

The Germanic languages and the SOV/SVO difference

I. Introduction to Germanic Clause Structure

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Course web site: *www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/papers/cambridge/*

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General course info:

The Germanic languages and the SOV/SVO difference

8 sessions (all Mondays, 3-5 PM):

Rooms:	Jan 19, 26, Feb 9:	LB 10 (in the Lecture Block)
	Feb 2, 16, 23:	G-R 06 (in the English Faculty)
	Mar 2:	G-R 04 (in the English Faculty)
	Mar 9:	To be rescheduled around Mar. 11-13

The hand-outs:

- 1. Introduction to Germanic Clause Structure**
- 2. SOV/SVO and Verb Particles**
- 3. SOV/SVO and Predicative Adjective Agreement**
- 4. Two-verb Sequences and Germanic SOV-languages**
- 5. SOV/SVO and Immobile Complex Verbs**
- 6. Accounting for Germanic Clause Structure - an OT Approach**
- 7. Object Shift and Scrambling - an OT Approach**

(The beginning or end of hand-outs will not necessarily coincide with the beginning or end of particular sessions)

Notice the partial thematic overlap with the M.Phil. syntax seminar "Word Order in Syntactic Theory" (Theresa Biberauer, Ian Roberts, & Michelle Sheehan), Tuesdays 2-4 PM, Graduate Centre Seminar Room, Raised Faculty Building.

There is no required reading for this course, except for the hand-outs. Nevertheless, here are three background papers and four (SynCom) overview papers, which can be downloaded from the course web site, www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/papers/cambridge/.

The three background papers:

- Diesing, Molly: 1997, "Yiddish VP Order and the Typology of Object Movement in Germanic", *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* **15.2**, 369-427.
- Grimshaw, Jane: 1997, "Projection, Heads, and Optimality", *Linguistic Inquiry* **28.3**, 373-422.
- Vikner, Sten: 1997, "V°-to-I° Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses" in Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *The New Comparative Syntax*, Longman, London, pp. 189-213.

The four overview papers:

- (from Henk van Riemsdijk & Martin Everaert, 2005 (eds.): *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Blackwell, Oxford)
- Chapter 43: Mittelfeld Phenomena (Scrambling in Germanic), by Hubert Haider
- Chapter 46: Object Shift, by Sten Vikner
- Chapter 75: Verb Clusters, Verb Raising, and Restructuring, by Susi Wurmbrand
- Chapter 76: Verb Particle Constructions, by Martin Haiden

Abstract

This hand-out will give an introduction to the overall clause structure of the Germanic languages and introduce the necessary concepts, including Verb second (V2), V°-to-I° movement and the difference between SVO-languages and SOV-languages (may often also be referred to simply as VO-languages and OV-languages).

This table lists the language variation to be illustrated in this introduction and to discussed in more detail and hopefully accounted for in the following hand-outs:

(1)		V2 (section 2)	V°-to-I° (VO: 3, OV: 4)	VO or OV (4 & 5)
a.	French	–	+	VO
b.	Middle English	–	+	VO
c.	English	–	–	VO
d.	Icelandic	+	+	VO
e.	Faroese	+	–	VO
f.	Danish	+	–	VO
g.	Norwegian	+	–	VO
h.	Swedish	+	–	VO
i.	Yiddish	+	+	VO / OV ¹
j.	German	+	+ / – 2	OV
k.	Swabian	+	+ / – 2	OV
l.	Swiss German	+	+ / – 2	OV
m.	Frisian	+	+ / – 2	OV
n.	West Flemish	+	+ / – 2	OV
o.	Dutch	+	–	OV
p.	Afrikaans	+	–	OV

Notes:

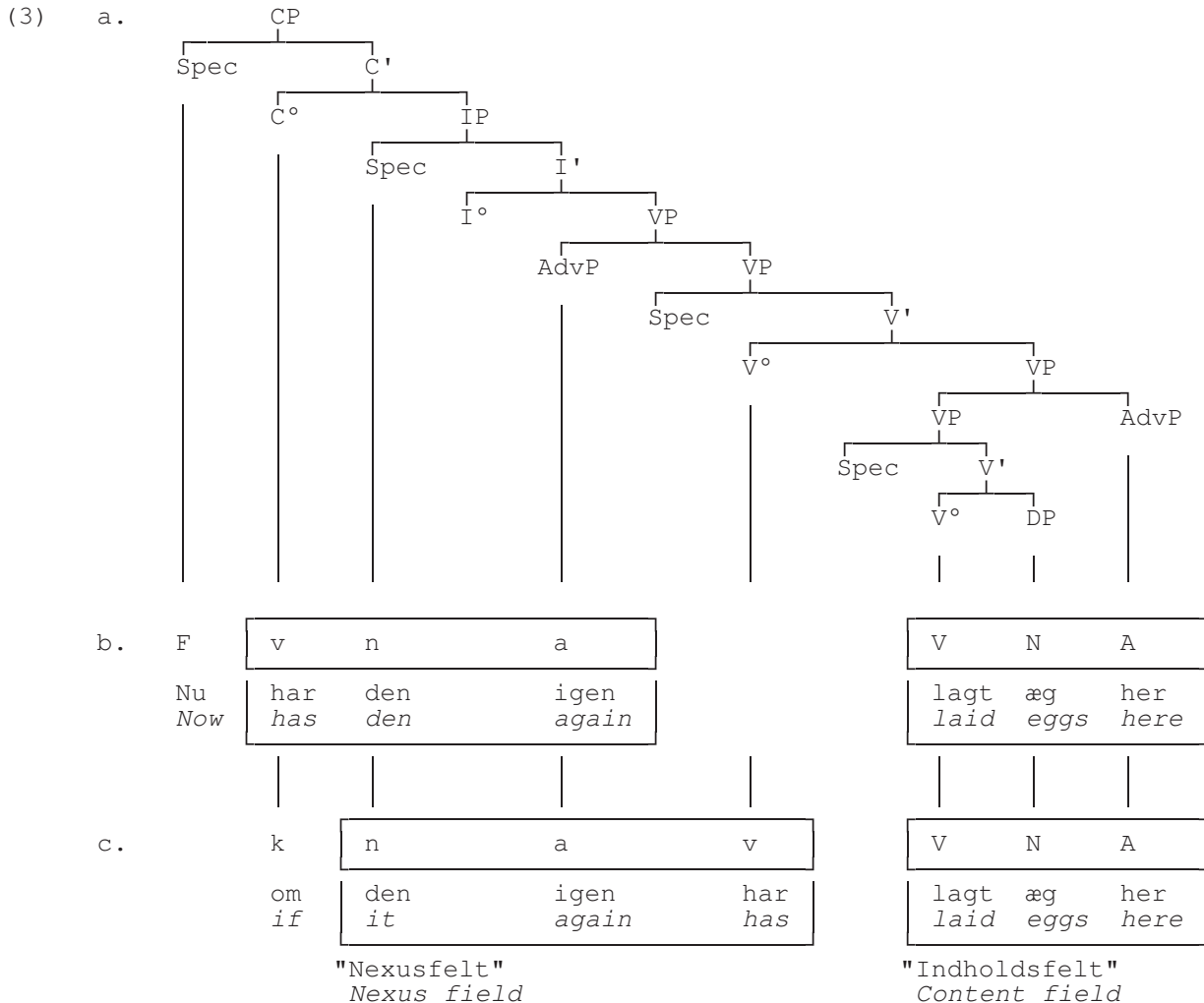
1. Vikner (1995): VO, Vikner (2001, 2003): OV

2. Vikner (1995): + , Vikner (2001, 2005a): –

1. Clause structure

In the simplified generative analysis to be used here (and to be somewhat revised as we go), the clause structure of a completely arbitrary Germanic language (namely Danish) is as follows:

- (2) A clause is a CP,
the complement of its head (= C°) is an IP, and
the complement of the IP's head (= I°) is a VP.



