1. Background

Participles occur in the same positions as particles

Problematic for syntactic movement approaches

- This type of dialectal variation is unique
- No clear semantic/pragmatic effects
- Limited to verbal domain
- Clear geographic pattern

Participles & Particles

Participles occur in the same positions as particles

Merge: 1 \(\xrightarrow{\text{ptcl}}\) 2 \(\xrightarrow{\text{ptcl}}\) 3

(1) Jan weet dat hij voor drie uur de woning moet hebben gemaakt.
Jan knows that he before three o'clock the house must have made

Maps & Grammar

1. Background

i. Parameter 1-2-3 (Dutch) or 3-1-2 (Frisian);
ii. 2-1-3 is absent;
iii. 2-1-3 is absent for MOD-PERC-PTCP (*Hebben gemaakt moet);
iv. 3-1-2 is the dominant order in the Belgian part of the language area;
v. 3-1-2 is found in the whole language area except Friesland.

If 3 can be non-verbal. What are the expected orders?

- For Dutch: 1-2-3 and 3-1-2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V1} & \rightarrow \text{V2} \\
\text{V3} & \rightarrow \text{A1} \\
\text{A2} & \rightarrow \text{V3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- Crucially, Frisian only 3-2-1:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V1} & \rightarrow \text{V2} \\
\text{V3} & \rightarrow \text{A1} \\
\text{A2} & \rightarrow \text{V3} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- What about the 1-3-2 order?

2. Unidirectional merge

- Merge is unidirectional in a specific domain
- Three types of verb clusters:
  - MOD-MOD-INF: moet kunnen zetten
  - PERF-ASP-INF: zijn gaan zetten
  - MOD-PERC-PTCP: moet hebben gemaakt

Ambiguous status of participles

Interpretative difference between adjectival and verbal participles

(4) a. de geopende deur
‘the open door’

b. Hij zag dat de deur is geopend.
‘He saw that the door is open.’

c. Hij zag dat de deur is geopend.
‘He saw that the door opened.’

Verb cluster interruption

South: preference for interruption

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{X} & \rightarrow \text{X} \\
\text{I} & \rightarrow \text{I} \\
\end{align*}
\]

2 parameters:

- Merge is ascending/descending in verbal domain
- Participles can be verbal yes/no

A few advantages of our approach:

- 3 geographic patterns can be accounted for:
  - Areas with only 3-2-1 vs. area with mixed orders
  - Co-occurrence 1-3-2 and 3-1-2
  - Correlation 1-3-2 and particle interruption

- Variation is accounted for and even expected because of ambiguous status participles.

- All available orders of verbs in a cluster can be derived, without unmotivated movement operations.

References


