwe stean  
 b. De minsken sille stean bliuwe
- (104) Ge. a. \*Die Leute werden bleiben stehen  
 b. Die Leute werden stehen bleiben
- (105) St. a. \*D Leid werdad bleiba schdanda  
 b. D Leid werdad schdanda bleiba
- (106) SG. a. \*T'Lüet werdet blibe schto  
 b. T'Lüet werdet schto blibe
- (107) Zü. a. \*D Lüüt weereded bliibe schtaa  
 b. D Lüüt weereded schtaa bliibe
- (108) Be. a. T Lüt wärde blibe schtaa  
 b. \*T Lüt wärde schtaa blibe

There are three groups: only (a) in the VO-languages, and in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German; (a) and (b) in Yiddish; and only (b) in the other OV-languages. For a table of this, I refer to the one in (194) in section 1.8 below.

Notice that Yiddish also behaves like the (other) OV-languages in that the form that is used is the infinitive *stand*, as opposed to the VO-languages English and Danish which employ the present participle, *standing*.

Before we move on to perfect and future of causative verbs, a few words about IPP (Infinitivus Pro Participio), also known as "Ersatzinfinitiv" (replacement infinitive) or "double infinitive construction" (see den Besten & Edmondson 1983, Vanden Wyngaerd 1996, and many others): The perfect tense of certain verbs (which vary from language to language, see below and e.g. Schmid 1999:232, 2005:73-82) is not a combination of the aspectual auxiliary *have* plus past participle but instead of *have* plus infinitive. In other words, the infinitive form replaces the past participle.

This process is only found in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, German, Swabian and the three Swiss German variants, it never occurs in the VO-languages, nor in Frisian, Low German or Yiddish. Lange (1981), Schmid (2005:87) and many others link IPP to forming past participles by means of a *ge-* prefix. Like the VO-languages, Frisian and Low German form past participles without using the *ge-* prefix.

Yiddish is the only language that forms past participles by means of *ge-* and that does not have any IPP. If Yiddish were VO, the lack of IPP would be expected, but *ge-* in participles unexpected, whereas if Yiddish is OV, *ge-* in participles is expected, but the lack of IPP is not:

- (109) Yi. a. Dos dozike hobn zey badarft ton  
*This have they must.PPLE do*
- b. Zey hobn keyn zakh nit gekent ton  
*They have no thing not could.PPLE do*

c. Yidn hobn gemuzt zikh farteydikn  
Men have must.PPLE themselves defend

d. Es hot gezolt zayn a matóne  
It had should.PPLE be a present

(all from Lockwood 1995:81-83)

Four of the examples already discussed above, (88), (89), (90) and (96), were actually IPP-examples, as they used the the infinitive of *remain*, Du. *blijven*/Af. *bly*/WF. *bluven*/Be. *blibe*, rather than the past participles, Du. *gebleven*/Af. *gebly*/WF. *gebleven*/Be. *bblibe*. This is taken into account in the summarising table in (194) in section 1.8 below.

In the examples below, IPP is distributed differently: With the perfect of causatives and with the perfect of modals, Dutch, Afrikaans, German, Swabian and the three Swiss German variants all obligatorily show IPP, and with the perfect of perception verbs, IPP is obligatory in Dutch and Afrikaans, but optional in German and Swiss German.

## 1.5 Causative

Let us now turn to the perfect of causative verbs, where it is clear that IPP is obligatory in at least Dutch, Afrikaans, and German, when the forms are considered: Although English and Sankt Gallen Swiss German use one form, En. *let* / SG. *loo*, for both infinitive and past participle, the other languages make a distinction, Icelandic *láta* (infinitive)/*láið* (past participle), Danish *lade* [la]/*ladet* ['la:ðð], Yiddish *lozn/gelozt*, Dutch *laten/gelaten*, Afrikaans *laat/gelaat*, West Flemish *loaten/geloaten*, Frisian *litte/litten*, German *lassen/gelassen*, Swabian *lassa/glassa*, Zürich *laa/glaa*, and Bern *laa/gglaa*:

(110) En. a. He has let us wait  
b. \*He has us wait let

(111) Ic. a. Hann hefur látið okkur bíða  
b. \*Hann hefur okkur bíða látið

(112) Da. a. Han har ladet os vente  
b. \*Han har os vente ladet

(113) Yi. a. Er hot undz gelozt vartn  
b. Er hot undz vartn gelozt

(Lockwood 1995:135)

(114) Du. a. Hij heeft ons laten wachten  
b. \*Hij heeft ons wachten laten

(115) Af. a. Hy het ons laat wag  
b. \*Hy het ons wag laat

(116) WF. a. J'eet uns loaten wachten  
b. \*J'eet uns wachten loaten

(117) Fs. a. \*Hy hat ús litten wachtsje  
b. Hy hat ús wachtsje litten

(118) Ge. a. \*Er hat uns lassen warten  
b. Er hat uns warten lassen

(119) St. a. \*R hod ons lassa warda  
b. R hod ons warda lassa

(120) SG. a. \*Er hät üüs loo warte  
b. Er hät üüs warte loo

(121) Zü. a. Er hät öis laa warte  
b. Er hät öis warte laa

(122) Be. a. Er het is la warte  
b. \*Er het is warte laa

and then the future:

(123) En. a. He will let us wait  
b. \*He will us wait let

(124) Ic. a. Hann mun láta okkur bíða  
b. \*Hann mun okkur bíða láta

(125) Da. a. Han vil lade os vente  
b. \*Han vil os vente lade

(126) Yi. a. Er vet undz lozn vartn  
b. Er vet undz vartn lozn

(Lockwood 1995:135)