The structure in (3a) is here compared to the Diderichsen "field" model for modern Danish (etc.), illustrated in (3b) for main clauses (Diderichsen 1946:162, 186) and in (3c) for embedded clauses (Diderichsen 1946:186).

VP thus corresponds to Diderichsen's 1962 "indholdsfelt".

IP thus corresponds to Diderichsen's 1962 "nexusfelt" and "indholdsfelt" together.

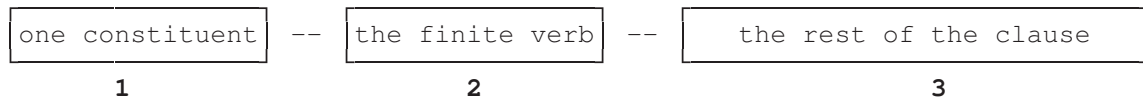
This particular collapsing of the Diderichsen model for the main clause with the one for the embedded clause was suggested by Platzack (1985).

For more on parallels and differences between generative and non-generative approaches, see Bjerre et al. (2008) and references there.

2. Verb Second (V2)

In all Germanic languages with the exception of Modern English, all main clauses have a special property, namely that they are "**verb second**" (V2), which means that the finite verb occupies the second position in the clause, irrespective of which constituent occupies the first position:

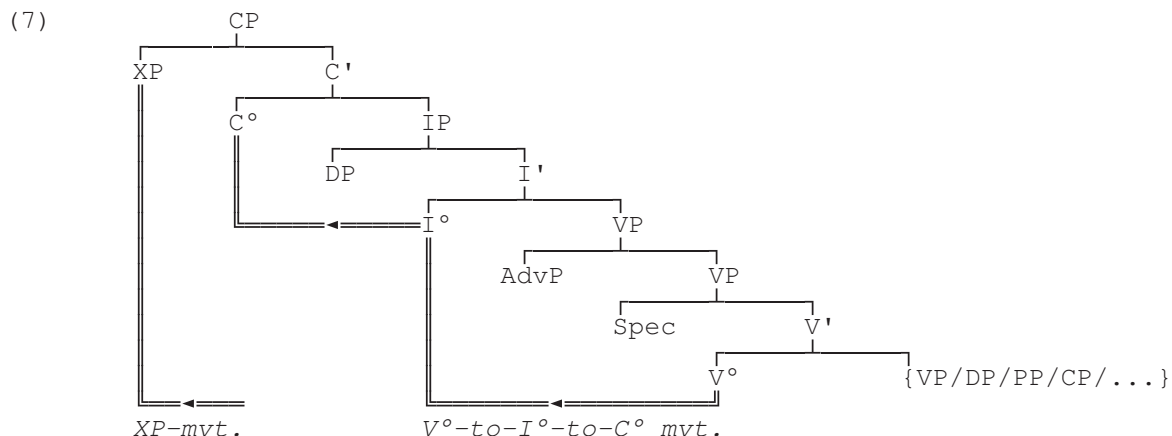
(4) Verb second = V2:



Danish, Icelandic and German are thus V2, whereas English and French are not:

	CP-Spec	C°	IP
(5) a. Da.	Den her bog	<u>har</u>	Peter læst
b. Ic.	Þessa bók	<u>hefur</u>	Pétur lesið
c. Ge.	Dieses Buch	<u>hat</u>	Peter gelesen
d. En.	*This book	<u>has</u>	Peter read
e. Fr.	*Ce livre	<u>a-t-</u>	il lu
(6) a. Da.	Nu	<u>har</u>	Peter læst den her bog
b. Ic.	Nú	<u>hefur</u>	Pétur lesið þessa bók
c. Ge.	Jetzt	<u>hat</u>	Peter dieses Buch gelesen
d. En.	*Now	<u>has</u>	Peter read this book
e. Fr.	*Maintenant	<u>a-t-</u>	il lu ce livre

V2 thus is the result of two movements: A maximal projection (e.g PP, AdvP, DP) moves into CP-Spec (i.e. the 1st position) and the finite verb moves into C° (i.e. the 2nd position):



The idea is thus that the finite verb in V2 (main) clauses occupies the same position that the complementiser (e.g. *that, if, because*) occupies in an embedded clause, namely C°:

	CP-Spec	C°	IP
(8) En. a.	...	<u>that</u>	the children have not seen this film
b.	Only this film	<u>have</u>	the children ____ not seen ____
(9) Da. a.	...	<u>at</u>	børnene har set denne film
b.	Denne film	<u>har</u>	børnene ____ set ____
(10) Ic. a.	...	<u>að</u>	börnin hafa séð þessa mynd
b.	Þessa mynd	<u>hafa</u>	börnin ____ séð ____
(11) Ge. a.	...	<u>dass</u>	die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben
b.	Diesen Film	<u>haben</u>	die Kinder ____ gesehen ____

A further indication that the finite verb in main clauses occupies the same position as the complementiser does in embedded clauses may be found in conditional clauses, where the subject is preceded either by a complementiser or by the finite verb, but not by both:

- (12) Da. Hun så på ham, ...
She looked at him, ...

	C°	IP
a.	... som <u>om</u>	han <u>havde</u> begået en stor forbrydelse
b.	... som <u>havde</u>	han _____ begået en stor forbrydelse
c.	*... som <u>om</u> <u>havde</u>	han _____ begået en stor forbrydelse
d.	*... som <u>havde</u> <u>om</u>	han _____ begået en stor forbrydelse
	... as <i>if/had</i>	he (had) committed a great crime

- (13) Ge. Sie schaute ihn an, ...
She looked him at, ...

	C°	IP
a.	... als <u>ob</u>	er ein großes Verbrechen begangen <u>hätte</u>
b.	... als <u>hätte</u>	er ein großes Verbrechen begangen _____
c.	*... als <u>ob</u> <u>hätte</u>	er ein großes Verbrechen begangen _____
d.	*... als <u>hätte</u> <u>ob</u>	er ein großes Verbrechen begangen _____
	... as <i>if/had</i>	he a great crime committed (had)

	C°	IP
(14) a. En.	<u>If</u>	I <u>had</u> had more time, ...
b. Da.	<u>Hvis</u>	jeg <u>havde</u> haft mere tid, ...
c. Ic.	<u>Ef</u>	ég <u>hefði</u> haft meiri tíma, ...
d. Ge.	<u>Wenn</u>	ich _____ mehr Zeit gehabt <u>hätte</u> , ...
(15) a. En.	<u>Had</u>	I _____ had more time, ...
b. Da.	<u>Havde</u>	jeg _____ haft mere tid, ...
c. Ic.	<u>Hefði</u>	ég _____ haft meiri tíma, ...
d. Ge.	<u>Hätte</u>	ich _____ mehr Zeit gehabt _____, ...
(16) a. En.	* <u>If</u> <u>had</u>	I _____ had more time, ...
b. Da.	* <u>Hvis</u> <u>havde</u>	jeg _____ haft mere tid, ...
c. Ic.	* <u>Ef</u> <u>hefði</u>	ég _____ haft meiri tíma, ...
d. Ge.	* <u>Wenn</u> <u>hätte</u>	ich _____ mehr Zeit gehabt _____, ...
(17) a. En.	* <u>Had</u> <u>if</u>	I _____ had more time, ...
b. Da.	* <u>Havde</u> <u>hvis</u>	jeg _____ haft mere tid, ...
c. Ic.	* <u>Hefði</u> <u>ef</u>	ég _____ haft meiri tíma, ...
d. Ge.	* <u>Hätte</u> <u>wenn</u>	ich _____ mehr Zeit gehabt _____, ...

