An Analysis of German Auxiliary Flip

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Overview

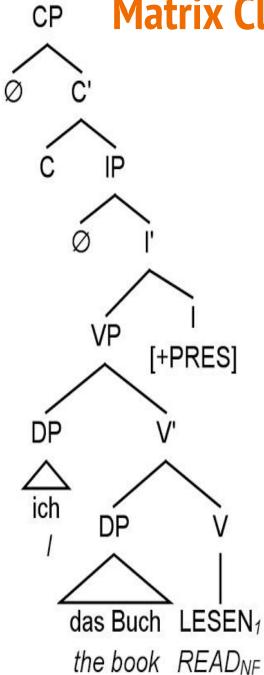
- 1) Micro Lesson of German Syntax
- 2) Description of Auxiliary Flip
- 3) Mysteries and Properties of Aux Flip
- 4) Time to Kick it up a Notch!
- 5) What Does the Literature Do to Solve Aux Flip?
- 6) My Attempt to Drag Aux Flip into Generative Grammar¹
- 7) Unresolved issues / problems

German is a V2 language.

Ich werde_F morgen das Buch lesen_{NF} .	Das Buch werde_F ich morgen lesen_{NF} .				
I will _F tomorrow the book read _{NF}	the book will_F I tomorrow read_{NF}				
Morgen werde _F ich das Buch lesen _{NF} .	Lesen_{NF} werde_F ich morgen das Buch.				
tomorrow will_F I the book read_{NF}	read _{NF} will _F I tomorrow the book				
"I will read the book tomorrow."					

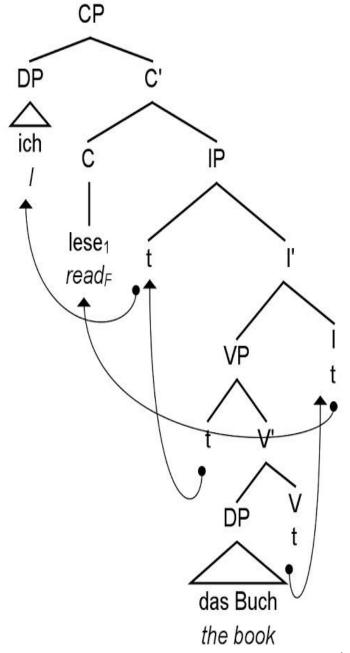
But in its deeper structure, German is actually SOV.

Matrix Clause w/ One Verb



Ich $lese_1$ das Buch.

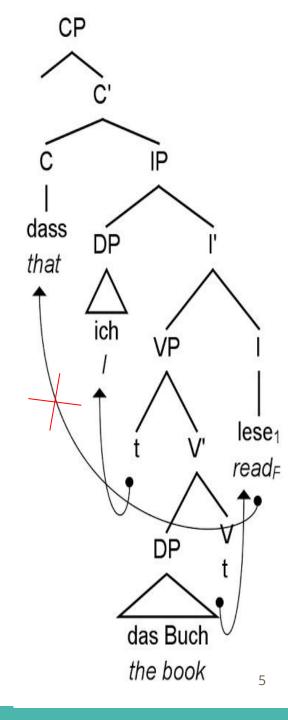
I $read_F$ the book."

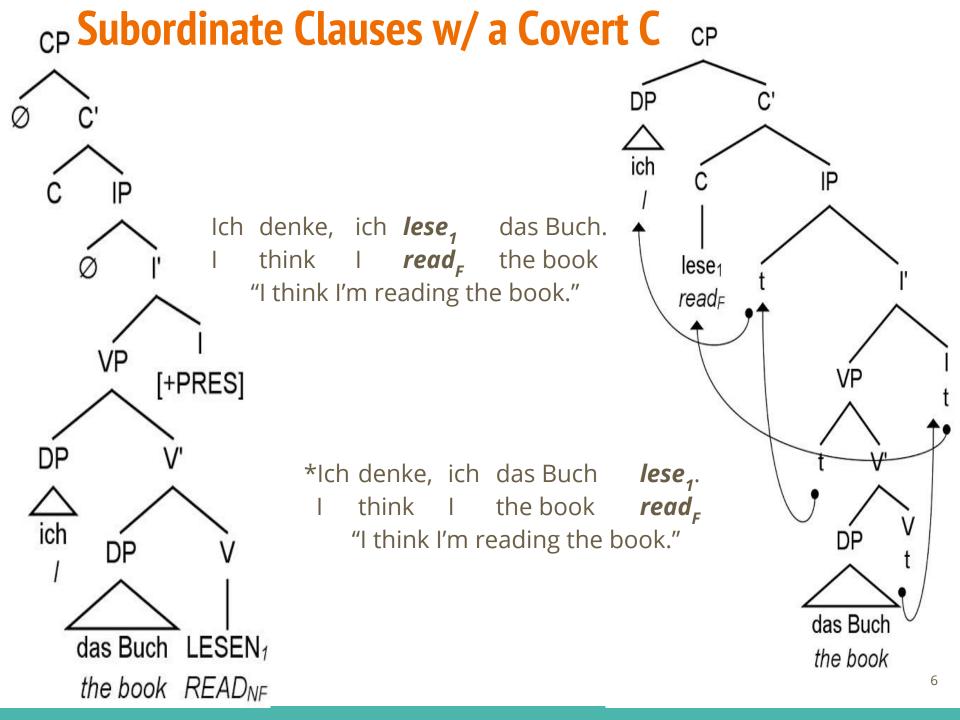


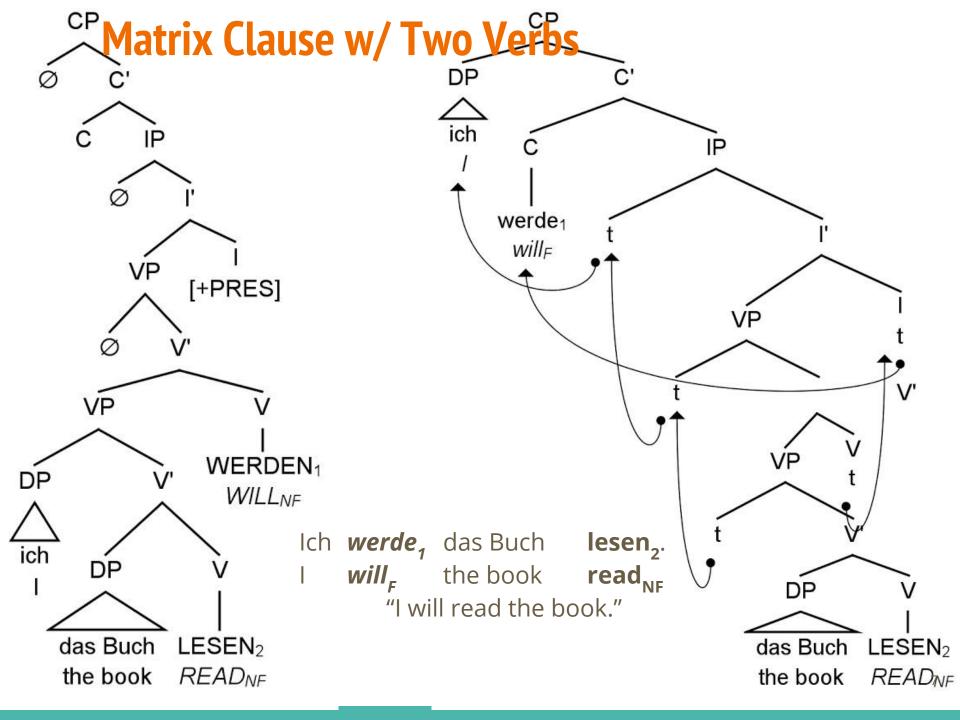
CP **Subordinate Clause w/ One Verb** dass that VP [+PRES] ich das Buch LESEN₁