(127) Du. a. Hij zal ons laten wachten  
b. \*Hij zal ons wachten laten

(128) Af. a. Hy sal ons laat wag  
b. \*Hy sal ons wag laat

(129) WF. a. Je goad ons loaten wachten  
b. \*Je goad ons wachten loaten

(130) Fs. a. \*Hy sil ús litte wachtsje  
b. Hy sil ús wachtsje litte

(131) Ge. a. \*Er wird uns lassen warten  
b. Er wird uns warten lassen

(132) St. a. \*R wird ons lassa warda  
b. R wird ons warda lassa

(133) SG. a. \*Er wirt üüs loo warte  
b. Er wirt üüs warte loo

(134) Zü. a. Er wirt öis laa warte  
b. Er wirt öis warte laa

(135) Be. a. Er wirt is la warte  
b. \*Er wirt is warte laa

The picture is almost the same, but not quite, as with the durative verbs: Only (a) in the VO-languages and in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German, (a) and (b) in Yiddish and Zürich Swiss German, and only (b) in the other OV-languages. For a table of the findings, I refer to the one in (194) in section 1.8 below.

## 1.6 Perception verbs

I shall now turn to perception verbs. Consider first the perfect forms. Here IPP is obligatory in Dutch and West Flemish, optional in Afrikaans, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants, and (as always) impossible in VO-languages, Frisian, and Yiddish. The relevant forms are English *hear/heard*, Icelandic *heyra/heyrt*, Danish *høre/hørt*, Yiddish *hern/gehert*, Dutch *horen/gehoord*, Afrikaans *hoor/gehoor*, West Flemish *uoren/ghuort*, Frisian *hearre/heard*,

German *hören/gehört*, Swabian *hera/gherd*, Sankt Gallen *ghöre/ghört*, Zürich *ghööre/ghöört*, and Bern *ghöre/ghöört*.

- (136) En. a. He has heard her shout  
 b. \*He has her shout heard
- (137) Ic. a. Hann hefur heyrt hana hrópa  
 b. \*Hann hefur hana hrópa heyrt
- (138) Da. a. Han har hørt hende råbe  
 b. \*Han har hende råbe hørt
- (139) Yi. a. Er hot zi gehert rufn  
 b. ?Er hot zi rufn gehert
- (140) Du. a. Hij heeft haar horen roepen (Schmid 1999:232, (11a))  
 b. \*Hij heeft haar roepen horen
- (141) Af. a. ?Hy het haar gehoor roep (Schmid 1999:232, (8b))  
 b. \*Hy het haar roep gehoor
- (142) Af. a. Hy het haar hoor roep (Schmid 1999:232, (8a))  
 b. \*Hy het haar roep hoor
- (143) WF. a. J'eet heur uoren roepen (see also Schmid 1999:232, (12a))  
 b. \*J'eet heur roepen uoren
- (144) Fs. a. \*Hy hat har heard roppen  
 b. Hy hat har roppen heard
- (145) Ge. a. \*Er hat sie gehört rufen  
 b. Er hat sie rufen gehört (Schmid 1999:232, (9b))
- (146) Ge. a. \*Er hat sie hören rufen  
 b. Er hat sie rufen hören (Schmid 1999:232, (9a))
- (147) St. a. \*R hod se gherd ruafa  
 b. R hod se ruafa gherd
- (148) St. a. R hod se hera ruafa  
 b. R hod se ruafa hera
- (149) SG. a. Er hät sie ghört rüefe (Schmid 1999:232, (10b))  
 b. Er hät sie rüefe ghört
- (150) SG. a. Er hät sie ghöre rüefe (Schmid 1999:232, (10a))  
 b. \*Er hät sie rüefe ghöre
- (151) Zü. a. Er hät si ghöört rüefe  
 b. Er hät si rüefe ghöört
- (152) Zü. a. Er hät si ghööre rüefe  
 b. \*Er hät si rüefe ghööre
- (153) Be. a. Er het se ghöört rüeffe  
 b. \*Er het se rüeffe ghöört
- (154) Be. a. Er het se ghöre rüeffe  
 b. \*Er het se rüeffe ghöre

The picture is similar to the ones seen above, with three groups: only (a) in the VO-languages and Yiddish, Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German; (a) and (b) to various

extents in Swabian, Sankt Gallen and Zürich; and only (b) in Frisian and German. For a table of this, I refer to the one in (194) in section 1.8 below.

When we turn to the future forms, the picture remains the same:

- (155) En. a. He will hear her shout  
b. \*He will her shout hear
- (156) Ic. a. Hann mun heyra hana hrópa  
b. \*Hann mun hana hrópa heyra
- (157) Da. a. Han vil høre hende råbe  
b. \*Han vil hende råbe høre
- (158) Yi. a. Er vet zi hern rufn  
b. \*Er vet zi rufn hern
- (159) Du. a. Hij zal haar horen roepen  
b. \*Hij zal haar roepen horen
- (160) Af. a. Hy sal haar hoor roep  
b. \*Hy sal haar roep hoor
- (161) WF. a. Je goad eur uoren roepen  
b. \*Je goad eur roepen uoren
- (162) Fs. a. \*Hy sil har hearre roppen  
b. Hy sil har roppen hearre
- (163) Ge. a. \*Er wird sie hören rufen  
b. Er wird sie rufen hören
- (164) St. a. ?R wird se hera ruafa  
b. R wird se ruafa hera
- (165) SG. a. ?Er wirt sie ghöre rüefe  
b. Er wirt sie rüefe ghöre
- (166) Zü. a. Er wirt si ghööre rüefe  
b. ?Er wirt si rüefe ghööre
- (167) Be. a. Er wirt se ghöre rüeffe  
b. \*Er wirt se rüeffe ghöre

## 1.7 Modal verbs

Let us now finally consider perfect and future of modal verbs, beginning with the perfect. Also here the forms should be considered: Difference between the two are found in Icelandic *purfa* (infinitive)/*purft* (past participle), Danish *mätte/måttet*, Yiddish *darfn/gedarft*, Dutch and West Flemish *moeten/gemoeten*, Frisian *moatte/moatten*, German *müssen/gemusst*, whereas there would seem to be no past participles in the last four languages: Swabian only has *missa*, Sankt Gallen and Zürich only *müese*, and Bern only *müesse*.