... I would have made an even longer hand-out
 ... ville jeg have lavet et endnu længere hand-out
 ... myndi ég hafa gert ennþá lengri úthendu
 ... hätte ich ein noch längeres Thesenpapier gemacht

(8b) and (14a)/(15a)/(16a)/(17a) show that English also has V2 under certain circumstances, e.g. also in questions above):

	CP-Spec	C°	IP
(18) a. En.	What	have	the children ____ seen ?
b. En.	*What		the children have seen ?
c. Da.	Hvad	har	børnene ____ set ?
d. Ic.	Hvað	hafa	börnin ____ séð ?
e. Ge.	Was	haben	die Kinder gesehen ____ ?
(19) a. En.	Why	have	the children ____ seen the film ?
b. En.	*Why		the children have seen the film ?
c. Da.	Hvorfor	har	børnene ____ set filmen ?
d. Ic.	Af hverju	hafa	börnin ____ séð myndina ?
e. Ge.	Warum	haben	die Kinder den Film gesehen ____ ?

...and with topicalised negative elements:

	CP-Spec	C°	IP
(20) a. En.	Never	have	the children ____ seen such a bad film
b. En.	*Never		the children have seen such a bad film
c. Da.	Aldrig	har	børnene ____ set sådan en dårlig film
d. Ic.	Aldrei	hafa	börnin ____ séð svona slæma mynd
e. Ge.	Nie	haben	die Kinder so einen schlechten Film gesehen ____
	CP-Spec	C°	IP
(21) a. En.	Only in America	could	such a thing ____ happen
b. En.	*Only in America		such a thing could happen
c. Da.	Kun í Ameríka	kunne	sáðan noget ____ ske
d. Ic.	Aðeins í Bandaríkjunum	gæti	eiðthvað svona ____ gerst
e. Ge.	Nur in Amerika	könnte	so etwas ____ passieren __

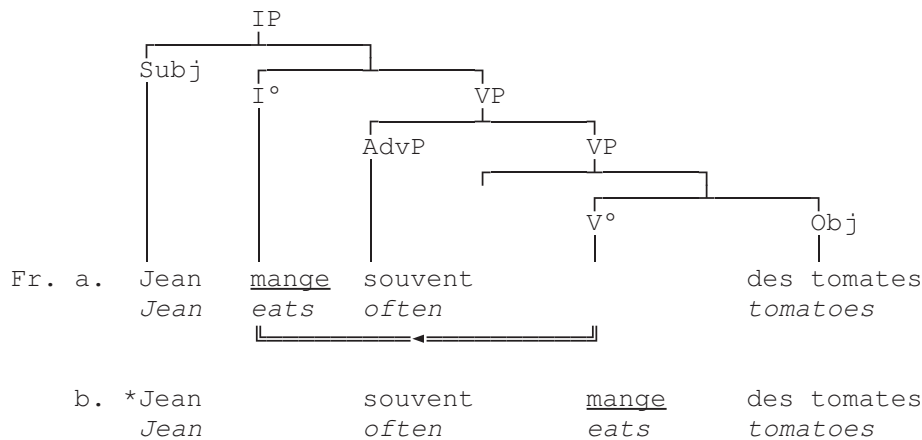
In English, V2 requires that CP-spec contains either a negative element or a *wh*-element. In the other Germanic languages, V2 is not constrained in any such way.

Because V2 in some sense moves the finite verb out of the clause (and into the C°-position, to the left of the subject position), we have to look at sentences without V2 in order to be able to see in which other positions, the verb may occur in which languages. In English and French this is not complicated, as only main clause questions are V2 (in English also negative topicalisations), whereas in the other Germanic languages, we have to turn to embedded clauses.

3. V°-to-I° movement

French is a language with what is called **V°-to-I° movement**. This means that in French the finite verb moves from its position in V° to a functional position further left, namely I°. This movement can be detected if there is a e.g. medial adverbial present, in this case *souvent*:

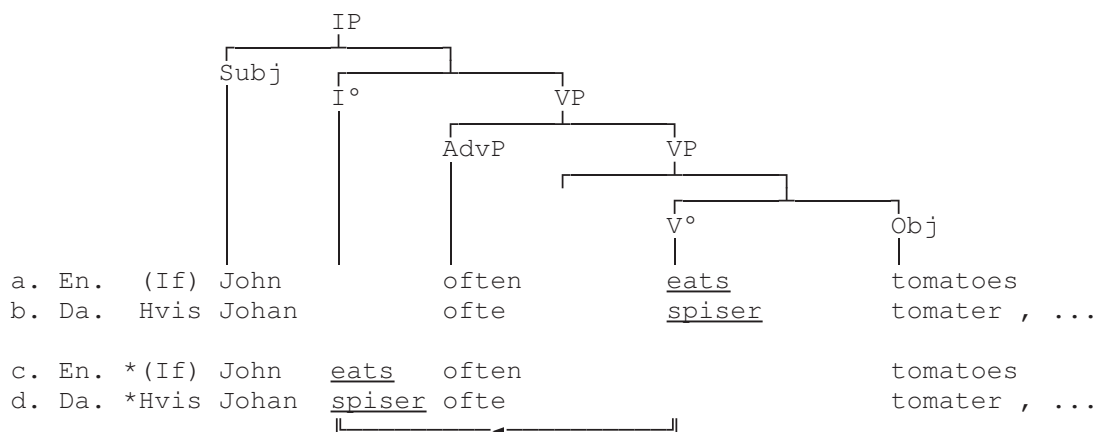
(22)



In other words, in French the finite verb is base-generated in one position, to the immediate left of the object, and then moved across the sentence adverbial into another position, to the immediate right of the subject.

In modern English and modern Danish, finite main verbs do not undergo V°-to-I° movement:

(23)



Chomsky (1995:222) says about the ability of constituents to move in the syntax: "*Minimalist assumptions suggest that this property should be reduced to morphology-driven movement.*" This was the objective of Vikner (1997/1999), where finite verb movement was linked to verbal inflectional morphology:

(24) An SVO-language has V°-to-I° movement if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses. (Vikner 1997:207, (23))

The generalisation in (24) accounts for the above difference in the positions of finite main verbs, assuming a clause structure as in (23) and (22) above.

Among all the Romance and Germanic SVO-languages, the only languages where inflectional differences for person are not found in every tense are modern English and four modern Scandinavian languages: Danish, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish, cf. (29) and (30) below.

These five languages are also the only SVO-languages without V°-to-I° movement, cf. (25) and (26) below.

▪ Which languages have V°-to-I° movement?

