## G. De Schutter

## Systeem en ontlening in taal: nog eens het IPP-effect

## **Summary**

The grammatical rule that converts an expected past participle into an infinitive in constructions like German "dass er es hat machen können (\*gekonnt)" exists in many Continental West Germanic dialects. The phenomenon is known as the IPP (infinitivus-pro-participio) effect (in German: "Ersatzinfinitiv"). In the Dutch language area the phenomenon is common to all dialects in Belgium, and to all those south of "West-Frisia" (i.e. the northern and central parts of the province of North Holland), and west and south of the IJssel river. It does not exist in the autochthonous dialects of the provinces of Frisia and Groningen, and the northern half of Drenthe. Between those two areas a transitional zone (the region known as West-Frisia in North Holland, the Stellingwerven, southern Drenthe, Overijssel and the eastern part of Gelderland) exists, where some constructions appear to have been taken over from the central and southern area, where IPP is the common procedure.

In this text elements are presented in favour of the assumption that the IPP effect is linked to the reorganisation brought about by rules governing the order within verbal clusters in a large number of dialects. By this procedure constructions were created with the syntactic core verb preceding what was originally its complement (e.g. German "dass er es [hat core [kommen sehen]compl]. In ov-languages (all continental Germanic languages, with the exception of Yiddish belong to this type) this may have led to the tendency to reduce the morphological impact of the original core verb (henceforth felt to be simply an "auxiliary") on the core element of its original complement ("sehen" in our example), which is, consequently, turned into the most neutral verb form available: the simple infinitive (without the prefix te).

This hypothesis would present an adequate explanation for the absence of IPP both in the northern dialects of Dutch (which have retained the old ovconstructions), and in Yiddish (which has turned into a predominant volanguage). The dialects of the transitional zone partly adapted their structures to those of the dominant western and central dialects of Dutch (including the standard language); the adaptation may apply to either the word order changes or IPP, or both. The result is, that there is no perfect match between word order tendencies and the presence/absence of IPP in the data taken from those dialects.