However, on closer inspection, it turns out that there is another possibility (see Lötscher 1978:3, n2, Cooper 1994:187, Schönenberger 1995:356, n3, and many others), namely that Swabian *missa*, Sankt Gallen and Zürich *müese*, and Bern *müesse* are actually both infinitives and past participles. The latter is supported by the fact that the form identical to the infinitive shows up not only in potential IPP contexts, but also in contexts where IPP is not possible:



- (168) a. Ge. Das hättest du nicht gemusst (past participle)  
 b. Ge. \*Das hättest du nicht müssen (infinitive)  
 c. St. Des heddsch net missa  
 d. SG. Das heetsch nöd müese  
 e. Zü. Das hettisch nöd müese  
 f. Be. Das hättsch nid müesse  
*That had you not must*  
*(You shouldn't have done that / You didn't have to do that)*

IPP is not possible in examples like (168), because there is no infinitival embedded below the potential IPP-verb, i.e. the modal verb. That IPP also requires an infinitive below the IPP-verb in Swabian and in the Swiss German variants can of course not be seen here, but it can be seen in cases where there is a clear difference between the infinitive and the past participle forms, e.g. perception verbs. With perception verbs, it is possible to have an infinitive instead of the past participle if there is an embedded verb, (148), (150a), (152a), (154a) above, but the infinitive is impossible when there is no embedded verb, (169) below:

- (169) a. St. \*R hod se hera  
 b. SG. \*Er hät sie ghöre  
 c. Zü. \*Er hät si ghööre  
 d. Be. \*Er het se ghöre  
*He has her hear. INF*
- (170) a. St. R hod se gherd  
 b. SG. Er hät sie ghört  
 c. Zü. Er hät si ghöört  
 d. Be. Er het se ghöört  
*He has her heard. PPLE*

Given the ambiguity of the forms in Swabian, Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern, it is only Dutch, West Flemish, and German that clearly require IPP with modal verbs:

- (171) Ic. a. Hann hefur þurft að segja það  
*He has must to say it (He has had to say it)*  
 b. \*Hann hefur að segja þurft það
- (172) Da. a. Han har måttet sige det  
*He has must say it (He has had to say it)*  
 b. \*Han har sige måttet det
- (173) Yi. a. Er hot dos gedarft zogn  
 b. ??Er hot dos zogn gedarft
- (174) Du. a. Hij heeft dat moeten zeggen (de Rooy & Wikén Bonde 1971: 124)  
 b. \*Hij heeft dat zeggen moeten
- (175) WF. a. J'eet dat moeten zeggen  
 b. \*J'eet da zeggen moeten
- (176) Fs. a. \*Hy hat dat moatten sizze  
 b. Hy hat dat sizze moatten
- (177) Ge. a. \*Er hat das müssen sagen  
 b. Er hat das sagen müssen
- (178) St. a. R hod des missa saga  
 b. R hod des saga missa
- (179) SG. a. Er hät das müese säge  
 b. ?Er hät das säge müese (say contrastive)

- (180) Zü. a. Er hät das müese säge (must contrastive)  
 b. Er hät das säge müese
- (181) Be. a. Er het das müesse säge  
 b. \*Er het das säge müesse

There are no English examples, neither in the perfect, nor in the future, as English modals have neither participial nor infinitival forms. There are no Afrikaans perfect examples, as we here have the mirror image situation from other verbs in Afrikaans: Modal verbs have simple past forms, but no past participles (Ponelis 1993:439-440, Donaldson 1993:222, 241).

Consider now the future examples:

- (182) Ic. a. Hann mun burfa að segja það  
 He will must to say it (He will have to say it)  
 b. \*Hann mun að segja þurfa það
- (183) Da. a. Han vil mátte sige det  
 He will must say it (He will have to say it)  
 b. \*Han vil sige mátte det
- (184) Yi. a. Er vet dos darfn zogn  
 b. \*Er vet dos zogn darfn
- (185) Du. a. Hij zal dat moeten zeggen  
 b. \*Hij zal dat zeggen moeten
- (186) Af. a. Hy sal dit moet sê  
 b. \*Hy sal dit sê moet
- (187) WF. a. Je goat da moeten zeggen  
 b. \*Je goat da zeggen moeten
- (188) Fs. a. \*Hy sil dat moatte sizze  
 b. Hy sil dat sizze moatte
- (189) Ge. a. \*Er wird das müssen sagen  
 b. Er wird das sagen müssen
- (190) St. a. R wird des miassa saga  
 b. R wird des saga miassa
- (191) SG. a. Er wirt das müese säge  
 b. ?Er wirt das säge müese (say contrastive)
- (192) Zü. a. Er wirt das müese säge (must contrastive)  
 b. Er wirt das säge müese
- (193) Be. a. Er wirt das müesse säge  
 b. \*Er wirt das säge müesse

In both perfect and future modal constructions, there are three groups: only (a) in the VO-languages and Yiddish, Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German; (a) and (b) in Swabian and Swiss German from Sankt Gallen and Zürich; and only (b) in Frisian and German.

In table (194) in 1.8 below, I am assuming that Swabian, Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern allow only IPP with modal verbs, as this would be parallel to the other IPP-languages: Dutch, Afrikaans, and German allow only IPP with modal verbs (provided of course that the IPP conditions are fulfilled, i.e. that a further verb is embedded under the modal verb, cf. (169) above). This interpretation also is parallel to the situation with causative *let*: Also here all IPP-languages require IPP.