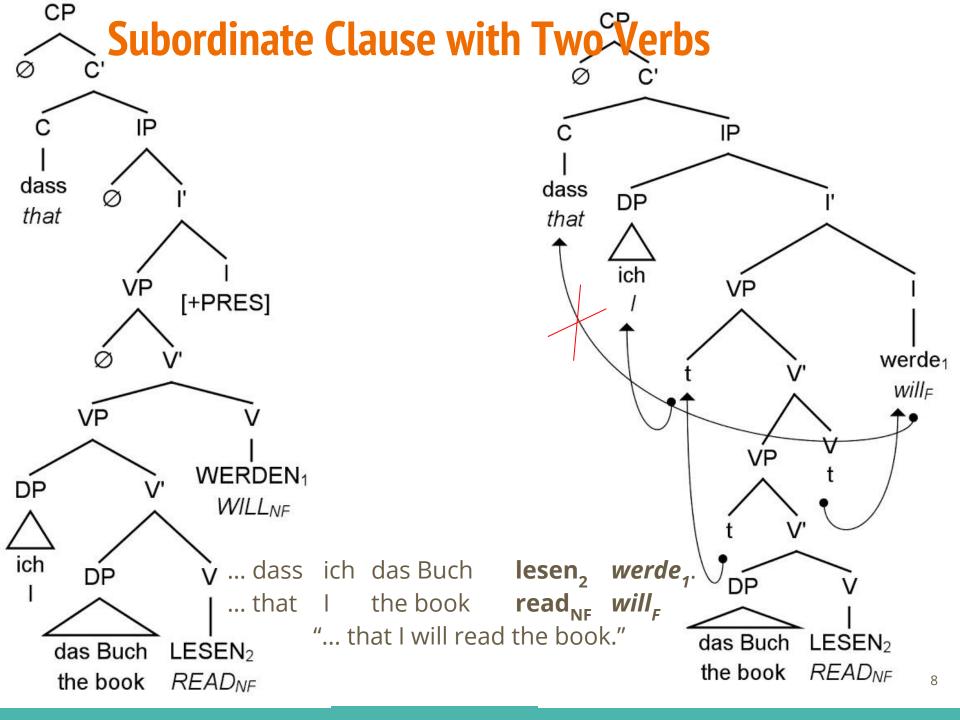
the book READNE

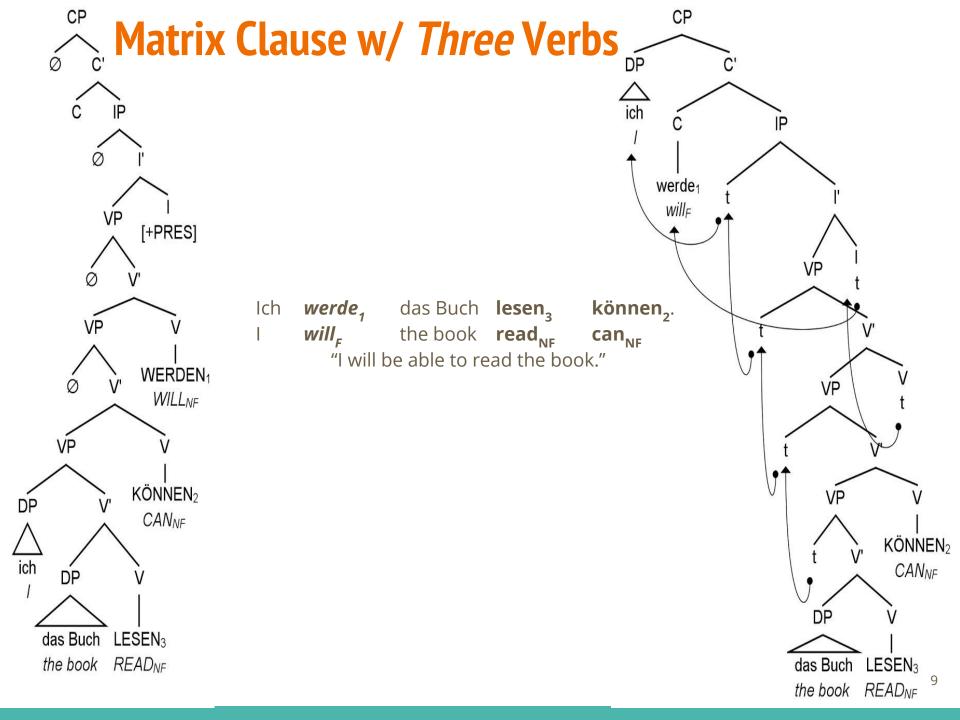
... dass ich das Buch lese₁. the book read_F ... that "... that I read the book."

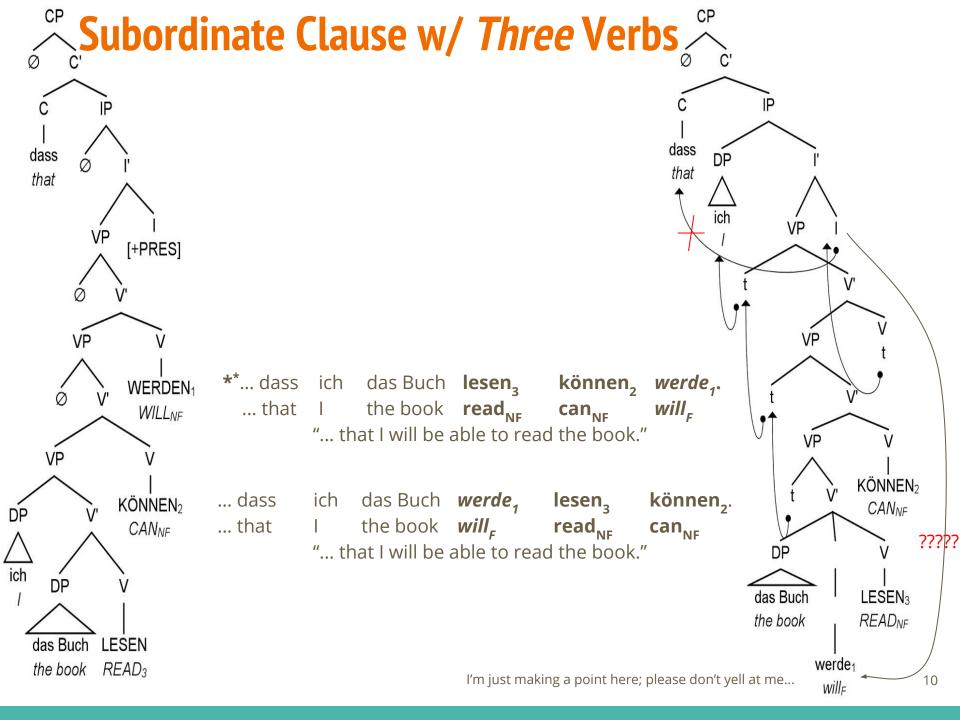












Auxiliary Flip!

