
Complex heads in Pomeranian: some morphosyntactic considerations

Göz Kaufmann
Universität Freiburg

goez.kaufmann@germanistik.uni-freiburg.de

Translating the sentence *yesterday I could have sold the ring*, several Brazilian speakers of Pomeranian produced the following two variants:

- (1) *jestern hätt ik kütt de Fingerring verköft hewe*
 yesterday had I could the ring sold have
- (2) *jestern hätt kütt ik der Fingerring verkauft hat hewe*
 yesterday had could I the ring sold had have

While the verbal sequence in (1) is common to West Germanic varieties, the translation in (2), which features two verbal elements in C⁰, is a *rarum* for which our data suggest a theoretically intriguing explanation that is based on the informants' behavior with regard to two other morphosyntactic phenomena. The first one is the fact that the informants responsible for (2) – but not the ones responsible for (1) – produce the cluster V3-V1-V2 in dependent clauses, for example in the translation of the conditional clause *if he really had wanted to write this letter [...]*:

- (3) *wenn her auf ehrlich de Karte schriewe hätt wutt*
 if he in earnest the letter write had wanted

If we derive the cluster *schriewe hätt wutt* by head movement and right adjunction of V2 *wutt* to V1 *hätt* in I⁰, the fact that informants who produce (3) also produce (2) can be explained by assuming that complex heads such as *hätt wutt* in (3) or *hätt kütt* in (2) form morphologically bound units and are moved as a whole from I⁰ to C⁰ in root contexts. The other phenomenon in (2), entirely absent from the data of the informants responsible for (1), is the doubling in *had hewe* ('had have'). Our explanation in this case is that the non-finite features of the participle *kütt* in (2) clash with the finiteness requirements of C⁰. Therefore, these morphological features may have to be produced clause-finally with a lexically light element such as *hewe* ('have').