The Swabian, Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern data could of course also be interpreted in other ways, because it is impossible to tell whether an infinitive or a past participle is used.

## 1.8 Conclusion

All the results of 1.2-1.7 are summarised in the following table.

The languages are divided into three main groups: First the ones that are definitely VO (English, Icelandic, Danish), then Yiddish, and finally the ones that are indisputably OV (Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern).

The verbs have been numbered, starting with "0" for the finite verb. The question of the relative order of the two non-finite verbs can thus be seen as the question of which of the two non-finite verbs precedes the other, and this is the figure ("1" or "2") given in the table:

(194)

En	Ic	Da	Yi	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	0	1	2	
1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will	have	seen	<i>perfect, 1.2</i>
1	1	1	1/2	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will	have	finished	<i>future perfect</i>
1	-	1	1/2	1/2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	has	been	brought	<i>passive, 1.3</i>
1	1	1	1/2	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will	be	bought	<i>perfect</i>
1	-	-	1/2	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	must	be	built	<i>future</i>
1	-	1	1/2	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	-	has	remained	stand	<i>modal</i>
-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	has	remain	stand	<i>durative, 1.4</i>
1	-	1	1/2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	will	remain	stand	<i>perfect</i>
1	1	1	1/2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	has	let	wait	<i>IPP-perfect</i>
-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	2	2	1/2	1	has	let	wait	<i>perfect</i>
1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1/2	1	will	let	wait	<i>future</i>
1	1	1	1/2	-	1	1	2	2	2	1/2	1/2	1	has	heard	shout	<i>perception, 1.5</i>
-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	1/2	1	1	1	has	hear	shout	<i>perfect</i>
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	will	hear	shout	<i>IPP-perfect</i>
-	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	has	must	say	<i>future</i>
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	has	must	say	<i>modal, 1.7</i>
-	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	will	must	say	<i>perfect</i>

If Yiddish was a VO-language, it would be exceptional, as there is no (other) VO-language that has a "2" anywhere, i.e. Yiddish would be the only OV-language to ever have a (non-finite) verb to the right of another more deeply embedded verb in the same clause.

If Yiddish was an OV-language, it would not be so exceptional, given that also most other OV-languages show a considerable amount of variation, in particular Dutch, Afrikaans, and Bern Swiss German.

I therefore conclude that as far as the data discussed here are concerned, an analysis of Yiddish as an OV-language like German and Dutch is less problematic than an analysis of Yiddish as a VO-language like English or Danish.

(As mentioned in section 1.4 above, taking Yiddish to be an OV-language would further mean that all the languages that form past participles by means of *ge-* are OV-languages, as otherwise Yiddish would be the only VO-language with *ge-* in past participles.)

(As also mentioned in section 1.4 above, however, taking Yiddish to be an OV-language would also mean that the fact that Yiddish is the only language with *ge-* in participles that does not have IPP could now of course not be linked to Yiddish being the only VO-language with *ge-* in participles. Instead some other exceptional property of Yiddish would have to be appealed to, e.g. that Yiddish is the only language with *ge-* in participles that has V°-to-I° movement.)

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**Here is a further minor digression**

about the fact that the Germanic OV-languages are far from the straight mirror image of the Germanic VO-languages.

In fact, only two OV-languages seem to be real mirror-images of the VO-languages, namely Frisian and German, and even German strays from the strict OV-pattern (in which a non-finite verb always occurs to the right of another more deeply embedded verb) in certain constructions with three or more verbs. Consider first IPP-constructions with three verbs, where the deviation from the strict OV-order is obligatory:

- (195) Ge. a. \*Er wird es sagen<sub>3</sub> gemusst<sub>2</sub> haben<sub>1</sub> (order: 3-2-1, no IPP)  
 b. \*Er wird es sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> haben<sub>1</sub> (order: 3-2-1, with IPP)  
 c. \*Er wird es haben<sub>1</sub> sagen<sub>3</sub> gemusst<sub>2</sub> (order: 1-3-2, no IPP)  
 d. Er wird es haben<sub>1</sub> sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> (order: 1-3-2, with IPP)  
     *He will it (have) say must (have)*
- (196) Ge a. \*... dass er es sagen<sub>3</sub> gemusst<sub>2</sub> hat<sub>1</sub> (order: 3-2-1, no IPP)  
 b. \*... dass er es sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> hat<sub>1</sub> (order: 3-2-1, with IPP)  
 c. \*... dass er es hat<sub>1</sub> sagen<sub>3</sub> gemusst<sub>2</sub> (order: 1-3-2, no IPP)  
 d. ... dass er es hat<sub>1</sub> sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> (order: 1-3-2, with IPP)  
     ... *that he it (has) say must (has)*

Instead of the expected (195a)/(196a) examples with the 3-2-1 order and a participle (which is what is found in Frisian, Tiersma 1985:138), German has to have both IPP and the mixed 1-3-2 order, as in (195d)/(196d), cf. Schmid (1999:237, 2005:105-177) and references there. (Both of these are necessary: IPP without the mixed order, (195b)/(196b), or the mixed order without IPP, (195c)/(196c), do not suffice).

