DISHARMONIC WORD ORDER, QUIRKY MORPHOLOGY AND THE AFRIKAANS VERB CLUSTER

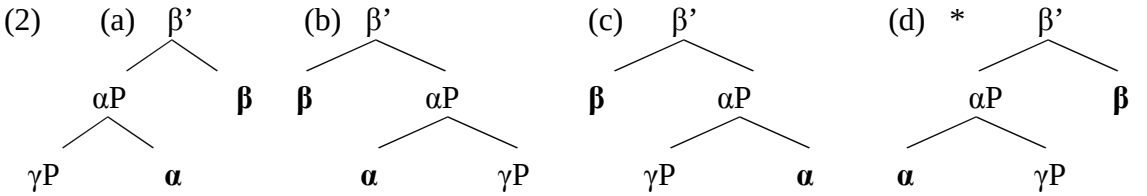
Theresa Biberauer
University of Cambridge and Stellenbosch University

This paper takes as its point of departure the so-called Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC) of Holmberg (2000) and Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts/BHR (2007 *et seq.*; see BHR 2010 for the most recent discussion). FOFC, which can be shown to hold in a very wide range of domains (clausal, nominal, etc.) can be stated as follows:

(1) For all heads {α, β, ..} on a single projection line, if α is a head-initial phrase and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β must be head-initial. If α is a head-final phrase, and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β can be head-initial or head-final.

(1), then, sets up an asymmetry between disharmonic word orders, ruling out disharmonic structures of the type in (2d), while ruling in the (2c)-type alongside harmonic options as in (2a) and (2b):

(2)



Consistent head-final (harmonic)

Consistent head-initial (harmonic)

Initial-over-Final (disharmonic)

Final-over-Initial (disharmonic)
This is the FOFC case.

(1) correctly rules out, i.a, the SVOAux orders that have never been attested at any stage in the history of Germanic, including stages at which word-order variation was readily sanctioned (cf. i.a. Kiparsky 1996), and that are also unavailable in unrelated languages like Finnish (Holmberg 2000) and Basque (Haddican 2004). Likewise, it rules out both the complementiser-final VO languages that systematic typological investigation has shown to be unattested (cf. Hawkins 1990, Dryer 1992, 2009), and neutral orders in OV languages in which complementiser-initial clauses mirror the behaviour of nominal objects in preceding their selecting verb (cf. again Dryer 2009, and also Biberauer & Sheehan 2010 for discussion of the extraposition that OV languages with initial complementisers typically show). In the domain of verb clusters and, specifically, West Germanic three-verb clusters, however, (1) appears to encounter a challenge, and it is this challenge which is the focus of this paper.

According to (1), we might expect one order to be impossible in the context of three-verb clusters: the 231 order, in which the hierarchically highest verb (1) is final, while the verb which it selects (2) is head-initial, with the consequence that its complement, headed by 3, follows it. Systematic research (cf. i.a. Wurmbrand 2005, Barbiers 2005, Schmid 2006) has, however, shown that the unattested order in West Germanic is 213 rather than 231. Until recently (Wurmbrand 2005), it was believed that 231 orders were "very rare", but research on Dutch dialects (cf. Barbiers 2005) and detailed consideration of Afrikaans (cf. Biberauer

2010, Biberauer & Walkden 2010) shows this to be false. The aim of this paper is to take a closer look at the Afrikaans data in particular as these have, firstly, not received systematic attention before and, secondly, it is clear that Afrikaans is the most prolific offender in relation to (1). Further, Afrikaans 231 structures point to the relevance of carefully investigating what Kjeldahl (2010) designates *quirky morphology* (cf. also Wurmbrand 2010 on so-called *parasitic morphology*) in relation to underlying syntactic structure as 231 structures quite systematically exhibit unexpected morphology (e.g. Infinitivus pro Participio/IPP, which we also see in Dutch and Germanic 231 structures, preterite assimilation, etc.).

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