Verbal complexes and verb clusters in Germanic: (micro-)variation and the role of the restructuring verb

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Germanic exhibits rich (micro-)variation in verbal complexes (Aux₁-Mod/V₂-V₃). German and Norwegian e.g. differ in forming mono- vs. bi-clausal configurations.

- (1) a. dass Emil die Frau wird1 küssen3 können2 | küssen3 können2 wird1
 - b. at Emil vil₁ kunne₂ kysse₃ kvinnen
 - "...that Emil will be able to kiss the woman."
- (2) a. dass Marie den Jungen hat1 spielen3 sehen2 | *spielen3 sehen2 hat1
 - b. at Marie har₁ sett₂ gutten spille₃
 - "...that Mary has seen the boy play."

German forms mono-clausal units, where verb clusters exhibit reordering. Like this, Infinitivus pro Participio (IPP) is obligatory with modals (*gekonnt/können) but optional with perception verbs ((ge)sehen). Norwegian employs bi-clausal configurations with the latter. The use of Participium pro Infinitivo (PPI) indicates that cases with modals are mono-clausal, but North Germanic lacks reordering.

- (3) at Emil har₁ kunnet₂ kysset₃ kvinnen
 - "...that Emil will be able to kiss the woman."
- (4) a. *dass Emil die Frau hat₁ küssen₃ gekonnt₂
 - b. dass Marie den Jungen spielen; gesehen; hat
 - "...that Mary has seen the boy play."

Following the Borer-Chomsky-Conjecture (Borer 1984), it is tempting to hold the restructuring verb responsible for triggering these contrasts in cluster formation.

The results of a study on the L2-acquisition of Norwegian and German (by L1-speakers of German and Norwegian) corroborate this claim. The mono-/bi-clausal-distinction does not pose problems and L2-learners also permit optional PPI/IPP. However, there is no interaction with reordering (hence no causal relation between reordering and morphological peculiarities, Wurmbrand 2017) and a very strong preference for verb-final clauses across the board for L2-speakers of German. This suggests that reordering is not just a PF-phenomenon but has a syntactic reality.

The restructuring verb is indeed central, but reordering and morphological effects also hinge on the embedding auxiliary. This is difficult for learners, who need to work out target properties based on a noisy input and without any semantic support.

References. Borer, H. (1984). *Parametric syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris. • Wurmbrand, S. (2017). Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. In Everaert & van Riemsdijk (eds), *The Wiley Blackwell companion to syntax* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell, 227-341.