Icelandic, Yiddish, and French all have V°-to-I° movement:

(25)		C°	IPsp	I°	AdvP	V°	DP	
a. En.	*That	John	eats	often	_____	tomatoes	(surprises most people)	
b. Da.	*At	Johan	spiser	ofte	_____	tomater	(overrasker de fleste)	
c. Fa.	*At	Jón	etur	ofta	_____	tomatir	(kemur óvart á tey flestu)	
d. Ic.	Að	Jón	borðar	oft	_____	tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart)	
e. Yi.	Az	Jonas	est	oft	_____	pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen)	
f. Fr.	Que	Jean	mange	souvent	_____	des tomates	(surprend tout le monde)	

English, Danish, and Faroese (and also Norwegian and Swedish) all lack V°-to-I° movement:

(26)		C°	IPsp	I°	AdvP	V°	DP	
a. En.	That	John			often	eats	tomatoes	(surprises most people)
b. Da.	At	Johan			ofte	spiser	tomater	(overrasker de fleste)
c. Fa.	At	Jón			ofta	etur	tomatir	(kemur óvart á tey flestu)
d. Ic.	*Að	Jón			oft	borðar	tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart)
e. Yi.	*Az	Jonas			oft	est	pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen)
f. Fr.	*Que	Jean			souvent	mange	des tomates	(surprend tout le monde)

Furthermore, the languages without V°-to-I° movement have all only recently lost V°-to-I° movement. In English and in Danish, this change took place in the 15th and 16th centuries, Middle English and Old Danish were like French:

- (27) a. ME. He swore that he talkyd neuer t wyth no man ...
 b. En. He swore that he never talked to anybody ...
 ((27a): 1460 William Paston I, *Letter to John Paston I*, 02.05.1460, Davis 1971:164)

- (28) OD. Æn beriær man threl for bondæns øghæn. tha bõtæ han
But hits a man a slave for peasant-the's eyes, then pays he
 bondæn tolf øræ foræ um thrællæn takær ey atær gen
peasant-the twelve øre therefore if slave-the attacks not back again
 "Men slår en mand en træl for øjenene af bonden, da skal han bøde tolv øre derfor til bonden, hvis trællen ikke sætter sig til modværge"
 (ca. 1300, *Valdemars sjællandske lov*, yngre redaktion, chap. 86, Uldaler & Wellejus 1968:54, l. 21-22)

▪ Which languages have person morphology in all tenses?

(29)	English (20th C.)	Early modern English (16th C.)	Middle English (14/15th C.)	French (20th C.)
Infinitive	hear	hear (en)	here (n)	entendre
Imperative Singular Plural	hear hear	hear hear	her (e) hereth	entends entendez
Participles Present Past	hearing heard	hearing heard	hering herd	entendant entendu
Present 1 st singular 2 nd singular 3 rd singular 1 st plural 2 nd plural 3 rd plural	I hear you hear he hears we hear you hear they hear	I hear thou hearst he heareth we hear (en) you hear (en) they hear (en)	I here thou herest he hereth we here (n) ye here (n) pei here (n)	j' entends tu entends il entend nous entendons vous entendez ils entendent
Different forms	2	3	4	4 (1s=2s=3s)
Past 1 st singular 2 nd singular 3 rd singular 1 st plural 2 nd plural 3 rd plural	hear-d hear-d hear-d hear-d hear-d hear-d	hear-d hear-d-[st] hear-d hear-d-(en) hear-d-(en) hear-d-(en)	her-d-e her-d-est her-d-e her-d-e (n) her-d-e (n) her-d-e (n)	entend-ais entend-ais entend-ait entend-i-ons entend-i-ez entend-aient
Different forms	1	2	3	3 (1/2s=3s=3p)

(30)	Danish	Faroese	Yiddish	Icelandic
Infinitive	høre	hoyra	hern	heyra
Imperative Singular Plural	hør hør	hoyr hoyr (ið)	her hert	heyр heyrið
Participles Present Past	hørende hørt	hoyrandi hoyrt	herndik gehert	heyrandi heyrt
Present 1 st singular 2 nd singular 3 rd singular 1 st plural 2 nd plural 3 rd plural	jeg hører du hører han hører vi hører I hører de hører	eg hoyri tú hoyrir hann hoyrir vit hoyra tit hoyra tey hoyra	ikh her du herst er hert mir hern ir hert zey hern	ég heyri þú heyрir hann heyрir við heyrum þið heyrið þeir heyra
Different forms	1	3	4	5
Past 1 st singular 2 nd singular 3 rd singular 1 st plural 2 nd plural 3 rd plural	hør-te hør-te hør-te hør-te hør-te hør-te	hoyr-d-i hoyr-d-i hoyr-d-i hoyr-d-u hoyr-d-u hoyr-d-u	--- --- --- --- --- ---	heyр-ð-i heyр-ð-ir heyр-ð-i heyр-ð-um heyр-ð-uð heyр-ð-u
Different forms	1	2	0	5

Consider furthermore the following examples from Icelandic, Yiddish, and French:

		C°	IPsp	I°	AdvP	V°	V°	DP	
(31)	Ic.	a. *Að	Jón			hafi	borðað	tómata	...
		b. Að	Jón	hafi	oft	_____	borðað	tómata	...
		c. *Að	Jón	hafi	oft	_____	_____	tómata	...
		d. *Að	Jón		oft	hafi	_____	tómata	...
(32)	Yi.	a. *Az	Jonas		oft	hot	gegesn	pomidorn	...
		b. Az	Jonas	hot	oft	_____	gegesn	pomidorn	...
		c. ??Az	Jonas	hot	oft	_____	_____	pomidorn	...
		d. *Az	Jonas		oft	hot	_____	pomidorn	...
(33)	Fr.	a. *Que	Jean		souvent	ait	mangé	des tomates	...
		b. Que	Jean	ait	souvent	_____	mangé	des tomates	...
		c. *Que	Jean	ait	souvent	_____	_____	des tomates	...
		d. *Que	Jean		souvent	ait	_____	des tomates	...
		<i>That</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>(has)</i> <i>(eaten)</i>	<i>often</i>	<i>(has)</i>	<i>(eaten)</i>	<i>tomatoes</i>	...

(31a,b), (32a,b), and (33a,b) show (again) that Icelandic, Yiddish, and French have V°-to-I° movement and **cannot** leave the finite verb in V°.

(31c), (32c), and (33c) show that only **one** verb may take part in a V°-to-I° movement.

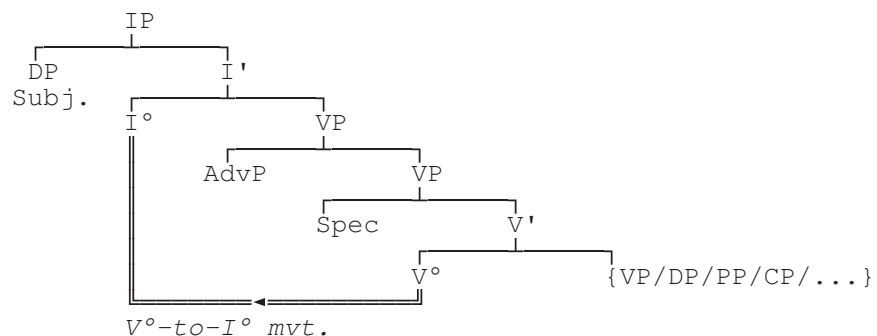
(31d), (32d), and (33d) show that only a **finite** verb may take part in a V°-to-I° movement.