Even when there is no perfect involved, German allows deviation from the strict OV-pattern as one of two possibilities in the future modal construction with three verbs, as in (197b):

- (197) Ge. a. ... dass er es sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> wird<sub>1</sub> (order: 3-2-1)  
 b. ... dass er es wird<sub>1</sub> sagen<sub>3</sub> müssen<sub>2</sub> (order: 1-3-2)  
     ... *that he it (will) say must (will)*
-

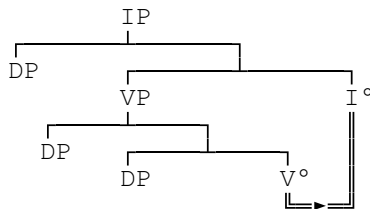
## 2. Two-verb sequences and the lack of V°-to-I° movement in all variants of German and Dutch

The second question for which the order inside the two-verb sequences is relevant is whether there is V°-to-I° movement in those Germanic languages where the finite verb occurs clause-finally in embedded clauses:

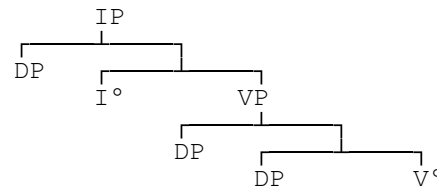
- (198) a. Du. Dat Johan vaak tomaten eet (verrast de meeste mensen)  
 b. Af. Dat Johan gereeld tamaties eet (verras die meeste mense)  
 c. WF. Da Johan dikkerst tematen eet (verwondert de meeste mensen)  
 d. Fs. Dat Johan faak tomaten yt (die de measte minsken nij)  
 e. Ge. Dass Johann oft Tomaten isst (überrascht die meisten Leute)  
 f. St. Dass dr Johann oft Tomada isst (ieberrascht der maschde Leid)  
 g. SG. Dass de Johann öpedie Tomaate äst (überascht di meischte Lüt)  
 h. Zü. Dass de Johann hüüfig Tomaten isst (überrascht di mäischte Lüüt)  
 i. Be. Dass dr Johann hüüfig Tomaten isst (überrascht di meischte Lüt)  
     *That John often tomatoes eats (surprises most people)*

In other words, the question is whether the finite verb in (198) moves to a clause-final I°-position, as in (199a), or it remains in V°, as in either (199b) or (199a) without the arrow:

(199) a.



b.



In this section, I will try to show that the analysis without V°-to-I° movement, (199a), is supported by the facts concerning verb sequences (and by other facts, cf. Vikner 2001 and hand-out V later in this course). These facts are closely related to the facts discussed in section 1 above.

### 2.1 Introduction

In section 1 above, I examined the sequence of non-finite verbs across twelve Germanic languages and dialects to argue that Yiddish is OV. In this section I will examine the sequence of a finite and a non-finite verb with the same verbs in the same languages.

I will attempt to show that in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern, the sequence of the two verbs in question is the same when the higher of the two verbs is finite (and the clause contains only two verbs) as it is when the higher of the two verbs is non-finite (and the clause contains three or more verbs of which the two verbs in question are the lowest ones).

Many factors influence the position of the two verbs in the nine languages in question, so that the order varies depending on the language and on the type of the higher verb. The point is that whatever the actual order is and what kind of movement causes the actual order, it does not seem to play a significant role whether the higher verb is finite or non-finite.

This would only be expected if the higher verb occurs in the "same" position both when it is finite and when it is non-finite. I assume that when the higher verb is non-finite, it undergoes neither V°-to-I° movement nor V2, see the infinitives *have/haben* in (200a,c) and (201a,c). I would like to draw the conclusion that if the higher verb behaves in exactly the same fashion when it is finite, see the finite *has/hat* in (200b,d) and (201b,d), then the finite verb too will be in situ, and cannot be taken to have undergone V°-to-I° movement or V2.

- (200) En. a. Why will she have seen this film? *main clause, non-finite*  
 b. ... if she has seen this film *embedded clause, finite*  
 c. \*Why will she seen have this film? *main clause, non-finite*  
 d. \*... if she seen has this film *embedded clause, finite*
- (201) Ge. a. \*Warum wird sie diesen Film haben gesehen? *main clause, non-finite*  
 b. \*... ob sie diesen Film hat gesehen *embedded clause, finite*  
 c. Warum wird sie diesen Film gesehen haben? *main clause, non-finite*  
 d. ... ob sie diesen Film gesehen hat *embedded clause, finite*

Below, I will go through the same constructions as in 1.2 - 1.7 above, and in the same order.

## 2.2 Perfect

Consider first the same two present perfect constructions that were examined in 1.2, *have seen the film*:

- (202) En. a. ... that we have seen this film  
 b. \*... that we seen have this film
- (203) Ic. a. ... að við höfum séð þessa mynd  
 b. \*... að við séð höfum þessa mynd
- (204) Da. a. ... at vi har set den her film  
 b. \*... at vi set har den her film
- (205) Yi. a. ... az mir hobn gezen dos dozike film  
 b. \*... az mir gezen hobn dos dozike film
- (206) Du. a. ... dat wij deze film hebben gezien  
 b. ... dat wij deze film gezien hebben
- (207) Af. a. \*... dat ons hierdie rolprent het gesien  
 b. ... dat ons hierdie rolprent gesien het
- (208) WF. a. \*... dan wonder dienen film een gezien  
 b. ... dan wonder dienen film gezien een
- (209) Fs. a. \*... dat wy dizze film hawwe sjoen  
 b. ... dat wy dizze film sjoen hawwe
- (210) Ge. a. \*... dass wir diesen Film haben gesehen  
 b. ... dass wir diesen Film gesehen haben
- (211) St. a. \*... dass mr dr Film hen gsaea  
 b. ... dass mr dr Film gsaea hen
- (212) SG. a. \*... dass-mer dä Film händ gsee  
 b. ... dass-mer dä Film gsee händ
- (213) Zü. a. \*... dass mer de Film händ gsee  
 b. ... dass mer de Film gsee händ
- (214) Be. a. ... dass-mer dä Fium hei gsee  
 b. ... dass-mer dä Fium gsee hei

and the parallel *have finished the work*:

