

Between DO-Support and TUN-Periphrasis: The Case of Finite Verb Doubling in Karrharde North Frisian

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1. Introduction

- A finite clause contains one finite verb:

- (1) a. ...dass Gott ihn nicht **verlässt**. (Verb Final)
b. Gott **verlässt** ihn nicht. (Verb Second)

- Periphrastic verb constructions: finite dummy auxiliary (DO) + infinitival thematic verb:

DO-Support in English (cf., among others, Ellegård 1953, Roberts 1985, Kroch 1989a,b, Garrett 1998, Klemola 1998, Schütze 2004, 2013, Culicover 2008):

- (2) a. God **does** not **abandon** him. (DO-Support)
b. Why **does** God **abandon** him?

TUN/DOON/DOEN-Periphrasis in High German, Low German and Dutch (cf., among others, Keseling 1968, Ticken-Boon van Ostade et al. 1998, Langer 2001, Schwarz 2004):

- (3) a. Ihn verlassen **tut** Gott nicht. (VP-Topicalization)
b. Und wenn ab das Glück sich kehrt, / unsre Wangen blassen - /
der die jungen Raben nährt, / **tut** uns nicht **verlassen**.
[from: *Vale Universitas, Bursa und Taberne!* (German commercium song)]

- *Finite Verb Doubling* in Karrharde North Frisian: finite dummy auxiliary *wer-* + finite thematic verb:

- (4) God **wert** ham eg **ferlet**. [Nissen, *makker I* 176]
God WER-PRS.3SG *him* *not abandon*-PRS.3SG
'God does not abandon him'

The structure of this talk:

- The basic data on Finite Verb Doubling in Karrharde North Frisian.
- The origin of the dummy auxiliary *wer-*.
- A synchronic analysis of Finite Verb Doubling in Karrharde North Frisian.
- [Some other (genuine and apparent) cases of doubling of the finite verb in Germanic.]
- Conclusion.

2. Sources and Data

Karrharde North Frisian (*Ding/Enge, Stääsönj/Stedesand*):



Moritz Momme Nissen (1822-1902):

- *De fréske Sjemstin*. Altona 1868.
- *De fréske Findling*. Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, Stedesand, 1873-1883.
- *Nordfrisiches Wörterbuch in mehreren Dialekten Nordfrislands*. Ms. UB Kiel, 1889.
- *De Makker tu de fréske Sjemstin*. Ms. UB Kiel, 1889.
- *De Makker sin lêther bouk tu de fréske Sjemstin*. Ms. UB Kiel, 1892.
- *Hengist, de fráske Puttentat (Fürst), de anno 449 de Grünn lied het tu Engellön. En poetsk Ferteeling üt at frask Alerdum*. Ms. Nordsee Museum, Husum, undated.

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* ([ve:r]) is inflected for all persons and numbers:

- (5) a. Ik **wer** eg **tjāth**. [Nissen, *makker II* 241]
I WER-PRS.1SG not talk.nonsense-PRS.1SG
 ‘I am not kidding’
- b. Me tankt sü mod, dü **werst** all **primmest!**
Me thinks really, you WER-PRS.2SG already rave-PRS.2SG
 [Nissen, *makker II* 302]
 ‘I really think, you are already raving’
- c. De Tidd jü **wert** nin Wining **nammt**. [Nissen, *makker II* 358]
The time she WER-PRS.3SG no turn take-PRS.3SG
 ‘Time does not turn around’
- d. Ja, wall er eg betāle, / sü **were** we’n **killhāle**.
Yes, will he not pay, so WERE-PRS.1PL we=him keelhaul-PRS.1PL
 [Nissen, *hengist* 159]
 ‘Yes, if he does not want to pay, we will keelhaul him’
- e. Wat **were** jem der **apfaske?** [Nissen, *Wb.* 485]
What WER-PRS.2PL you there up.fish-PRS.2PL
 ‘What are you fishing up there?’