There are two main differences between V°-to-I° movement and V2:

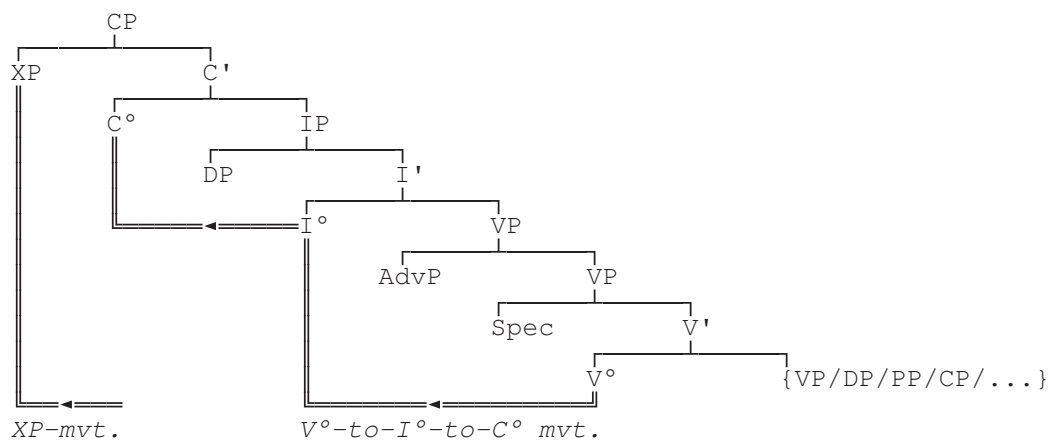
V°-to-I° movement applies in all finite clauses, whereas V2 only applies in main clauses and some embedded clauses.

In a clause with V°-to-I° movement but without V2, (34a), the first element is the subject and the second element the finite verb. In a clause with V2, (34b), the second element is also the finite verb, but the first element can be any maximal projection:

(34) a.



b.



At least in languages without V°-to-I° movement, V2 can only apply in main clauses and some embedded clauses, whereas if a language has V°-to-I° movement, it applies in all finite clauses:

- (35) a. Da. * Johan ofte spiser tomater (main clause needs V2)
 b. Fa. * Jón ofta etur tomatir
John often eats tomatoes
- (36) a. Da. Johan spiser ofte tomater (V2)
 b. Fa. Jón etur ofta tomatir
John eats often tomatoes
- (37) a. Da. Tomater spiser Johan ofte (V2)
 b. Fa. Tomatir etur Jón ofta
Tomatoes eats John often

The reason why the embedded clauses in (26) are subject clauses is that this is a context where main clause word order (i.e. V2) is **NOT** allowed in these languages, see (38) and also (25b,c). This is relevant because there are also many embedded contexts where both main, (39) & (40), and embedded clause word orders, (41), are possible, see (39)-(41).

- (38) a. Da. *(At) tomater spiser Johan ofte (overrasker de fleste)
 b. Fa. *(At) tomatir etur Jón ofta (kemur óvart á tey flestu)
That tomatoes eats John often (surprises most people)
- (39) a. Da. (Hun siger) at tomater spiser Johan ofte
 b. Fa. (Hon sigur) at tomatir etur Jón ofta
(She says) that tomatoes eats John often
- (40) a. Da. (Hun siger) at Johan spiser ofte tomater
 b. Fa. (Hon sigur) at Jón etur ofta tomatir
(She says) that John eats often tomatoes
- (41) a. Da. (Hun siger) at Johan ofte spiser tomater
 b. Fa. (Hon sigur) at Jón ofta etur tomatir
(She says) that John often eats tomatoes

Analyses have been suggested which argue that there can be no connection whatsoever between verbal inflection and V°-to-I° movement, e.g. Sprouse (1998), Alexiadou & Fanselow (2000). Such analyses have no expectations at all as to whether languages could exist that have both rich inflection and V°-to-I° movement, or just one or just the other or neither, nor as to which languages belong to which categories.

Alexiadou & Fanselow (2000) suggest the "historical development" as a reason for why V°-to-I° movement is lost when it is, but as this is not tied to anything related to inflection, the question why this historical development only occurs in the languages with weak inflection remains unanswered.

I agree with Alexiadou & Fanselow (2000:5.3, 2002:239) that in a language with V°-to-I° movement, stylistic fronting makes sentences possible that can be interpreted as not having V°-to-I° movement (Vikner 1995:161). However, the question remains why Danish children took this to imply that their language had no V°-to-I° movement whereas Icelandic children didn't (and still don't)? Why could it not have been the opposite, i.e. why wasn't V°-to-I° movement lost in Icelandic but retained in Danish? The account suggested above has an answer to this question, but to Alexiadou & Fanselow (2000) and also to Sprouse (1998), it has to remain a coincidence.

(In a later version of their paper, Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002:240) do suggest a link, namely one between rich inflection and stylistic fronting, thus opening a back door to having a link between rich inflection and V°-to-I° movement).

4. V°-to-I° movement and the OV-languages

The generalisation in (24) was explicitly said only to cover the VO-languages, (42), as opposed to the OV-languages in (43), cf. that non-finite verbs must occur after their objects in (43):

(42)				<u>Verb</u>	<u>Object</u>	
a. En.	John	has	eaten	an	apple	
b. Da.	Johan	har	spist	et	æble	
c. Fa.	Jón	hefur	etið	eitt	súrepli	
d. Ic.	Jón	hefur	borðað		epli	
e. Fr.	Jean	a	mangé	une	pomme	
f. Yi.	Jonas	hot	gegesn	an	epl	

(43)				<u>Object</u>	<u>Verb</u>	
a. Du.	Johan	heeft	een	appel	gegeten	
b. Af.	Johan	het	'n	appel	geëet	
c. WF.	Johan	ee	nen	appel	gheten	
d. Fs.	Johan	hat	in	apel	iten	
e. Ge.	Johann	hat	einen	Apfel	gegessen	
f. St.	Dr Johann	hod	an	Abfl	gessa	
g. SG.	De Johann	hät	än	Öpfel	gässe	
h. Zü.	De Johann	hät	en	Öpfel	ggässe	
i. Be.	Dr Johann	het	en	Öpfu	ggässe	
	<i>John</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>apple</i>	<i>eaten</i>	

Those verbal inflectional paradigms from the OV-languages that are relevant for (24) are given in (45) on the following page.^{1 2}

If the generalisation in (24) (i.e. an SVO-language has V°-to-I° movement if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses) was applied to the languages in (45), Dutch and Afrikaans should not have V°-to-I° movement (they both have at least one tense with no person morphology), whereas West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian and the Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern should have V°-to-I° movement (they have person morphology in all tenses).

However, in the languages predicted to have V°-to-I° movement, the finite verb does not precede the sentential adverb in those embedded clauses where main clause word order is not possible. In fact, the finite verb does not even precede its own object, (44c-i):

(44)				<u>Adv</u>	<u>Object</u>	<u>Verb</u>	
a. Du.	Dat	Johan	vaak	tomaten	eet	(verrast de meeste mensen)	
b. Af.	Dat	Johan	gereeld	tamaties	eet	(verras die meeste mense)	
c. WF.	Da	Johan	dikkerst	tematen	eet	(verwondert de meeste mensen)	
d. Fs.	Dat	Johan	faak	tomaten	yt	(die de measte minsken nij)	
e. Ge.	Dass	Johann	oft	Tomaten	isst	(überrascht die meisten Leute)	
f. St.	Dass	dr Johann	oft	Tomada	isst	(ieberrascht der maschde Leid)	
g. SG.	Dass	de Johann	öpedie	Tomaate	äst	(überascht di meischte Lüt)	
h. Zü.	Dass	de Johann	hüüfig	Tomaten	isst	(überrascht di mäischte Lüt)	
i. Be.	Dass	dr Johann	hüüfig	Tomaten	isst	(überrascht di meischte Lüt)	
	<i>That</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>often</i>	<i>tomatoes</i>	<i>eats</i>	<i>(surprises most people)</i>	

¹The -n in the plural of West Flemish, which makes up the difference between 1st and 3rd plural vs. 2nd plural is not elided as is the case in many (other) variants of Dutch. The difference is thus a robust one (Liliane Haegeman, p.c.)

