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VERB RAISING AND THE
POSITION OF THE FINITE VERB
IN PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN
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Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk (1986) present an expanded analysis of the process of Verb Raising (VR) in dialects of Dutch and German, which they term Verb Projection Raising (VPR) (also see Evers (1975)). A paradigm example of VR in Standard German is the so-called double infinitive construction (DIC). In formulating a typology of VPR structures across Dutch and German dialects, Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk refer primarily to the analysis of Den Besten and Edmondson (1983) for DICs. In fact, however, Den Besten and Edmondson neglect to consider the surface pattern for DICs in a significant number of German dialects originating generally in the area of the Rhineland-Palatinate.¹ Inclusion of this pattern proves to be problematic for the analysis of V(P)R as both sets of authors have articulated it. In this discussion I will present data on DICs and similar phenomena from Pennsylvania German (PG), a colonial dialect of German most closely resembling dialects of the eastern Rhineland-Palatinate (*Vorderpfalz*). The data presented point toward an analysis of VR as a form of Infinitive Extraposition, as Zaenen (1979) and Kroch and Santorini (1987) suggest.

1. DICs in German

In Standard German (SG) the accepted underlying order for DICs is as follows:

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¹ This has already been pointed out by Lötscher (1978, 20ff.) and incorporated by Kroch and Santorini (1987) in their modification of VR.

- (1) $V_L + V_M + V_A$
 3 2 1

V_A = auxiliary (finite) verb

V_M = modal verb

V_L = lexical verb (complement of V_M)

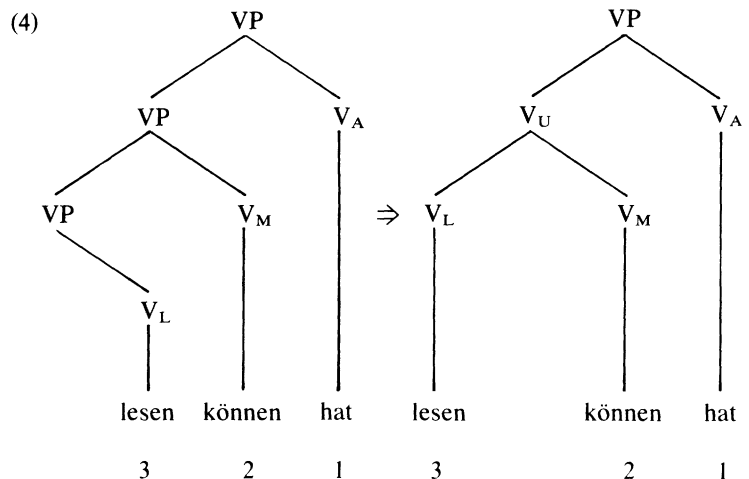
For example:

- (2) SG: *lesen gekonnt hat
 read could has
 3 2 1
 'was able to read'

However, the derived order of DICs in embedded clauses is 132, as in (3).²

- (3) SG: Ich weiß, daß er *hat lesen können*.
 1 3 2
 'I know that he was able to read.'

To derive this 132 surface pattern, the V_L (*lesen*) undergoes VR and is adjoined to the V_M (*können*) to form a single verbal unit (V_U), as in (4). See Den Besten and Edmondson (1983, 193ff.).³



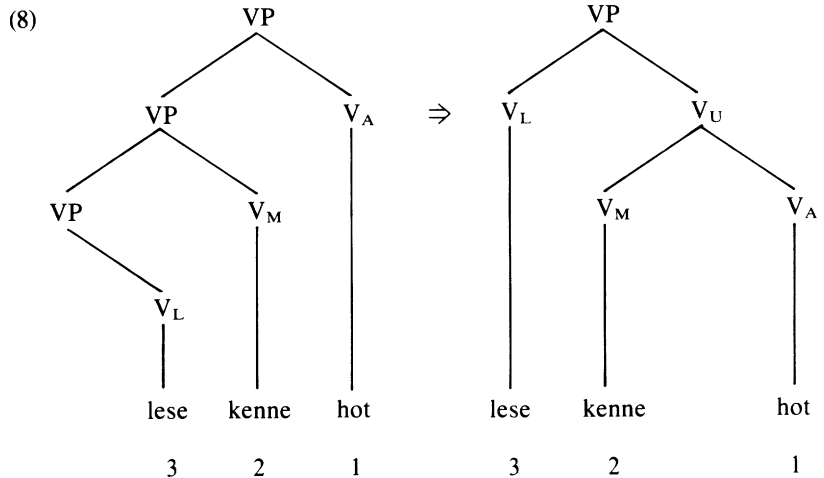
At this point, the two elements in the verb cluster (VP) are reversed by the process of Inversion to give the desired surface pattern 132, as in (5).

Though, as Den Besten and Edmondson point out, there is considerable variation among Dutch and German dialects

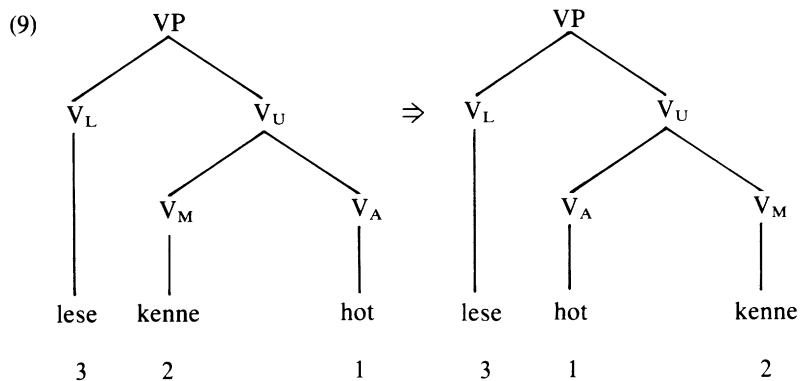
² The past participle of V_M (here, *gekonnt*) also undergoes infinitivization prior to inversion, an aspect of the analysis not pertinent here.

³ Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk's analysis of the verb cluster involves not movement but rather a form of Reanalysis through dual representation. The process of Inversion, however, remains similar to the one posited by Evers and by Den Besten and Edmondson.

(7) given above in (2). Yet in order to derive the correct surface order for PG in Den Besten and Edmondson's or Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk's framework, VR (or Reanalysis) would have to operate as in (8) to unite the V_M and V_A to form V_U , unlike what happens in other varieties of German and Dutch.



Inversion then could occur only at V_U to give the correct 312 derived pattern, as in (9).



Den Besten and Edmondson cite evidence of 312 patterns in restricted varieties of SG employed by certain native "Middle" (Central) Bavarian dialect speakers. In general, Central Bavarian dialects display finite verb-final patterns in DICs, and Den Besten and Edmondson suggest that the 312 patterns represent the speakers' "attempt to sound non-dialect like" (1983, 182). Likely due to the fact that they consider 312 patterns stylistically restricted, Den Besten and Edmondson omit these patterns in their theoretical analysis of VR. However, in light of the fact that the 312 pattern is indeed the *only* grammatical con-

figuration for DICs in PG, as well as in a significant number of related continental German dialects,⁶ a truly comprehensive analysis of VR for West Germanic (German and Dutch) dialects must necessarily incorporate the empirical data from PG.

3. Related Phenomena in Pennsylvania German and Infinitive Extraposition

As mentioned above, the theoretical frameworks developed by Den Besten and Edmondson and by Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk (taking their cue from Evers's original work) to account for word order patterns in VR constructions in German and Dutch dialects do not predict the DIC pattern characteristic of PG. Nor is it readily obvious how these analyses might be modified without resorting to potentially cumbersome theoretical mechanisms, such as an additional parameter on the optionality/obligatoriness of VR in Den Besten and Edmondson's analysis and/or additional stipulations on the Reanalysis parameter in Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk's. It might, however, be reasonable to look at VR from a different angle, as Zaenen (1979) has—namely, as a form of Infinitive Extraposition (IE).

Kroch and Santorini (1987), following Zaenen (1979), treat VR as IE within the framework of Tree-Adjoining Grammar (see Kroch and Joshi (1985)). Kroch and Santorini refute previous analyses of VR, including those of Den Besten and Edmondson and of Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk, by making two general claims: first, that VR does not involve clause union or clause pruning and second, that the arguments in favor of viewing the verb cluster as a single syntactic or lexical constituent are refutable. In support of their analysis, Kroch and Santorini note the similarity between PG-style 312 patterns in DICs and mirror-image (213) patterns involving IE noted by Lötscher (1978, 9) for Zürich (Swiss) German (ZG) in which, as in DICs, the finite verb is situated between two nonfinite verbs. As seen in (10) (Lötscher's (23a), Kroch and Santorini's (78)), these IE 213 patterns differ from DICs in that the second constituent is a lexical verb and takes the form of a past participle, unlike its DIC counterpart, which is an infinitivized modal.

- (10) ZG: wo s aagfange hät rägne
 where it started has rain
 2 1 3
 'when it started to rain'

As a rule for PG, in constructions in which a lexical verb takes an infinitival complement, that complement is extraposed. Not extraposing these complements results in ungrammaticality. In PG we find similar facts, as in the identical 213 order in (11).

⁶ Henn (1980) cites the fact that the 312 pattern is generally typical of modern Palatine dialects. Also see Maurer (1926).

- (11) PG: wu s kschttert hot regere
 2 1 3

Similarly, in auxiliary constructions with verbs of perception (for example, *heere* 'hear', *gsehne* 'see') in PG, these verbs function as lexical verbs (unlike in SG, where they are modals) and 213 patterns are also the only grammatical possibility. The perception verb is a participle, again contrary to what happens in SG, where it appears in derived structure as an infinitive:

- (12) PG: Ich wees, as sie mich
 I know that she me
 gheert/gsehne hot kumme.
 heard/seen has come
 2 1 3
 'I know that she heard/saw me coming.'⁷

In (13) we see that in multiple embeddings, Extraposition operates cyclically such that the most deeply embedded infinitival complement is extraposed last and consequently appears the farthest to the right in derived structure. Thus, 2 is first postposed to the immediate right of 1, followed by 3, which ends up to the right of 2.

- (13) PG: Du weescht, as ich
 you know that I
 meind sie heere sell saage.
 remember her hear that say
 1 2 3
 'You know that I remember hearing her say
 that.'

In constructions involving infinitival complements of both a lexical verb and a modal verb, the same patterns noted above obtain: the (lexical) complement of the modal is not extraposed, whereas its own, more deeply embedded complement is (along with the infinitivized modal). See (14) and (15). As noted earlier, all PG data given here represent the *only* grammatical configurations possible in the PG varieties studied.

⁷ A further example in which PG differs from SG serves to underscore the productivity of IE in PG. (i) shows the cognate of SG *kennenlernen* 'meet', 'get to know' in PG *lanne kenne*, in which *kenne* 'know' is treated like any other complement of a lexical verb (here, *lanne* 'learn') and the predicted 213 pattern obtains.

- (i) PG: Du hoscht gwisst, as ich sie glannt hob kenne.
 you have known that I her learned have know
 2 1 3
 SG: Du hast gewußt, daß ich sie kennengelernt habe.
 3 2 1
 'You knew that I met her.'

work will be to examine specifically *how* the mechanism of IE can be applied to VR in PG (for example, with respect to cyclicity), in particular with sentences like (15).

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