- (215) En. a. ... that I have finished the work  
 b. \*... that I finished have the work

- (216) Ic. a. ... að ég hef lokið vinnunni  
 b. \*... að ég lokið hef vinnunni
- (217) Da. a. ... at jeg har afsluttet arbejdet  
 b. \*... at jeg afsluttet har arbejdet
- (218) Yi. a. ... az ikh hob farendikt di arbet  
 b. \*... az ikh farendikt hob di arbet
- (219) Du. a. ... dat ik dit werk heb beëindigt  
 b. ... dat ik dit werk beëindigt heb
- (220) Af. a. \*... dat ek die werk het gedoen  
 b. ... dat ek die werk gedoen het
- (221) WF. a. \*... dank ik da werk een gedoan  
 b. ... dank ik da werk gedoan een
- (222) Fs. a. \*... dat ik dit wurk ha beëinige  
 b. ... dat ik dit werk beëinige ha
- (223) Ge. a. \*... dass ich die Arbeit habe getan  
 b. ... dass ich die Arbeit getan habe
- (224) St. a. \*... dass-e d Erbet han do  
 b. ... dass-e d Erbet do han
- (225) SG. a. \*... dass-er t'Arbet hät gmacht  
 b. ... dass-er t'Arbet gmacht hät
- (226) Zü. a. \*... dass er d Arbet hät gmacht  
 b. ... dass er d Arbet gmacht hät
- (227) Be. a. ... dass-i t Arbeit ha gmacht  
 b. ... dass-i t Arbeit gmacht ha

There are three groups: only (a) in English, Icelandic, Danish and Yiddish, (a) and (b) in Dutch and Bern Swiss German, and only (b) in the other seven OV-languages. The results may be illustrated in a table as follows:

(228)	En	Ic	Da	Yi	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	perfect
	1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1/2	has	seen	<i>future perfect</i>
	1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1/2	has	finished	<i>future perfect</i>

All the results of 2.2-2.7 will be summarised together in this fashion in table (306) in section 2.8 below.

## 2.3 Passive

Consider now the two parallel passive constructions, *the book is bought*:

- (229) En. a. ... that the book is bought  
 b. \*... that the book bought is
- (230) Ic. a. ... að bókin verður keypt  
 b. \*... að bókin keypt verður
- (231) Da. a. ... at bogen bliver købt  
 b. \*... at bogen købt bliver

- (232) Yi. a. ... az dos bukh vert gekoyft  
 b. \*... az dos bukh gekoyft vert
- (233) Du. a. ... dat het boek wordt gekocht  
 b. ... dat het boek gekocht wordt
- (234) Af. a. \*... dat die boek word gekoop  
 b. ... dat die boek gekoop word
- (235) WF. a. \*... da dienen boek wordt gekocht  
 b. ... da dienen boek gekocht wordt
- (236) Fs. a. \*... dat it boek waard kocht  
 b. ... dat it boek kocht waard
- (237) Ge. a. \*... dass das Buch wird gekauft  
 b. ... dass das Buch gekauft wird
- (238) St. a. \*... dass des Buach wird kaufd  
 b. ... dass des Buach kaufd wird
- (239) SG. a. \*... dass das Buech sicher nöd wirt gkouft  
 b. ... dass das Buech sicher nöd gkouft wirt
- (240) Zü. a. \*... dass das Buech wirt gchauft  
 b. ... dass das Buech gchauft wirt
- (241) Be. a. \*... dass das Buech wirt gchouft  
 b. ... dass das Buech gchouft wirt

**and a house is built:**

- (242) En. a. ... that a house is built  
 b. \*... that a house built is
- (243) Ic. a. ... að hús verður byggd  
 b. \*... að hús byggd verður
- (244) Da. a. ... at et hus bliver bygget  
 b. \*... at et hus bygget bliver
- (245) Yi. a. ... az a hoyz vert geboyt  
 b. \*... az a hoyz geboyt vert
- (246) Du. a. ... dat een huis wordt gebouwd  
 b. ... dat een huis gebouwd wordt
- (247) Af. a. \*... dat 'n huis word gebou  
 b. ... dat 'n huis gebou word
- (248) WF. a. \*... dat er en us wordt gebouwd  
 b. ... dat er en us gebouwd wordt
- (249) Fs. a. \*... dat in hûs waard boud  
 b. ... dat in hûs boud waard
- (250) Ge. a. \*... dass ein Haus wird gebaut  
 b. ... dass ein Haus gebaut wird
- (251) St. a. \*... dass a Haus wird baud  
 b. ... dass a Haus baud wird



- (252) SG. a. \*... dass do sicher es Huus wirt phout  
 b. ... dass do sicher es Huus phout wirt
- (253) Zü. a. \*... dass do sicher es Huus wirt pout  
 b. ... dass do sicher es Huus pout wirt
- (254) Be. a. \*... dass es Huus wirt bbout  
 b. ... dass es Huus bbout wirt

The distribution in passive is not quite identical to that seen above for perfect. There are three groups: only (a) in English, Icelandic, Danish and Yiddish, (a) and (b) in Dutch, and only (b) in the other eight OV-languages. (For a table of this, please see (306) in section 2.8 below).

