**Incremental Processing Difficulty in Cross-serial and Nested Verb Clusters**

**Flemish**

a

De doctoraatstudent | heeft | een lezing | tijdens het congres.

The Ph.D. student gave a talk during the conference.

b

De professor | heeft | de doctoraatstudent | een lezing | tijdens het congres.

The professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

c

subject          helper
De leerling | heeft | de professor | de doctoraatstudent | een lezing | tijdens het congres.

The student heard the professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

d

De rector | heeft | de leerling | de professor | de doctoraatstudent | een lezing | tijdens het congres.

The director of the institute wanted the student to hear the professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

**German**

a

Der Doktorand | hat | einen Vortrag | gehalten | während der Konferenz.

The Ph.D. student gave a talk during the conference.

b

Der Professor | hat | den Doktoranden | einen Vortrag | gehalten | während der Konferenz.

The professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

c

subject          helper
Der Student | hat | den Professor | den Doktoranden | einen Vortrag | während der Konferenz.

The student heard the professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

d

Der Institutsleiter | hat | den Studenten | den Professor | den Doktoranden | einen Vortrag | während der Konferenz.

The director of the institute wanted the student to hear the professor let the Ph.D. student give a talk during the conference.

**Observation 1**

Much slower beyond b.

Replicates Bach, Brown & Marslen-Wilson, 1986

**Observation 2**

Along the verb cluster, German readers slow down. Flemish readers don’t.

**Account of Observation 2**

A top-down parser confirms Flemish verbal expectations in order of their prediction, whereas German predictions are confirmed in reverse order. This selectively burdens German readers’ memory.

**Verbs raise into the cluster.**

Their order reflects language-particular linearization.