f. Leher, wat **were**'s jem streke ön grate lunge reke.
Look, what WER-PRS.3PL=they themselves stretch-PRS.3PL in big long strides
 [Nissen, *Wb.* 779-780]
 'Look, how they (i.e. skaters) are stretching themselves in big long strides'

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* is inflected for tense:

- (6) a. He set san Äten ouf, an **werd** de Trön **betrètt**.
He put his father off and WER-PST.3SG the throne be.tread-PST.3SG
 [Nissen, *hengist* 238]
 'He dethroned his father and mounted the throne'
- b. Deraw kirden's am an **werden** Katrenenhird an
Thereupon turn-PST.3PL=they around and WER-PST.3PL Katharinenherd and
Tetenbüll hülew ön Esk leiden an sü ewer Garding, an werden
Tetenbüll half in ashes lay-PST.3PL and then to Garding, and WER-PST.3PL
unnerwegens gröilik tu Kirs' gingen an skunigden Niman.
on.the.way terribly rage-PST.3PL and spared no one
 [Nissen, *makker II* 411]
 'Thereupon they turned around and laid half of Katharinenherd and Tetenbüll
 in ashes and then (they went) to Garding and raged terribly on their way and spared
 no one.'

- Finite Verb Doubling is found in all sentence types (declaratives, interrogatives, exclamatives and imperatives).

- (7) a. Bliww sünn an wèll, **wer** ewig **lâw!** [Nissen, *makker II* 203]
Stay healthy and well, WER-IMP.SG eternally live-IMP.SG
 'Stay healthy and well, live forever!'
- b. Denn **were** man eg aw't Håd **fäle.** [Nissen, *makker II* 235]
Then WER-IMP.PL only not on=the head fall-IMP.PL
 'Then don't fall on your head'

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* cannot combine with modal and aspectual auxiliaries, but it may occur with the causative auxiliary *lete* 'to let':

- (8) Hum **werst** dü **satte letst?** [Nissen, *makker II* 81]
Who WER-PRS.2.SG you sit let-PRS.2.SG
 'Who are you abandoning?'

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* may combine with eventive and stative verbs:

- (9) a. Jüst sü **wer** üs Fomme **lithe,** / wenn we ... /
Just so WER-PRES.3PL our girls suffer-PRES.3PL, when we
string sen ön a Frâi! [Nissen, *makker I* 308]
harsh are in the courtship
 'Just like our girls suffer, when we are harsh in courtship!'
- b. Dat **wert** jem sü **hāget.** [Nissen, *hengist* 150]
That WER-3Sg.Pres. them so pleases
 'That pleases them so'

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* only occurs in the verb second (or verb first) position, i.e. it has only finite, but no infinite forms.

‘Exception’: AND + infinitive construction:

- (10) *Ā ja, dat as light tu an were an irliken Mōn ap jin’t Ug*
Oh yes, it is easy to AND WER-INFIII an honest man up against=the wall
krōge, dat ham de Ōme atste ütgungt. [Nissen, *makker II* 338]
force, that him the breath right-away outgoes
 ‘Oh yes, it is an easy thing to force an honest man against the wall, so that he loses his breath right-away’

► The paradigm of *wer-*:

Inf. I	-		
Inf. II	-		
Inf. III	wer e		
Past Part.	-		
Pres. Part.	-		
Imp. Sg.	wer ø		
Pl.	wer e		
		Present	Past
1 Sg.	wer ø		(wer d ø)
2	wer st		(wer d st)
3	wer t		wer d ø
123 Pl.	wer e		wer d en

- *wer-* is a general filler of the verb-second position.
- There are no functional (semantic or pragmatic) restrictions on the use of the Finite Verb Doubling.
- Simple finite verbs and Finite Verb Doubling occur in free variation.

3. The origin of the dummy auxiliary *wer-*

- Nissen, *Nordfrisches Wörterbuch* (827-828):

were, v. defect. in der bedeutung von mögen. [...]