²The imperatives of *hear* in Swabian, Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern are very rare, and most often replaced by the imperative of *listen*, Swabian *horch/horched*, Sankt Gallen *los/loset*, Zürich *los/losed*, Bern *los/loset*.

(45) *hear*, infinitive, imperatives, participles, present and past indicative:

	Dutch	Afrikaans	West Flemish	Frisian
Infinitive	horen	hoor	uoren	hearre (n)
Imperative Singular Plural	hoor horen	hoor hoor	eurt eurt	hear hear
Participles Present Past	horend gehoord	horend gehoor	--- ghuort	hearrend heard
Present 1 st singular 2 st singular 3 st singular 1 st plural 2 st plural 3 st plural	ik hoor je hoort hij hoort we horen jullie horen ze horen	ek hoor jy hoort hy hoort ons hoor julle hoor hulle hoor	ik uoren gie uort ie uort wunder uoren gunder uort zunder uoren	ik hear dû hearst hy heart wy hearre jimme hearre hja hearre
Different forms	3	1	2	4
Past 1 st singular 2 st singular 3 st singular 1 st plural 2 st plural 3 st plural	hoor-d-e hoor-d-e hoor-d-e hoor-d-en hoor-d-en hoor-d-en	--- --- --- --- --- ---	uor-d-e (ge) uor-d-e (ge) uor-d-e (ge) uor-d-e (ge) n uor-d-e (ge) uor-d-e (ge) n	hear-d-e hear-d-est hear-d-e hear-d-en hear-d-en hear-d-en
Different forms	2	0	2	3

	German	Swabian	Sankt Gallen	Zürich	Bern
Inf.	hören	hera	ghöre	ghööre	ghööre
Imp. Sg. Pl.	hör hört	(her) (hered)	(hör) (höret)	(ghöör) (ghööred)	(ghöör) (ghööret)
Part. Prs. Pst.	hörend gehört	--- gherd	--- ghört	ghöörend ghöört	--- ghöört
Pres. 1sg. 2sg. 3sg. 1pl. 2pl. 3pl.	ich höre du hörst er hört wir hören ihr hört sie hören	i her du hersch r herd mr hered r hered se hered	ich ghöre du ghörsch er ghört mer ghöret eer ghöret si ghöret	ich ghööre du ghöörsch er ghöört mir ghööred ir ghööred si ghööred	i ghööre du ghöörsch er ghöört mir ghööre dir ghööret si ghööre
Forms	4	4	4	4	4
Past 1sg. 2sg. 3sg. 1pl. 2pl. 3pl.	hör-t-e hör-t-est hör-t-e hör-t-en hör-t-et hör-t-en	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
Forms	4	0	0	0	0

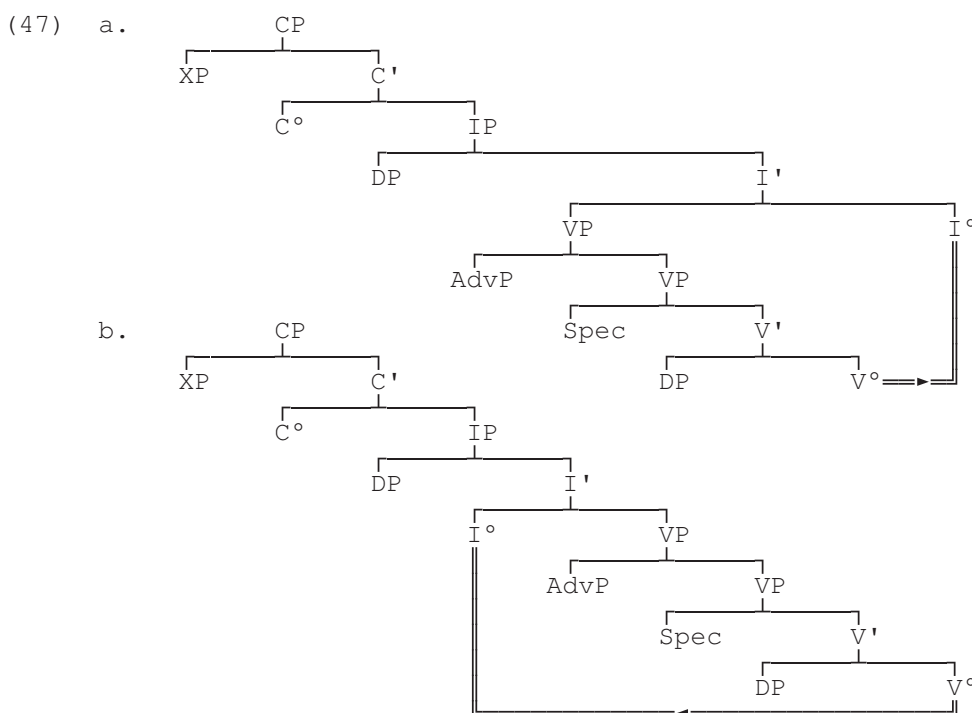
Let us consider the different options, referring to German version(s) of (25) and (26):

- (46) Ge. a. *Dass Johann isst oft Tomaten (überrascht die meisten Leute)
 b. *Dass Johann oft isst Tomaten (überrascht die meisten Leute)
 c. Dass Johann oft Tomaten isst (überrascht die meisten Leute) (= (44e))

The ill-formedness of (46a), which must have the structure (47b) with the arrow (as embedded V2 is excluded), could be due to I° being final and/or to be due German not having V°-to-I° movement.

The ill-formedness of (46b) is caused by German being an OV-rather than a VO-language, i.e. the order inside the German or Dutch VP is DP-V° (and not V°-DP as in Danish or English).

The well-formedness of (46c) may either be the result of V°-to-I° movement if I° is final, as in (47a) with the arrow, or the result of lack of V°-to-I° movement, as in either of (47a,b) but WITHOUT the arrows:



In other words, if German lacks V°-to-I° movement, we have no evidence of the position of I° in German. This again makes it a distinct possibility that the only difference between the clause structure of Germanic OV-languages like German and that of Germanic VO-languages like English or Danish is the position of V°, as in (47b) vs. (34b).

Hand-out IV and hand-out V of this course will discuss two arguments for the finite verbs in (44)/(46c) being in V° rather than in a clause-final I°-position:

Hand-out IV is about cross-dialectal distribution of verb sequences, which vary depending on the language and on the verb class, but not depending on finiteness vs. non-finiteness.

Hand-out V is about a certain type of verbs that are unable to undergo V2, and which are only found in the OV-languages.

A further argument (based on Haider 1997a,b) is given in Vikner (2001: 117-122) involving sentential adverbials that have to c-command the finite verb.