Some important things to note:

- The finite verb comes between the action verb and its complement.
- Nothing can appear between the finite verb and the non-finite verbs.*
- This configuration is fairly common in German, and it's universal across speakers.

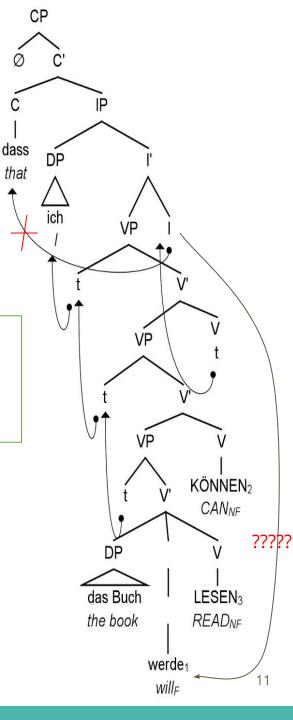
Vocab word of the day: <u>Oberfeld</u>

German for "upper field"

**... dass ich das Buch $lesen_3$ können $_2$ werde $_1$.

... that I the book $read_{NF}$ can_{NF} will $_F$ "... that I will be able to read the book."

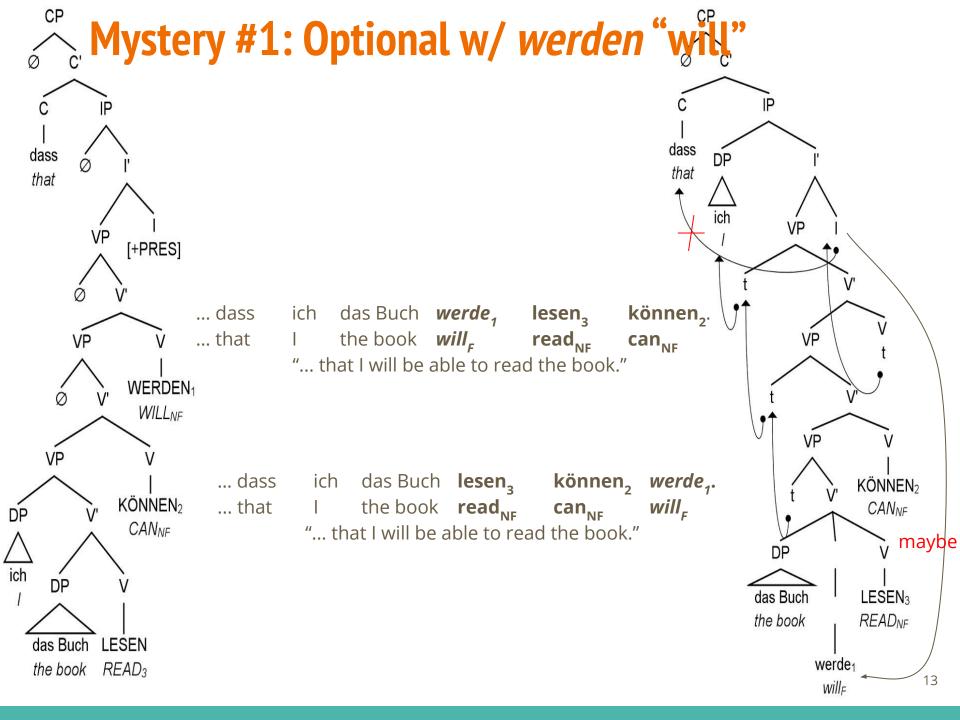
... dass ich das Buch $werde_1$ lesen₃ $k\"onnen_2$ that I the book $will_F$ $read_{NF}$ can_{NF} "... that I will be able to read the book."



Two Questions We Want to Be Answered:

1) Where does the finite verb move to in the clause?

2) Why does it move anyway?



Mystery #2: PP-Removal from haben "have"*

```
*... dass ich das Buch habe_1 lesen<sub>3</sub> gekonnt_2.

... that I the book have_F read<sub>NF</sub> could<sub>PP</sub>

"... that I had been able to read the book."
```

Subordinate Clause

```
... dass ich das Buch habe_1 lesen<sub>3</sub> k\"onnen_2.
... that I the book have_F read<sub>NF</sub> can_{NF}
"... that I had been able to read the book."
```

```
?... dass ich das Buch wird_1 lesen<sub>4</sub> gekonnt<sub>3</sub> haben<sub>2</sub>.

... that I the book will_F read<sub>NF</sub> could<sub>PP</sub> have<sub>NF</sub>.

"... that I will have been able to read the book."
```

<u>Matrix Clause</u>

```
Ich habe<sub>1</sub> das Buch lesen<sub>3</sub> können<sub>2</sub>.

I have<sub>F</sub> the book read<sub>NF</sub> can<sub>NF</sub>

"I had been able to read the book."
```

Mystery #3

This movement allows quantified or emphatically stressed accusative NPs in sentences in which modal verbs appear in the perfect tense.*

```
... dass ich habe_1 keiner lesen<sub>3</sub> können<sub>2</sub>
... that I have_F nothing read<sub>NF</sub> can<sub>NF</sub>
"... that I had read nothing"
```

Time to Kick it up a Notch!

- (1) Er wird, das Buch haben, lesen, können. he $will_{E}$ the book have_{NE} read_{NE} can_{NE} "He will have been able to read the book."
- können₃. können₃. Flip!!! (2) Ich glaube, dass er das Buch wird, haben, lesen, think that he the book $will_F$ have_{NF} read_{NF} can_{NF} "I think that he will have been able to read the book."
- Intermediate Position!!! können₂. (3) Ich glaube, dass er das Buch **lesen**, **wird**, think that he the book **read**_{NE} **will**_E can_{NF}

What are our options?

Ich glaube, dass er das Buch...
I think that he the book...

"I think that he...

will be able to read was able to read will have been able to read

...the book."

•	141	IVI		
lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ can _{NF}	wird ₁ . (!) will _F		
lesen ₃ read _{NF}	wird ₁ will _F	können ₂ . (can _{NF}	!)	
habe ₁ have _F	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ . can _{NF}		
*lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ can _{NF}	habe ₁ . have _F		
*habe ₁ have _F	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₂ . could _{PP}		
[?] lesen ₃ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₂ could _{PP}	habe ₁ have _F		
wird ₁ will _F	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	können ₃ can _{NF}	haben ₂ . have _{NF}	
wird ₁ will _F	haben ₂ have _{NF}	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	können ₃ . (!) can _{NF}	
lesen ₄ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₃ could _{PP}	haben ₂ have _{NF}	wird ₁ . will _F	
? wird ₁ will _F	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₃ could _{PP}	haben ₂ . (!) have _{NF}	17

können₂.

can_{NF}

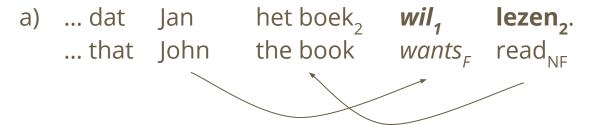
wird₁

will_F

lesen₂

read_{NF}

And then there's *Dutch*...