Dieses frisische “were” und das englische “are” werden in einzelnen wendungen gleichmäszig gebraucht. Z. b. Wat were dederre mans der due? E. What are those men doing there? - Aus dieser darstellung geht deutlich hervor, dasz das frisische “were” ein hülfsverbum ist und sich **aus dem alten verb. aux. “wese” entwickelt** hat. Aus diesem hat sich auch das N. wera (v) entwickelt, denn im Altn. heiszt dasselbe “wesa”. Da wird es gebraucht in der bedeutung von “sein” und bei uns in der bedeutung von “mögen”, und kann auch dadurch nicht immer wieder gegeben werden.

- Karrharde Frisian *wese* – *is* – *was/weren* – *wesen* ?
- Karrharde Frisian *were* ‘to defend’ ?
- Karrharde Frisian *wer* ‘if, whether’ !

- The complementizer *wer* ‘if, whether’:

(11) He sogt sin Brëdd ap an fraged her, **wer** hjü ham trau blêwwen was.
He sought his bride up and asked her, if she him faithful remained was
 [Nissen, *sjemstin* 262]
 ‘He went to his bride and asked her, if she had remained faithful to him’

- Interrogative main clauses introduced by the complementizer *wer* or with the complementizer inserted after the Wh-phrase:

(12) a. **Wer**?twell sü bliwwe sköll? [Nissen, *makker I* 175]
if=it well so stay should
 ‘Would it stay like that?’
 b. Hum **wer** ham dat inset het? [Nissen, *Wb.* 792]
Who if him that in.put has
 ‘Wonder who put that into his head’

- The development of the dummy auxiliary *wer-*

- The complementizer *wer* is reanalyzed as a (finite) dummy auxiliary.
- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* spreads from interrogative clauses to other clause types.

- Danish interrogative particle *mon* (Erteschick-Shir 2010):

(13) a. **Mon** hun er sur på mig, fordi jeg sagde det?
MON she is angry on me, because I said that
 ‘I wonder, if she is angry at me, because I said that’
 b. Hvem **mon** bor I hytten der?
Who MON lives I hut-DEF there
 ‘Who lives in the cabin over there?’

South Jutisch *mont* or *mot/mut* (Feilberg 1894-1914).

4. An analysis of Finite Verb Doubling

- Verb Second (simple finite verbs) - periphrastic verb constructions:

(14)	[CP	XP	[C'	C	[_{VP}	Subj	[_{v'}	[VP	Obj	V]	v]
a.	Hjü	tand	hjö	dat Liâgd	tand	tand							
	<i>She</i>	<i>lighted</i>		<i>the candle</i>									
		[Nissen, <i>sjemstin</i> 256]											
b.	-	wer	hjö	dat Liâgd	tand	tand							
		<i>if</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>the candle</i>		<i>lighted</i>							
c.	Hjü	werd	hjö	dat Liâgd	tand	tand							
	<i>She</i>	<i>WER-</i>	-	<i>the candle</i>		<i>lighted</i>							

Verb Second:

- CP is the interface between the sentence and the discourse.
- The finiteness features have to be in C in main clauses to establish a connection to the temporal coordinates and the participants of the external speech event (cf. Bianchi 2003).
- The finiteness features are expressed by verbal suffixes in Frisian.
- The suffixes are attached to the topmost verb.
- The verb is moved to C in main clauses (if necessary) in order to bring the finiteness features into position.
- The finiteness of embedded clauses is anaphorically dependent on the finiteness of the higher clause.

- Modal and aspectual auxiliaries contain inherent (finite) mood and aspect features.

- Principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky 1995, 219-220):

(15) a. Hjü **werd** dat Liâgd **tand** (Phonetic Form) (Finite Verb Doubling)

|_____|

b. Hjü **werd** dat Liâgd **tand** (Logical Form)

|_____|

(16) a. Hjü **tand** dat Liâgd **tand** (Phonetic Form) (Verb Second)

|_____|

b. Hjü **tand** dat Liâgd **tand** (Logical Form)

|_____|

- both constructions are equivalent, but periphrastic constructions are stigmatized in the standard languages and are therefore avoided except for contexts in which there is no other option left as in the case of VP-Topicalization (cf. Langer 2001).