## 2.4 Durative

Let us now turn to other constructions with embedded infinitives. First the durative:

- (255) En. a. ... that the people remain standing  
 b. \*... that the people standing remain
- (256) Da. a. ... at menneskene bliver stående  
 b. \*... at menneskene stående bliver
- (257) Yi. a. ... az di layt blaybn shteyn  
 b. \*... az di layt shteyn blaybn
- (258) Du. a. ... dat de mensen blijven staan  
 b. ... dat de mensen staan blijven
- (259) Af. a. ... dat de mense bly staan  
 b. \*... dat de mense staan bly
- (260) WF. a. ... dan de mensen bluven stoan  
 b. \*... dan de mensen staan bluven
- (261) Fs. a. \*... dat de minsken bliuwe stean  
 b. ... dat de minsken stean bliuwe
- (262) Ge. a. \*... dass die Leute bleiben stehen  
 b. ... dass die Leute stehen bleiben
- (263) St. a. \*... dass d Leid bleibad schdanda  
 b. ... dass d Leid schdanda bleibad
- (264) SG. a. \*... dass t'Lüet blibet schto  
 b. ... dass t'Lüet schto blibet
- (265) Zü. a. \*... dass d Lüüt bliibed schtaa  
 b. ... dass d Lüüt schtaa bliibed
- (266) Be. a. ... dass t Lüt blibe schtaa  
 b. \*... dass t Lüt schtaa blibe

The distribution with durative verbs is slightly different from the ones for perfect and passive: Only (a) in English, Danish, Yiddish, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German, (a) and (b) in Dutch, and only (b) in the other five OV-languages. (For a table of this, please see (306) in section 2.8 below).

## 2.5 Causative

Consider now the causative:

- (267) En. a. ... that he lets us wait  
b. \*... that he us wait lets
- (268) Ic. a. ... að hann lætur okkur bíða  
b. \*... að hann okkur bíða lætur
- (269) Da. a. ... at han lader os vente  
b. \*... at han os vente lader
- (270) Yi. a. ... az er lozt undz vartn  
b.??... az er undz vartn lozt  
c. \*... az er vartn lozt undz
- (271) Du. a. ... dat hij ons laat wachten  
b. ... dat hij ons wachten laat
- (272) Af. a. ... dat hy ons laat wag  
b. \*... dat hy ons wag laat
- (273) WF. a. ... da tje ons loat wachten  
b. \*... da tje ons wachten loat
- (274) Fs. a. \*... dat hy ús lit wachtsje  
b. ... dat hy ús wachtsje lit
- (275) Ge. a. \*... dass er uns läßt warten  
b. ... dass er uns warten läßt
- (276) St. a. \*... dass er ons lessd warda  
b. ... dass er ons warda lessd
- (277) SG. a. \*... dass-er üüs loot warte  
b. ... dass-er üüs warte loot
- (278) Zü. a. ... dass er öis laat warte  
b. ... dass er öis warte laat
- (279) Be. a. ... dass-er-is laat warte  
b. \*... dass-er-is warte laat

The distribution with causative verbs is slightly different from the previous ones: Only (a) in English, Icelandic, Danish, Yiddish, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German, (a) and (b) in Dutch and Zürich Swiss German, and only (b) in the other four OV-languages. (For a table of this, please see (306) in section 2.8 below).

## 2.6 Perception verbs

Consider now perception verbs:

- (280) En. a. ... that he hears her shout  
b. \*... that he her shout hears
- (281) Ic. a. ... að hann heyrir hana hrópa  
b. \*... að hann hana hrópa heyrir
- (282) Da. a. ... at han hører hende råbe  
b. \*... at han hende råbe hører
- (283) Yi. a. ... az er hert zi rufn  
b. ??... az er zi rufn hert  
c. \*... az er rufn hert zi
- (284) Du. a. ... dat hij haar hoort roepen  
b. ... dat hij haar roepen hoort
- (285) Af. a. ... dat hy haar hoor roep  
b. \*... dat hy haar roep hoor
- (286) WF. a. ... da tje eur uort roepen  
b. \*... da tje eur roepen uort
- (287) Fs. a. \*... dat hy har heart roppen  
b. ... dat hy har roppen heart
- (288) Ge. a. \*... dass er sie hört rufen  
b. ... dass er sie rufen hört
- (289) St. a. ?... dass-r se herd ruafa  
b. ... dass-r se ruafa herd
- (290) SG. a. ... dass-er sie ghört rüefe  
b. ?... dass-er sie rüefe ghört
- (291) Zü. a. ... dass er si ghöört rüefe  
b. ... dass er si rüefe ghöört
- (292) Be. a. ... dass er se ghört rüeffe  
b. \*... dass er se rüeffe ghört

The distribution with perception verbs is different again from the previous ones: Only (a) in English, Icelandic, Danish, Yiddish, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German, (a) and (b) in Dutch, Swabian, and Sankt Gallen and Zürich Swiss German, and only (b) in Frisian and German. (For a table of this, please see (306) in section 2.8 below).

## 2.7 Modal verbs

Consider finally the modal construction:

- (293) En. a. ... that he must say it  
b. \*... that he it say must
- (294) Ic. a. ... að hann þarf að segja það  
b. \*... að hann það að segja þarf
- (295) Da. a. ... at han må sige det  
b. \*... at han det sige må

- (296) Yi. a. ... az er darf dos zogn  
 b. ??... az er dos zogn darf  
 c. \*... az er zogn darf dos
- (297) Du. a. ... dat hij dat moet zeggen  
 b. ... dat hij dat zeggen moet
- (298) Af. a. ... dat hy dit moet sê  
 b. \*... dat hy dit sê moet
- (299) WF. a. ... da tje da moet zeggen  
 b. \*... da tje da zeggen moet
- (300) Fs. a. \*... dat hy dat moat sizze  
 b. ... dat hy dat sizze moat
- (301) Ge. a. \*... dass er das muss sagen  
 b. ... dass er das sagen muss
- (302) St. a. (?)... dass-r des muass saga  
 b. ... dass-r des saga muass
- (303) SG. a. ... dass-er das mues säge  
 b. (?)... dass-er das säge mues
- (304) Zü. a. ... dass-er das mues säge  
 b. ... dass-er das säge mues
- (305) Be. a. ... dass er das mues säge  
 b. \*... dass er das säge mues

The distribution with modal verbs is identical to the one found with perception verbs: Only (a) in English, Icelandic, Danish, Yiddish, Afrikaans, West Flemish, and Bern Swiss German, (a) and (b) in Dutch, Swabian, and Sankt Gallen and Zürich Swiss German, and only (b) in Frisian and German. (For a table of this, please see (306) in section 2.8 below).