5. Why Yiddish might be either SVO or SOV

For most Germanic languages, it may be relatively easy to determine whether they are SVO or SOV, in that they have very strong preferences for either the SVO-order in (48a-c) or the SOV-order in (48d-f):

(48)			Verb	Object	(SVO)
a.	Jeg	har	læst	bogen	(Danish)
b.	Ég	hef	lesið	bókina	(Icelandic)
c.	I	have	read	the book	(English)
			Object	Verb	(SOV)
d.	Ik	heb	het boek	gelezen	(Dutch)
e.	Ik	ha	it boekje	lêzen	(Frisian)
f.	Ich	habe	das Buch	gelesen	(German)

For Yiddish, determining whether it is SVO or SOV is much more complicated, as both of the above orders are possible:

(49) Yi. a. Ikh hob gezen Moyshn
 I have seen *Moyshn*

b. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen

(den Besten et al. 1986:125, (43))

It is therefore not surprising that there are many analyses that take Yiddish to be

- mixed OV/VO (e.g. Santorini 1993)
- VO (maybe with some remnants of OV), e.g. den Besten & Moed-van Walraven (1986:113), Diesing (1997:388), Sadock (1998), and Vikner (1995, 1997), and
- OV, e.g. Hall (1979), Geilfuß (1991), Haider & Rosengren (1998:78-81, 2003:253), and Vikner (2001, 2003).

In modern Yiddish texts, the word order would seem to be VO rather than OV in the vast majority of cases: In the first 411 sentences with mono-transitive verbs in the anecdote collection *Royte pomerantsen* (by Immanuel Olsvanger, published in 1947 by Schocken, New York), Santorini (1993:238) found VO order in 94% of the cases and OV order only in 6% of them.

Still, as mentioned above, the direct evidence for VO-order as the underlying order is nevertheless much less convincing for Yiddish than it is for English or for any of the Scandinavian languages, because the OV-order is not ungrammatical. In Yiddish all of (49a-b), (50a-b), (51a-b), and (52a-e) (where the objects are underlined) are grammatical, whereas in English or in the Scandinavian languages, only the strict VO versions would be possible, i.e. (49a), (50a), (51a), and (52a):

(50) Yi. a. Di Roymer hobn nit gekent aynnemen di festung
 The Romans have not could capture the fortress
 (The Romans were not able to capture the fortress)

b. Di Roymer hobn di festung nit gekent aynnemen

(Lockwood 1995:133)

(51) Yi. a. Avrom iz geven in Kasrilovke
 Avrom is been to Kasrilovke

(Hall 1979:255, (5))

b. Avrom iz in Kasrilovke geven

(Hall 1979:255, (5a))

- (52) Yi. a. Maks hot nit gegeben Rifken dos bukh
 Max has not given Rebecca the book
- b. Maks hot Rifken nit gegeben dos bukh
 c. Maks hot Rifken dos bukh nit gegeben
 d. Maks hot dos bukh nit gegeben Rifken
 e. Maks hot dos bukh Rifken nit gegeben


(Diesing 1997:402, (57))

(In den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986:126, (45), (47), an example parallel to (52c) is found to be "???" and one parallel to (52d) to be "?".)


If the basic order in Yiddish was VO, then (49b) and (52b-e) would have to involve leftwards movement of an object, i.e. **scrambling**.

If the basic order in Yiddish was OV, then (49a) and (52a,b,d) would have to involve rightwards movement of an object, i.e. **extraposition**.

The two can be illustrated as follows. If the basic order in Yiddish is VO, then the VO-order in e.g. (49a) does not require any object movement at all, and the OV-order in e.g. (49b) can be derived by means of **scrambling**:

- (53) Yi. a. Ikh hob gezen Moyshn (no movement) (49a)
 b. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen _____ (scrambling) (49b)
- 

If, on the other hand, the basic order in Yiddish is OV, then the OV-order in e.g. (49b) does not require any object movement at all, and the VO-order in e.g. (49a) can be derived by means of **extraposition**:

- (54) Yi. a. Ikh hob Moyshn gezen (no movement) (49b)
 b. Ikh hob _____ gezen Moyshn (extraposition) (49a)
- 

The problem is that it can be independently shown that Yiddish has both of these movements, cf. that (52b,d) could neither have been found in languages uncontroversially taken to be OV, like German, nor in languages uncontroversially taken to be VO, like English. That Yiddish has extraposition will be shown in 5.1 below, and that it has scrambling will be shown in 5.2.

5.1 Extraposition in Yiddish

Santorini (1993:231, 243, n3) argues that irrespectively of whether Yiddish is OV or VO, examples like the following three all show that Yiddish has extraposition:

- (55) Yi. a. Geveyntlekh hot ongehoyn esn der balebos
Normally has begun eat the host
(Normally, the host would be the one who took the first bite)
- b. Durkh a kleyn shtetl hot gedarft durkhforn der keyser
Through a small town has must through-drive the emperor
(The emperor had to drive through a small town)
- c. Hot men derlangt oyfn tish fish
Has one served on-the table fish
(Fish was put on the table) (Santorini 1993:231, (1a), (2a,b))

The point is that the subject would normally have occurred immediately after *hot* 'has' in both (55a,b). As it is here in the sentence final position, it must have undergone extraposition, irrespectively of whether Yiddish was OV or VO. As for (55c), the object *fish* would normally have occurred immediately before *derlangt* 'put' if Yiddish was OV and immediately after *derlangt* if Yiddish was VO, and in either case it would have to have undergone extraposition, to get to its actual position, the sentence-final position.

Furthermore, as shown in Vikner (1995), Yiddish does not require extraposed constituents to be particularly heavy, (59b), as opposed to English and Scandinavian, exemplified by Icelandic in (59a):

- (56) a. Ic. ... að það hefur einhver borðað epli
b. Yi. ... as es hot emetser gegesn an epl
... *that there has someone eaten an apple* (Vikner 1995:189, (43b,c))
- (57) Ic. ... að það hefur borðað þetta epli einhver strákur frá Danmörku
... *that there has eaten this apple some boy from Denmark*
- (58) Yi. ... az es hot gegesn an epl a yingl fun Danmark
... *that there has eaten an apple a boy from Denmark*
((57), (58) from Vikner 1995:200, (76), (77))
- (59) a. Ic. *... að það hefur borðað epli einhver
b. Yi. ... az es hot gegesn an epl emetser
... *that there has eaten an apple someone* (Vikner 1995:200, (75b,c))

(56) shows that both Icelandic and Yiddish allow transitive expletives, (57) and (58) show that both allow extraposition of a heavy subject in such a construction, and finally (59) shows that only Yiddish allows extraposition of a subject which is not heavy.

5.2 Scrambling in Yiddish

In the Scandinavian languages, there is a process called object shift (cf. hand-out VII later in the course). Object shift moves the object out of its base position inside the VP to a position to the left of an element (e.g. negation or adverbial) which is not part of the VP, as in (60b):

- (60) Ic. a. Af hverju las Magnús aldrei þessa bók ?
 b. Af hverju las Magnús þessa bók aldrei t ?
Why read Magnús (this book) never (this book)?

Object shift is only possible if the verb leaves VP, which a finite main verb does in main clauses (due to V2), (60), but which a non-finite main verb normally never does, (61):

- (61) Ic. a. Af hverju hefur Magnús aldrei lesið þessa bók?
 b. *Af hverju hefur Magnús aldrei þessa bók lesið t ?
 c. *Af hverju hefur Magnús þessa bók aldrei lesið t ?
Why has Magnús (this book) never (this bk) read (this bk)?