"...that John wants to read the book."

- b) ... dat Jan $Marie_1$ het $boek_2$ $laat_1$ $lezen_2$ that John Mary the book $lets_F$ $read_{NF}$
 - "... that John lets Mary read the book."
- c) ... dat Jan_1 Marie₂ het boek₃ wil_1 laten₂ lezen₃. ... that $John_1$ Mary₂ the book₃ $wants_F$ let_{NF} read_{NF}

"... that John wants to let Mary read the book."

How Common are These Actually?

- Extreme cases of aux flip vary across speakers, but generally is universal across German and dialects.
- Strongly depends on the accompanying verb, and limited to select decreasing numbers of verbs.
- Slowly disappearing with werden "will".
- Very natural to native speakers.

(Hinrichs, 2016)

Table 12.

Oberfeld placement of modals with double infinitives.

	DTA 1600-99		DTA 1700-99		DTA 1800-99		TüPP-D/Z		TüBa-D/Z	
VVINF VMINF VMFIN	0.01	1	0.04	7	0.01	1	0.08	17	3.18	5
VMFIN VVINE VMINE	0.21	63	0.69	209	0.51	151	0.07	14	0.00	0
VVINF VVINF VMFIN	3.16	967	6.53	1,939	5.39	1,402	25.78	5,270	0.67	1
VMFIN VVINF VVINF	2.56	770	2.55	762	1.14	348	0.03	7	3.18	5

Past Work with Aux Flip

Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar:

- (Hinrichs and Nakazawa, 1994a) states that a verbal complex is combined before then being combined with the arguments of the involved verbs. The complex can be analyzed as a single constituent.
- (Bouma and van Noord, 1996) describes this verbal complex as having to be a flat structure, with linear ordering properties and constraints.
- (Meuers, 2001) re-analyzes this structure as unique to this phenomenon and not the same as a normal German *verbal complex*. Aux verbs are removed from the government chain and analyzed as a comp, similar to D and NPs.

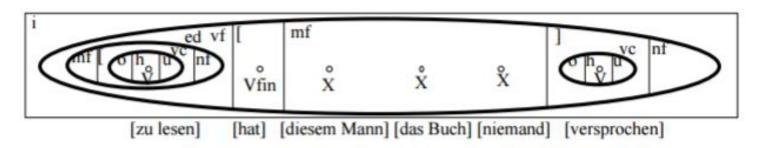
Past Work with Aux Flip (cont.)

Generative Grammar:

 (Haider 1990) states that topicalized V-projections are base-generated in Spec-CP when fronted, and this principle could be extended in other sentential positions.

"Topological Dependency Grammar":

• (Gerdes and Kahane, 2001)



A Generative Approach

Following ideas presented in (Meurers, 2001), let's assume VPs in German consist of an outer C layer (similar to introducing D with NPs).

Why? German aux flip is weird.

- A limited class of verbs can be flipped: only aux verbs*
- Only finite and bare infinitival verbs that take a bare infinitival complement can flip.*
- Verbal complements of haben "have" must occur in bare infinitival form, not as usual past participles.
- The position of the flip is to the left, not the usual right that would presumed.

Rethink *Oberfeld* Verbs as Functional Elements

(Abney, 1987) lists five properties that characterize functional elements:

- 1. Represent a restricted lexical class of elements
 - Only haben, werden, and rare certain modals
- Never can be stressed
- 3. Only can select a single complement type
 - Always infinitival VP
- 4. Complement cannot be topicalized
- 5. Lack "descriptive content"; instead "regulate or contribute to the interpretation of their complement"

• *• Oberfeld verbs are now functional elements!

Here We Go!

VP is now the complement of a special verbal CP.

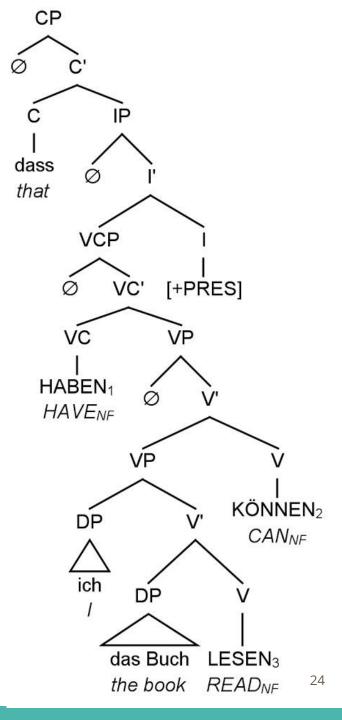
• This parallels NP and DP, and IP and CP.

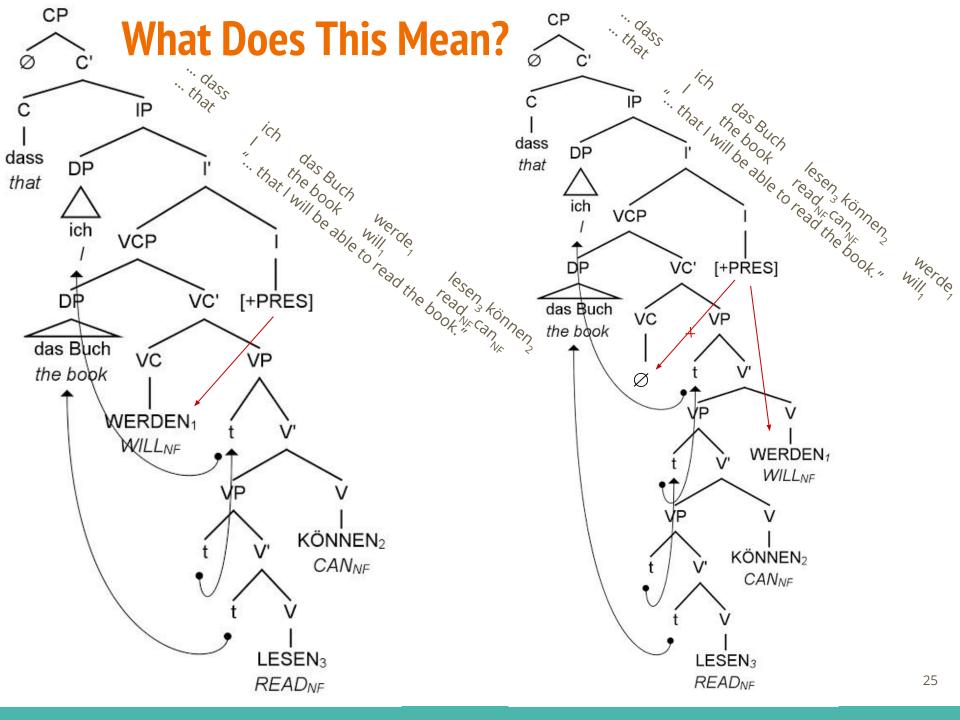
Because *haben* "have" is generated in VC, it does not pass PP-features (or it is generated here lacking such features in the first place).

I drops its features onto VC. If VC is empty, the next highest verbal element moves to I.