## 2.8 Conclusion

The whole set of data from (202) to (305) can be summarised as in table (306) below. I have kept the numbering of the verbs parallel to the summarising table (194) in section 1.8 above), in order to facilitate comparison between the findings of this section concerning the sequence of two verbs where the higher verb is finite and the findings of section 1 concerning the sequence of two verbs where both verbs are non-finite.

In both tables, (306) here and (194) above, the question of the relative order of the two verbs can be seen as the question of which of the two verbs that precedes the other, and this is the figure ("1" or "2") given in the table. Also in both tables, the languages are divided into three main groups: First the ones that are definitely VO (English, Icelandic, Danish), then Yiddish, and finally the ones that are indisputably OV (Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern).

(306) When the verb labelled "1" is **finite**:

En	Ic	Da	Yi	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1/2	has	seen	<i>perfect, 2.2</i>
													has	finished	
1	1	1	1	1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	is	bought	<i>passive, 2.3</i>
													is	built	
1	-	1	1	1/2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	remains	stand	<i>durative, 2.4</i>
1	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1/2	1	let	wait	<i>causative, 2.5</i>
1	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	hears	shout	<i>perception, 2.6</i>
1	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	must	say	<i>modal, 2.7</i>

To facilitate comparison between the two tables concerning the findings in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern, I repeat in (307) and (308) below the relevant part of the two tables, with the patterns emphasised (i.e. a box around all the "1" specifications, another around all the "2" specifications, etc.). I have furthermore simplified table (194) above by only including the results for the future or modal forms (thus avoiding any interference from the choice between IPP forms and non-IPP forms in the perfect):

(307) When the verb labelled "1" is **finite** (partial repetition of (306) above):

Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1/2	-	has	finished	<i>perfect</i>
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	is	built	<i>passive</i>
1/2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	-	remains	stand	<i>durative</i>
1/2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1/2	1	-	let	wait	<i>causative</i>
1/2	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	-	hears	shout	<i>perception</i>
1/2	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	-	must	say	<i>modal</i>

(308) When the verb labelled "1" is **non-finite** (partial repetition of (194) above):

Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	will	have	finished	<i>future perfect</i>
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	must	be	built	<i>passive modal</i>
1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	will	remain	stand	<i>durative future</i>
1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1/2	1	will	let	wait	<i>causative future</i>
1	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	will	hear	shout	<i>perception future</i>
1	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1	will	must	say	<i>modal future</i>

It is striking how much the two tables, (307) and (308), resemble each other, i.e. how (almost) exactly the same constructions seem to prefer "1" or "2" or allow both, irrespective of whether the verb indicated by "1" is finite or not. If the results in (307) are compared to the results in (308), only 5 out of 54 points diverge (and these 5 points diverge only minimally, i.e. none of them have "1" in one table and "2" in the other): Perfect in Bern is "1/2" in (307) and "2" in (308), and durative, causative, perception verbs and modal verbs in Dutch are "1/2" in (307), and "1" in (308). These five points of divergence are marked by black squares in the following conflated version of (307) and (308):

(309) **Identical and divergent specifications between (307) and (308):**

	Du	Af	WF	Fs	Ge	St	SG	Zü	Be		
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	■	<i>perfect</i>
1/2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		<i>passive</i>
■	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1		<i>durative</i>
■	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1/2	1		<i>causative</i>
■	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1		<i>perception</i>
■	1	1	2	2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1		<i>modal</i>

If the finite verbs in embedded non-V2 sentences in table (307) **HAD** undergone V°-to-I° movement, then the parallels between the two tables would be a coincidence, because the movements that had applied would not be the same: The "1" verbs in table (307) would have undergone V°-to-I° movement, whereas the "1" verbs in table (308) would not have undergone V°-to-I° movement. I am of course here following the consensus in the literature that non-finite verbs, including those discussed in table (308), never undergo V°-to-I° movement, otherwise this argumentation would make no sense: The question is precisely whether the finite verbs in German and other OV-languages undergo V°-to-I° movement parallel to the finite (and only the finite) verbs in French, Icelandic and Yiddish, cf. hand-out I.

If, on the other hand, the finite verb in embedded non-V2 sentences in table (307) **HAD NOT** undergone V°-to-I° movement, then the parallels between the two tables would not be a coincidence, because the movements that have applied could be the same, e.g. neither the "1" verbs in table (307), nor the "1" verbs in table (308) would have undergone V°-to-I° movement.

This would seem to indicate that **in these languages, the finite verbs in embedded non-V2 sentences in table (307) do not undergo any type of movement that only applies to finite verbs** (i.e. neither V2 nor V°-to-I° movement). Only if we assume that the exact same kind of movements (whatever they actually are, e.g. extraposition of VP, V', or V°, cf. the extensive literature beginning with Evers 1975 and including e.g. Vanden Wyngaerd 1996, Haegeman 1998a, 1998b, Schmid 1999, 2005, Wurmbrand 2001, 2005, and references cited there) apply to finite verbs in table (307) that apply to non-finite verbs in table (308), would we expect the finite verbs in these languages to have the same position as the corresponding embedded non-finite verbs.

I therefore conclude that the cross-linguistic distributional patterns support the assumptions of the present analysis that the clause-final finite verbs in embedded clauses do not undergo V°-to-I° movement (nor V2) in Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian, and the three Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern.

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