In German, it is also possible to move the object out of its base position inside the VP to a position to the left of an element (e.g. negation or adverbial) which is not part of the VP, (62a). However, this movement in German is not dependent on the verb having left the VP, it is also possible with the main verb inside the VP:

- (62) Ge. a. ??Max hat gestern gelesen dieses Buch
 b. Max hat gestern dieses Buch gelesen
 c. Max hat dieses Buch gestern gelesen
Max has (this book) yesterday (this book) read (this book)

This is different from object shift in e.g. (61c), but it is just like Yiddish, (63a):

- (63) Yi. a. Maks hot nekhtn geleyent dos bukh
 b. Maks hot nekhtn dos bukh geleyent
 c. Maks hot dos bukh nekhtn geleyent
Max has (the book) yesterday (the book) read (the book)
 (based on Diesing 1997:390, (36b), 391, (38b), 395, (46))

The fact that the object movement in German and Yiddish does not depend on movement of the main verb is the main reason why German and Yiddish (and the other Germanic OV-languages) are taken not to have object shift, but scrambling.

If Yiddish is an OV-language, then (63a) must be a result of extraposition, and (63c) a result of scrambling. If Yiddish is a VO-language, then (63b,c) must both be a result of scrambling.

Diesing (1997:391) argues against an OV analysis of Yiddish that the example with the object in the position that should be the base-generated position, (63b), is the one with the most marked interpretation, i.e. that (63b) "does not correspond to a neutral positioning of the object, and therefore is unlikely to be the base order". This does not have to follow, however, base-generated orders do not necessarily have to be the ones with the most neutral or least marked interpretation.

It might also in fact be used as an argument against Diesing: If the interpretation of (63b) is so peculiar, what should motivate scrambling to this position? This is the essence of one of Geilfuß's (1991:176) arguments against a VO-analysis of Yiddish: Given that the object in (63b) is focussed, and given that focussed phrases have been argued not to be able to undergo scrambling in German (Stechow & Sternefeld 1988:466, Webelhuth 1992:194-199), then we should assume that the object in (63b) has not undergone scrambling. It therefore follows that the object in (63b) is in its base position.

5.3 Conclusion concerning Yiddish

Yiddish thus has both scrambling and extraposition and both these processes can be assumed to take place relatively unrestrictedly. When trying to determine whether Yiddish is a VO- or an OV-language (or maybe both), we therefore need to look somewhere else than the direct ordering of the verbs and their objects.

Hand-outs II, III, and IV of this course will discuss three arguments for Yiddish being OV rather than VO.

Hand-out II will argue, against Diesing (1997), that the behaviour of particle verbs in Yiddish has far more in common with the OV-language German than with a VO-language like Danish.

Hand-out III will show that also when it comes to adjectival inflection, Yiddish behaves like the OV-languages Dutch, Frisian and German in having inflected attributive adjectives, but uninflected predicative adjectives, whereas those VO-languages which have inflected attributive adjectives (e.g. all the Scandinavian languages and all the Romance ones) also have inflected predicative adjectives.

Part of hand-out IV will show that whereas the 'real' VO-languages show no order variation whatsoever in sequences of two non-finite verbs, the OV-languages vary very much. Therefore, Yiddish would be rather exceptional within the VO-group but fit very well into the picture of the OV one.

A further argument (based on Sadock 1998), concerning the possibility in Yiddish of certain coordination constructions in which the second object is empty, is discussed in Vikner (2003).

6. Conclusion

We have seen that also Germanic clauses consist of (among other things) CPs, IPs and VPs. The Germanic languages display variation with respect to all three:

- The CP is the locus of the difference between
 - V2-languages all the Germanic languages (except English)
 - non-V2-languages English, French
- The IP is the locus of the difference between languages
 - with V°-to-I° mvt. French, Icelandic, Yiddish
 - without V°-to-I° mvt. all the other Germanic languages
- The VP is the locus of the difference between
 - VO-languages English, French and the Scandinavian languages
 - OV-languages Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, Swiss German

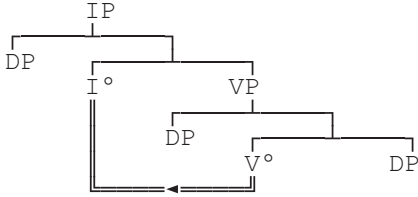
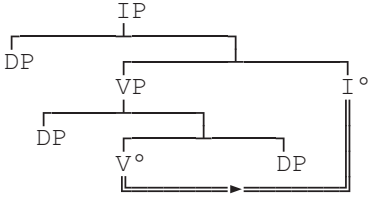
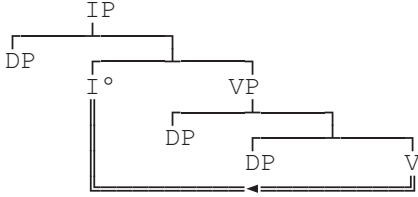
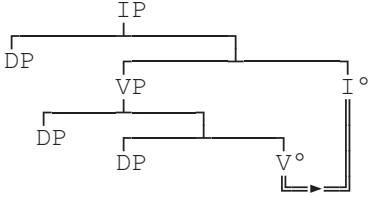
A table of these three properties for some of the languages was given in (1) above.

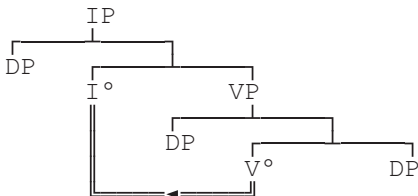
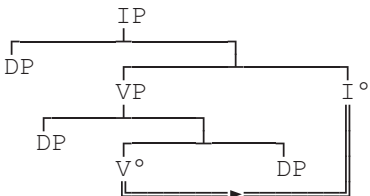
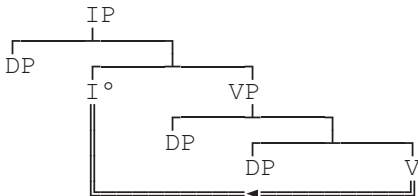
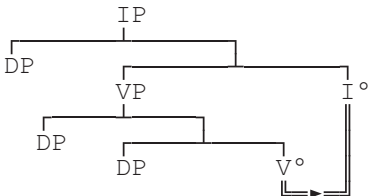
Tables (64)-(65) on the next page show a slightly different set of properties, namely

- horizontally: whether the main verb precedes or follows its complement (i.e. OV vs. VO),
- vertically: whether I° precedes or follows the verb phrase, and finally
- inside the cells: whether there is V°-to-I° movement or not.

I will focus on the differences between (64) and (65). (64) goes back to Koster (1975), Thiersch (1978), den Besten (1986:247), Webelhuth (1992:73-74), and also Vikner (1995:152-157) and Schwartz & Vikner (1996:46-50). (65) is the analysis I will be arguing for in this course, and it is based on Haider (1997a,b), Haider & Rosengren (2003), and Vikner (2001, 2003, 2005a).

Vikner: Germanic SOV/SVO, part I, p. 21

(64)	I° -VP	VP- I°
VO	<p>a.</p>  <p>with the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): French, Icelandic, Yiddish</p> <p>without the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Danish, English, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish</p>	<p>b.</p>  <p>not found in Germanic (or Romance)</p>
OV	<p>c.</p>  <p>not found in Germanic (or Romance)</p>	<p>d.</p>  <p>with the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Frisian, German, Swabian, Swiss German, West Flemish</p> <p>without the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Afrikaans, Dutch</p>

(65)	I° -VP	VP- I°
VO	<p>a.</p>  <p>with the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): French, Icelandic</p> <p>without the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Danish, English, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish</p>	<p>b.</p>  <p>not found in Germanic (or Romance)</p>
OV	<p>c.</p>  <p>with the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Yiddish</p> <p>without the arrow ($=\Leftarrow$): Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, Swabian, Swiss German, West Flemish</p>	<p>d.</p>  <p>not found in Germanic (or Romance)</p>

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