

## Different Serializations in Verb Clusters: A Cartographic Approach

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Roughly twenty years ago, I asked 321 Mennonites from North and South America to translate 46 sentences from Spanish/English/Portuguese into Mennonite Low German (MLG; cf. KAUFMANN 2018). From this endeavor resulted roughly 14,500 translations, four of which are presented in (1a-d). Stimulus sentence <15> features a conditional clause, which contains the modal verb *has to* and the inchoative adverb *now*:

stimulus <15> English: If he has to sell the house now, he will be very sorry.

- (1)
- a. *wenn hei DAT HÜS            nü verköpe mut        dann wird her trürig sene*  
if he the house-ObjNP now sell-V2 must-V1 then will he sad be
  - b. *wann hei SIN HÜS            nü mut        verköpen dann wird her sehr trürig sein*  
if he his house-ObjNP now must-V1 sell-V2 then will he very sad be
  - c. *wann her DAT HÜS            vondaag verköpen dät        dann is der trürig*  
if he the house-ObjNP today sell-V2 does-V1 then is he sorry
  - d. *wann hei wird        DAT HÜS            nü fuats verköpe dat wird ihm sehr leid were*  
if he will-V1 the house-ObjNP now quickly sell-V2 it will him very sorry become

The main focus of sentence <15>, and of the research project in general, was to learn more about clause-final verb clusters in MLG (cf. KAUFMANN 2016). For Continental West Germanic varieties (CWGVs), the traditional labels for the extant serialization patterns are verb projection raising (with the sequence V1-ObjNP-V2 as in (1d)), verb raising (with the sequence ObjNP-V1-V2 as in (1b)), and non-raising (with the sequence ObjNP-V2-V1 as in (1a+c)). The term *raising* was used since many linguists were convinced that the IP- and the VP-domain in CWGVs are head-final, so the verbal sequence V1-V2 in verb (projection) raising was assumed to result from moving the verb V2 or the entire verb projection V2P, respectively, to the right of V1. Unlike many researchers in the field (cf., e.g., KAYNE 1994 and ZWART 1996), I still believe that this conclusion is basically correct; yet I do not believe that verb raising, as in (1b), is the result of just raising the verb. Like DEN BESTEN and BROEKHUIS (1989), I rather believe that this variant is the result of scrambling the ObjNP out of V2P and then raising the remnant V2P to the right of V1. However, I am only interested in the verbal sequence in this talk, so I will contrast the unraised variant (sequence V2-V1) with the two raised variants (sequence V1-V2).

Crucially for this talk, some deviations from the stimulus sentences occurred – and turned out to be blessings in disguise. Two such deviations can be seen in (1c+d). Instead of the expected modal verb *mute(n)* (‘must’), (1c) features conditional *dune* (‘do’) and (1d) the inchoative verb *woare(n)* (‘will’), whose frequent use may be induced by the presence of the likewise inchoative adverb *nü* (‘now’). Importantly, the three auxiliaries all select bare infinitives. Due to this and due to the fact that the other constituents in the conditional clauses in (1a-d) are (near-)identical, the massive differences in the shares of the two raised variants must be linked to the nature of V1.

Very few sequences V1-V2 can be detected in clauses with *dune*, while *woare(n)* occurs very frequently with this sequence. The modal verb *mute(n)* yields an intermediate share in this respect.

Although such differences are well-known for verb clusters in CWGVs (cf., e.g., ZWART 1996: 233 and BARBIERS 2005: 248–255), a coherent explanation has not yet been given. My own explanation is inspired by cartographic syntax (cf., e.g., RIZZI & CINQUE 2016 and SHLONSKY 2010). To the best of my knowledge, the verbal sequence in verb clusters has never been linked to this well-established functional hierarchy, in which the mood phrase *mood<sub>irrealis</sub>*, probably headed by *dune* in MLG, is found high up in the split IP-domain (cf. SHLONSKY 2010: 422–423), while the aspectual phrase *asp<sub>inceptiveII</sub>*, the closest phrase fitting the inchoative aspect of *woare(n)*, occurs very low. The modal phrase *mod<sub>obligation</sub>* can be found in between the other phrases. Thus, the different functional heights of these phrases correlate perfectly with the different shares of the cluster sequence V1-V2: the higher the phrase, the fewer cases of verb (projection) raising.

In my talk, I will present the precise mechanism I assume for the derivation of different types of verb clusters. Obviously, my conclusions will not only stem from the roughly 300 usable translations of stimulus sentence <15>; rather, I will base them on almost 4,500 translations with eight different V1-auxiliaries (among them 3 modal verbs that show marked differences in their verb cluster behavior).

### *Used literature*

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