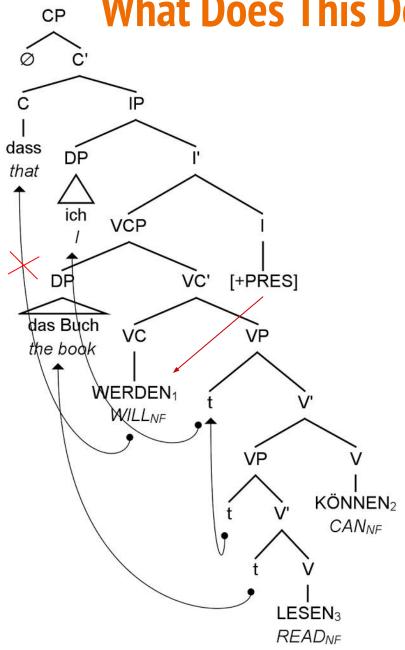
The verb affected then tries to move to C.

C is filled by dass "that," so movement does not occur.

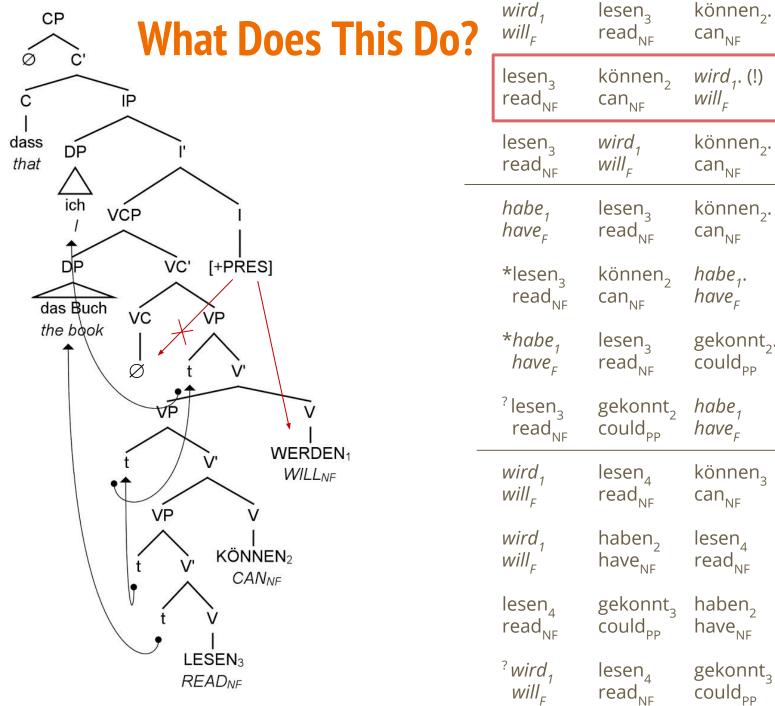




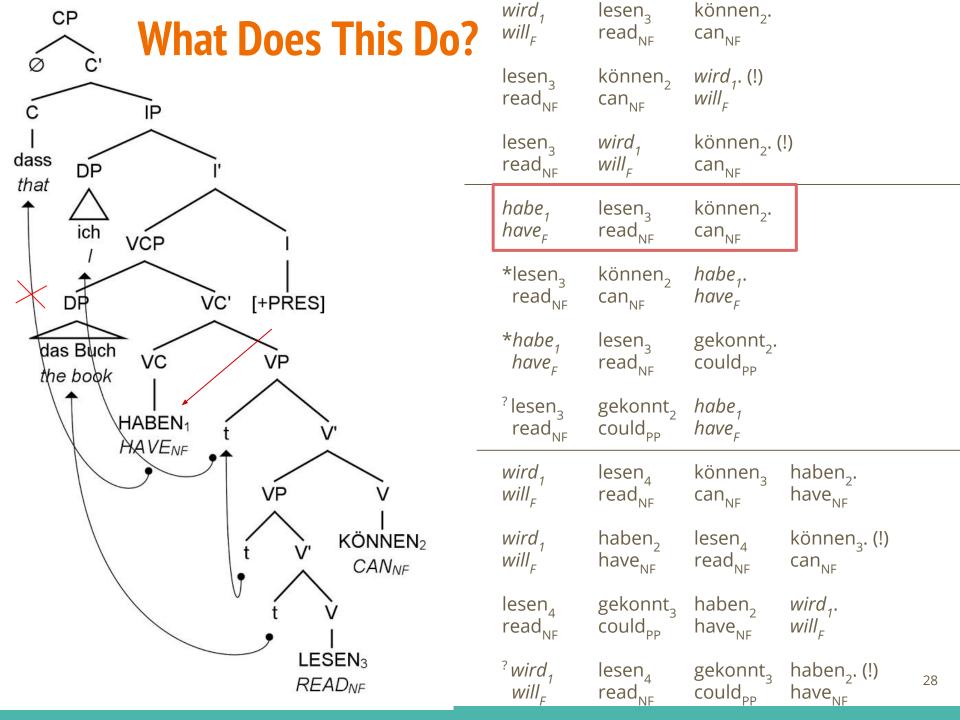
What Does This Do?