- The constructions compete due to different economy principles (cf. Schütze 2013).

● *wer-* and DO in VP-Pronominalization:

(17) Sün Mon let God eg dranke, /.../ nān, dat **wert** God eg
Such=a man lets God not drown, no, that WER-PRS.3SG *God not*
ded. [Nissen, *makker I* 176]

do-PRS.3SG

‘God does not let such a man drown, no, he does not do that’

- A complex VP with *lete* ‘to let’ (*sün Mon dranke lete*) is pronominalized by *dat* and this pronominalized VP is supported by periphrastic DO.

- The dummy auxiliary *wer-* is combined with this periphrastic DO in VP-Pronominalization.

(18) a. He **didn**’t **do** it.

b. **Did** he **do** it?

c. **Tun tut** er es nicht.

- DO in VP-Pronominalization is in v (Stroik 2001, Hallman 2006, Platzack 2012).

- *wer-* and DO in VP-Topicalization:

(19) He es fallight ferkimen, / an lait je sagt wer krōnk, /
He is maybe come-down and lay really possibly somewhere ill
 an **sturwed** wert ham niman. [Nissen, *makker I* 278]
and nurses-PRS.3SG WER-PRS.3SG him no one
 ‘Maybe he has come down in the world, and is possibly ill in bed somewhere
 with nobody nursing him’

- In the case of VP-Topicalization *wer-* and DO compete for the same position (C) and for the same job (carrying the finiteness features).

- *wer-* with eventive and stative verbs:

(20) Er rennt in den Garten und sie **tut** es auch. (VP-Pronominalization)
 *Er kennt mich und sie **tut** es auch.

- Hallman (2006): Stative verbs are directly merged in v, whereas eventive verbs are merged in V.

(21) In den Garten rennen **tut** sie nicht. (VP-Topicalization)
Mich kennen **tut** sie nicht.

- Why doubling?

The finite complementizer *wer* agrees with a finite verb (cf. Weerman 1989, 45). The dummy auxiliary *wer-* has retained this property; although it has become a (finite) verb itself, it still agrees with a finite verb.

5. Others (genuine and apparent) cases of Finite Verb Doubling in Germanic

5.1. Tense-doubling errors in child language

Tense-doubling errors (Maratsos & Kuczaj 1978, Stromswold 1990, Hollebrandse & Roeper 1996, Hattori 2003):

(22) a. **Does** she **eats** it?
 b. I **didn't** **broke** this?

5.2. VP-Topicalization in Mainland Scandinavian

Swedish Finite VP-Topicalization (Källgren & Prince 1989, Lødrup 1990, Platzack 2012):

(23) **läser** boken **gör** han.
läste boken **gjorde** han.
 ‘Read the book he does/did’

5.3. Apparent doubling

Helgolandic (North Frisian) interrogative marker *mut*:

- (24) Wat **mut** deät dan fer en gurt potsi Kub ween **hat**?
What MUT that then for a big funnyseagull been has
[Helg. 400, Okt. 1997, S. 14]
'What kind of funny seagull may that have been?'

6. Conclusion

- ▶ Finite Verb Doubling in Karrharde North Frisian shows the general properties of DO-Support in English and TUN-Periphrasis in High German (Low German and Dutch).
- ▶ Like certain cases of DO-Support and TUN-periphrasis in English and German dialects, Finite Verb Doubling in Karrharde North Frisian seems to be rather unconstrained.
- ▶ The exceptional doubling of the finite verb in Karrharde North Frisian is related to the historical origin of the expletive verb *wer-*; *wer-* is not a verb by birth like the dummy auxiliary in DO-Support and TUN-Periphrasis, but developed from the finite complementizer *wer* 'if, whether'. Like the former complementizer, *wer-* still agrees with a finite verb.