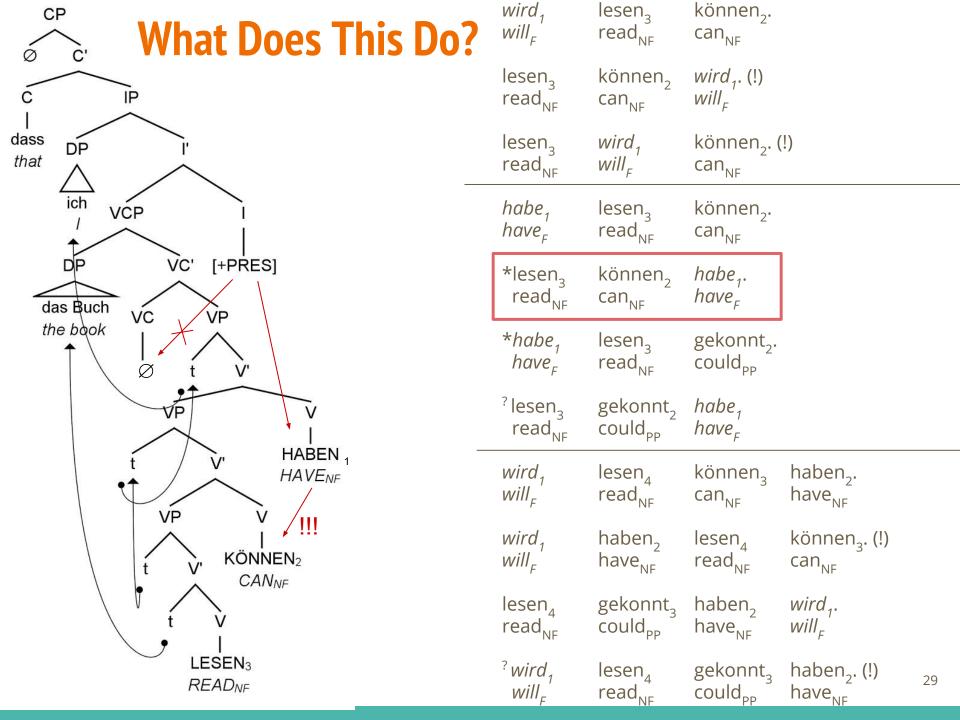


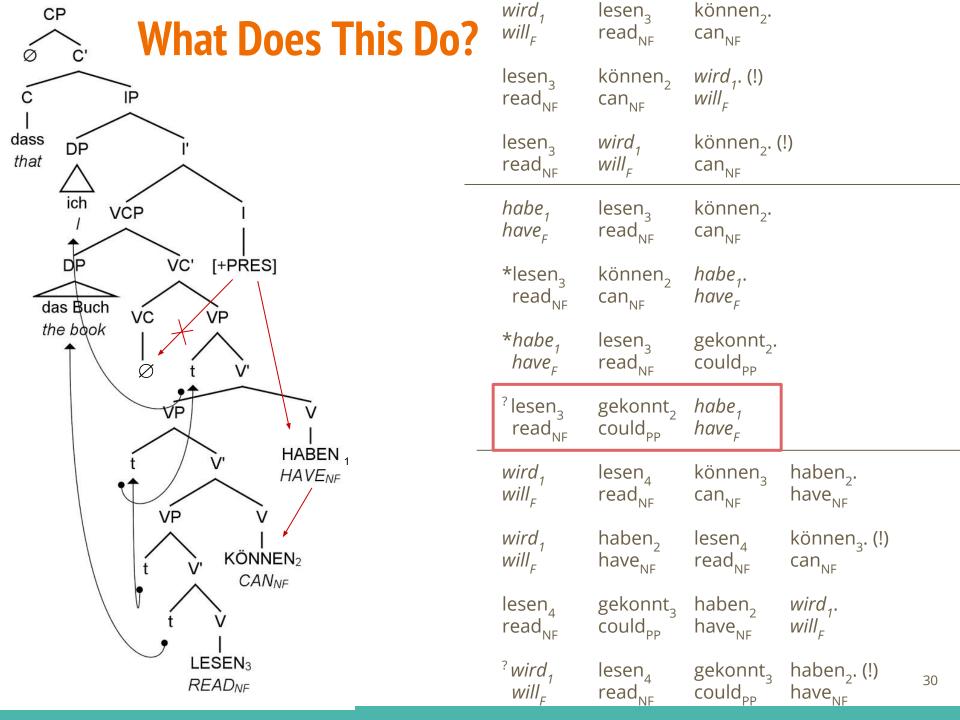
)	wird ₁ will _F	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ . can _{NF}		
	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ can _{NF}	wird ₁ . (!) will _F		
	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	wird ₁ will _F	können ₂ . (can _{NF}	!)	
	habe ₁ have _F	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ . can _{NF}		
	*lesen ₃ read _{NF}	können ₂ can _{NF}	habe₁. have _F		
	*habe ₁ have _F	lesen ₃ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₂ . could _{PP}		
	[?] lesen ₃ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₂ could _{PP}	habe ₁ have _F		
	wird ₁ will _F	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	können ₃ can _{NF}	haben ₂ . have _{NF}	
	wird ₁ will _F	haben ₂ have _{NF}	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	können ₃ . (!) can _{NF}	
	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₃ could _{PP}	haben ₂ have _{NF}	wird₁. will _F	
	³ wird ₁ will _F	lesen ₄ read _{NF}	gekonnt ₃ could _{PP}	haben ₂ . (!) have _{NF}	26

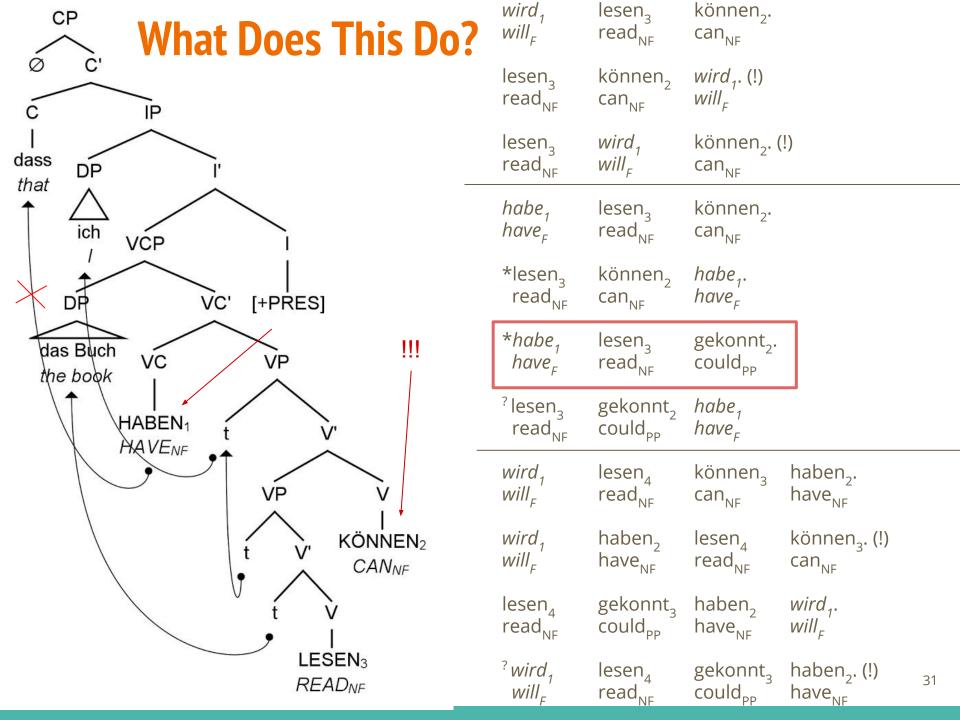


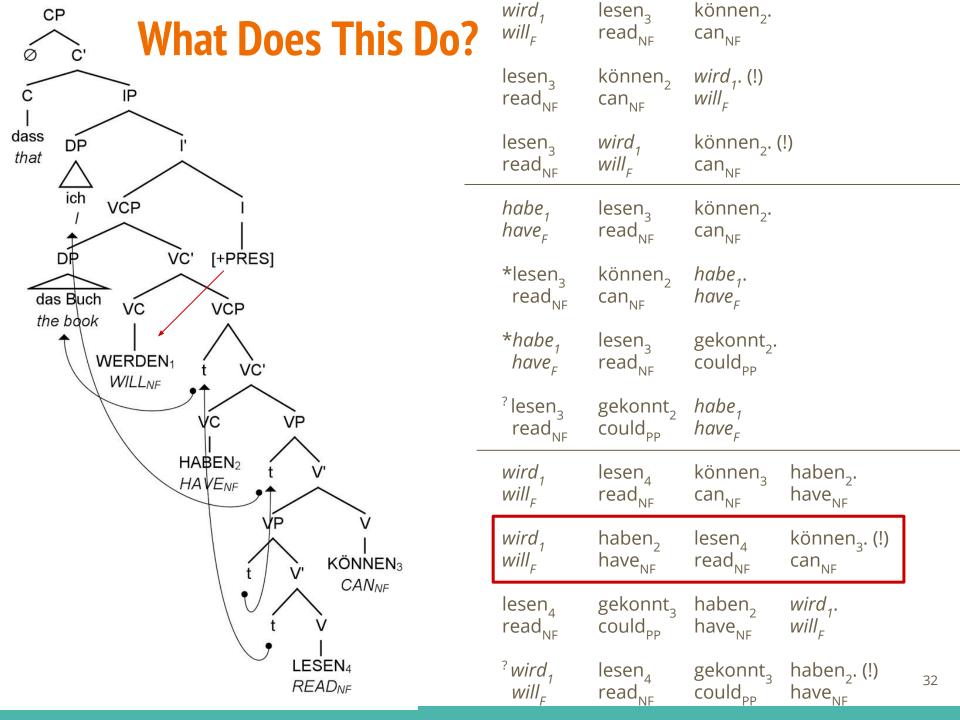
können₂. (!) können₂. gekonnt₃. haben₂. have_{NF} können₃. (!) can_{NF} $wird_1$. $will_{F}$ haben₂. (!) gekonnt₂ 27 have_{NE} read_{NF}

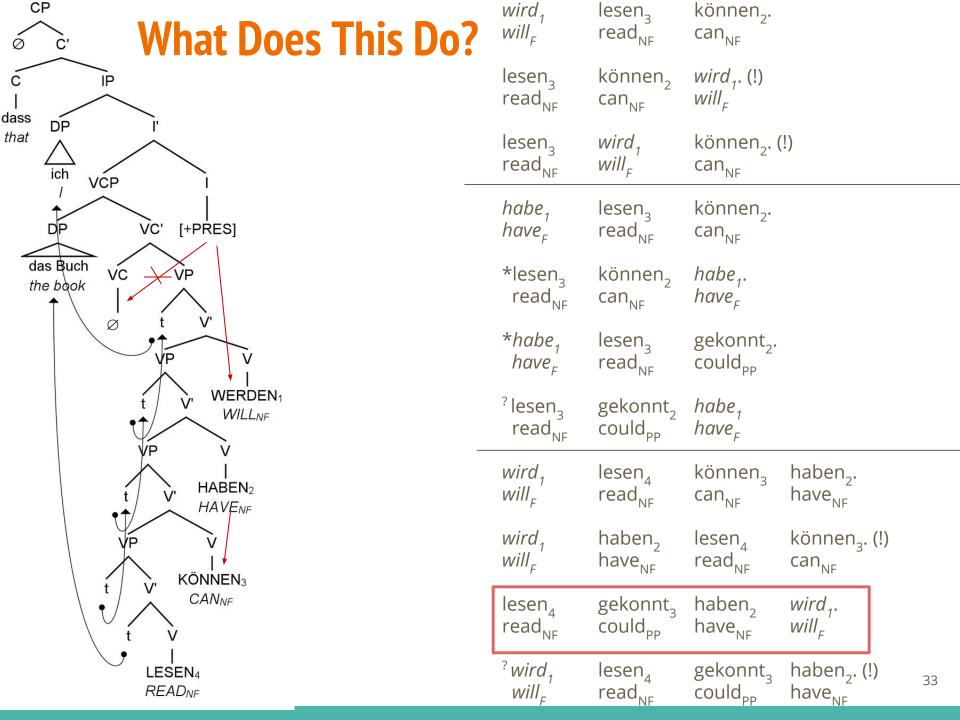


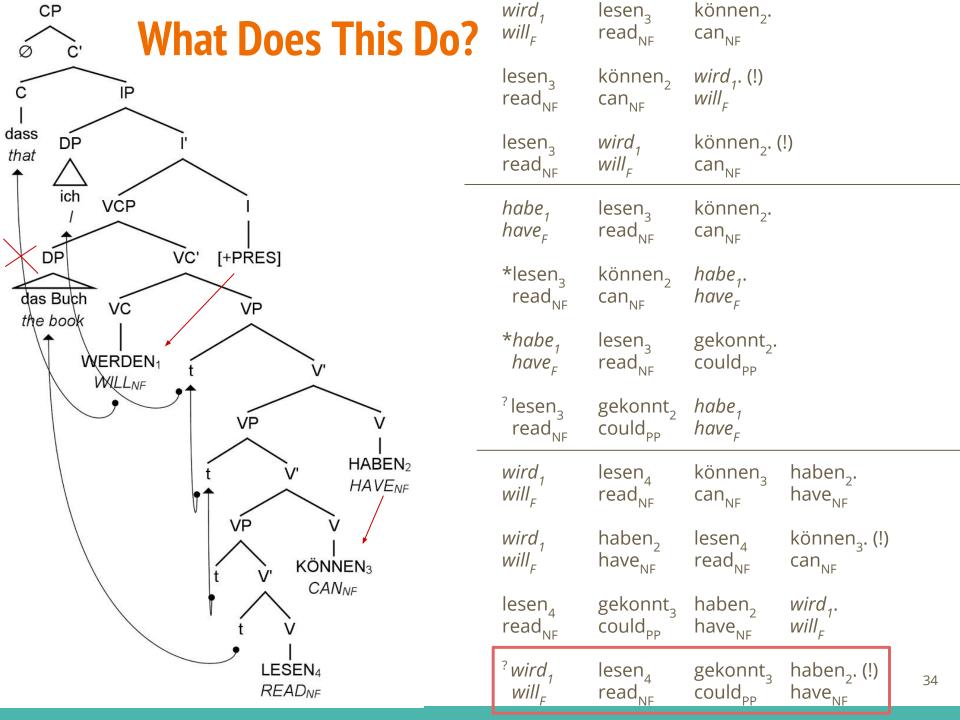


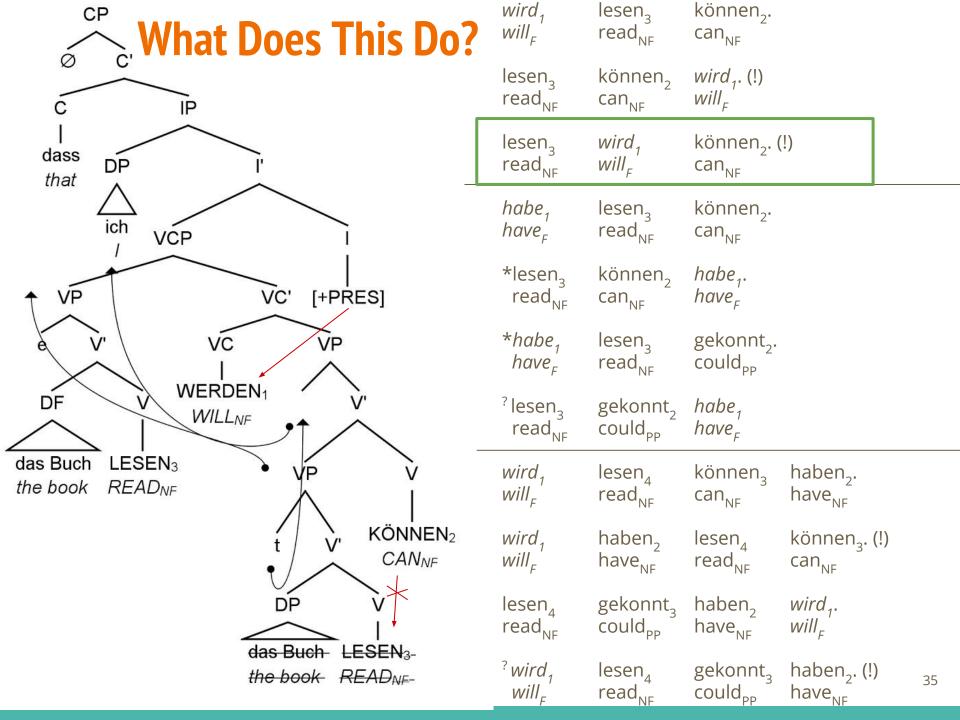


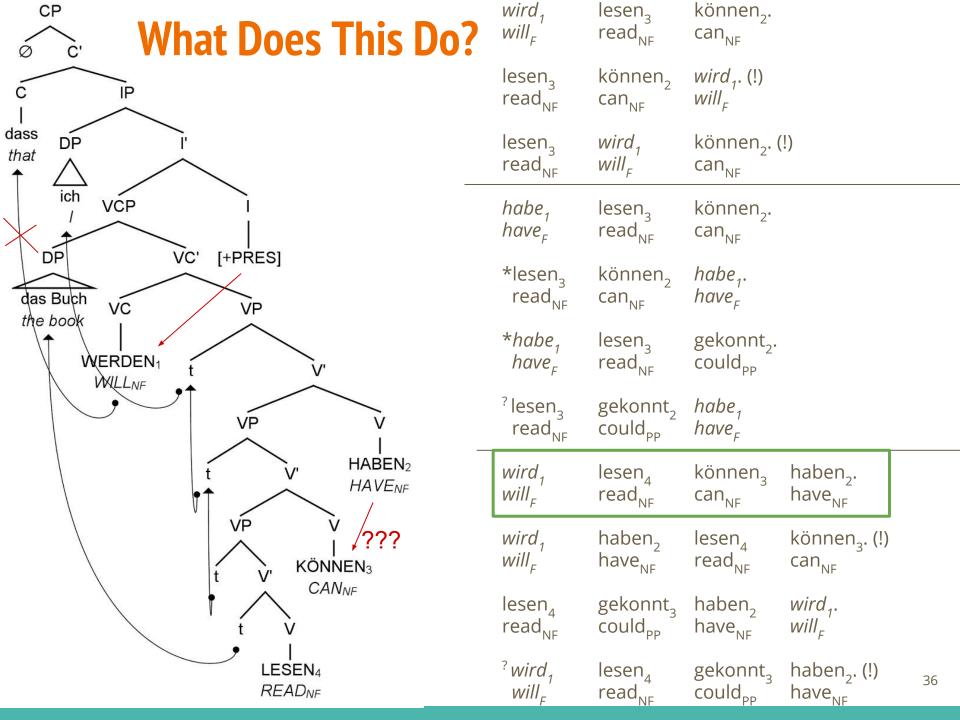




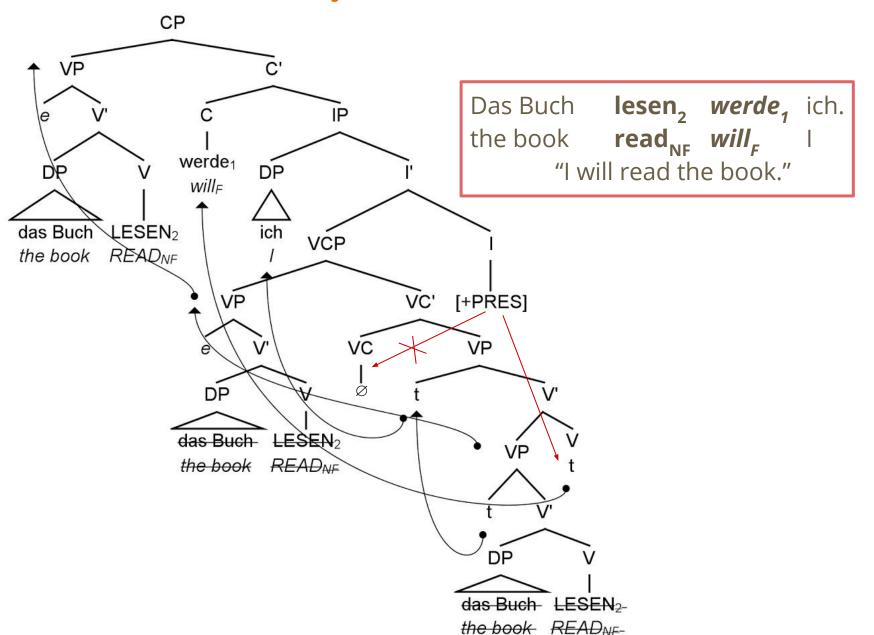




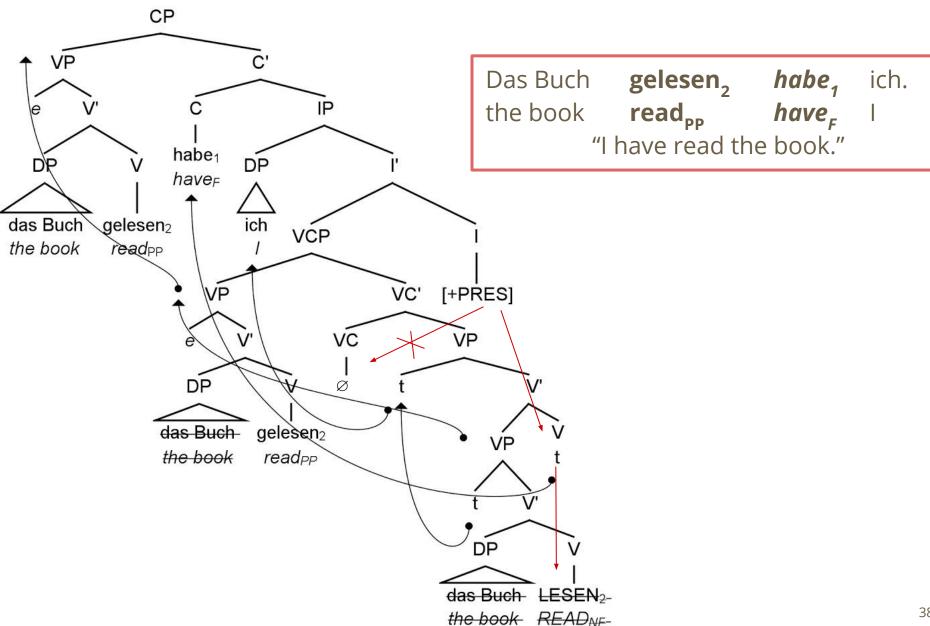




Other Lucky Circumstances



Other Lucky Circumstances



CP **Other Lucky Circumstances** dass DP that ich VCP VC' [+PRES] VC HABEN₁ HAVENE KÖNNEN₂ CANNE DP LESEN₃ keiner nothing READNE

... dass ich $habe_1$ keiner $lesen_3$ $können_2$... that I $have_F$ nothing $read_{NF}$ can_{NF} "... that I have read nothing"

Remaining Issues

In the (very) misquoted words of our favorite teacher,

"This seems wrong, but there's probably at least something right about it."

- There's no solid evidence for this special structure other than the fact that it allows these sentence configurations.
- Why is werden so common both in the Oberfeld and verb-finally?
- Why do different base generations occur depending on the number of verbs in the sentence?
- Why is it so common in sentences with modal verbs and not so with other combinations?

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