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Topics in Comparative Scandinavian and Germanic Syntax

Sten Vikner, Dept. of English, Aarhus University, DK-8000 Aarhus C, Denmark ● *sten.vikner@cc.au.dk*
https://pure.au.dk/portal/en/persons/sten.vikner@cc.au.dk ● *https://tildeweb.au.dk/au132769/*

Course website: *https://tildeweb.au.dk/au132769/papers/zas-course-2026/*

2b. Are there OV-languages that also allow VO? About *and*-infinitives in German in South Schleswig

(this hand-out is joint work with **Jürg Fleischer**
Inst. für deutsche Sprache und Linguistik, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Unter den Linden 6, 10099 Berlin
juerg.fleischer@hu-berlin.de, https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/de/institut/professuren/sprachgeschichte/mitarbeiter/)

Content

Abstract... 1
1. Introduction 2
1.1 VO and OV in Germanic 2
1.2 Georg Wenker and his *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* 3
2. General pattern: VO in Scandinavian, OV in continental West Germanic 4
3. *and*-infinitives: Could there be some VO in German, Low German and Frisian? 5
3.1 The correlation between the position of the infinitive and the form of the infinitive marker 5
3.2 Why *und/un/än* instead of *zu/to/to*? 7
3.3 Is the word order in *and*-infinitives an example of VO? 8
3.3.1 Inside an *and*-infinitive, the basic order is OV, not VO 11
3.3.2 The infinitival verb in an *and*-infinitive is much further left than the infinitival verb is in Danish infinitives 13
3.4 Conclusion to § 3: Differences between Danish and Schleswig German/North Frisian 15
4. Conclusion: This is not evidence that an OV-language can also be a partial VO-language 18
References 19

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Abstract...

In some varieties of German, Low German and North Frisian spoken in the very northernmost parts of present-day Germany (i.e. South Schleswig), close to the Danish border, there are infinitive constructions introduced by *und* 'and' where the infinitive verbs come **before** their complements:

(1) *Ich will sehen und lernen mir das.* (Fredsted 1983: 29)
(English: I will see and learn myself that / Danish: Jeg vil se og lære mig det)

(2) *De stackels Jung süht keen Weg un retten sin Leven.* (Asmussen 2019: 96)
(The poor boy sees no way and save his life / Den stakkels dreng ser ingen måde og redde sit liv)

This is unexpected, as verbs, especially non-finite verbs, in German, Low German and North Frisian usually **follow** their complements. In other words, it seems that these three languages/varieties, which are otherwise OV (object before verb, as in (3)a), here allow a VO-construction (verb before object, as in (3)b).

(3)	a.	German:	OV	Sie	hatte	versprochen,	**mehr Tee**	**zu**	**trinken**.	
	b.	Danish:	VO	Hun	havde	lovet		**at**	**drikke**	**mere te**.
	c.	English:	VO	She	had	promised		**to**	**drink**	**more tea**.

We will discuss the *and*-infinitive, its distribution and its origin, and we will propose an analysis of it which doesn't just see it as a "straight copy" of the Danish construction but instead as a kind of contact-induced V2 construction (parallel to **finite** main clauses in German/Low German/North Frisian and in Danish and the rest of the Germanic languages, except English).

We completely agree with earlier discussions that this is a contact phenomenon between Danish and German/Low German/North Frisian in South Schleswig. This is shown by the use of *und* as an infinitive marker, as this is very likely to be influence from Danish – where the infinitive marker *at* and the coordinating conjunction *og* are most often pronounced the same, namely [ɔ].

On the other hand, as we will show, the word order in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian *and*-infinitives is nevertheless very different from the word order in Danish infinitives, and this indicates that what we are looking at here is not just small "pockets" of Danish VO-grammar within the Schleswig German, Low German or North Frisian OV-grammar. Instead, *and*-infinitives will be argued to be the result of the integration into the OV-grammar of input which was originally generated by the (Danish) VO-grammars of non-native speakers of Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian (following the analysis originally suggested by Hoekstra 2011: 72–74).

1. Introduction

1.1 VO and OV in Germanic

Germanic is a language family that contains both VO-languages and OV-languages:

- **VO-languages** are languages where the basic order has verbs **preceding** their objects, as in English and in Scandinavian (Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, ...).
- **OV-languages** are languages where the basic order has verbs **following** their objects, as in Continental West Germanic (Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, ... and Yiddish too, according to Hall 1979; Geilfuß 1990; Haider & Rosengren 1998; Haider & Rosengren 2003; Vikner 2001; Vikner 2003; Vikner 2017).

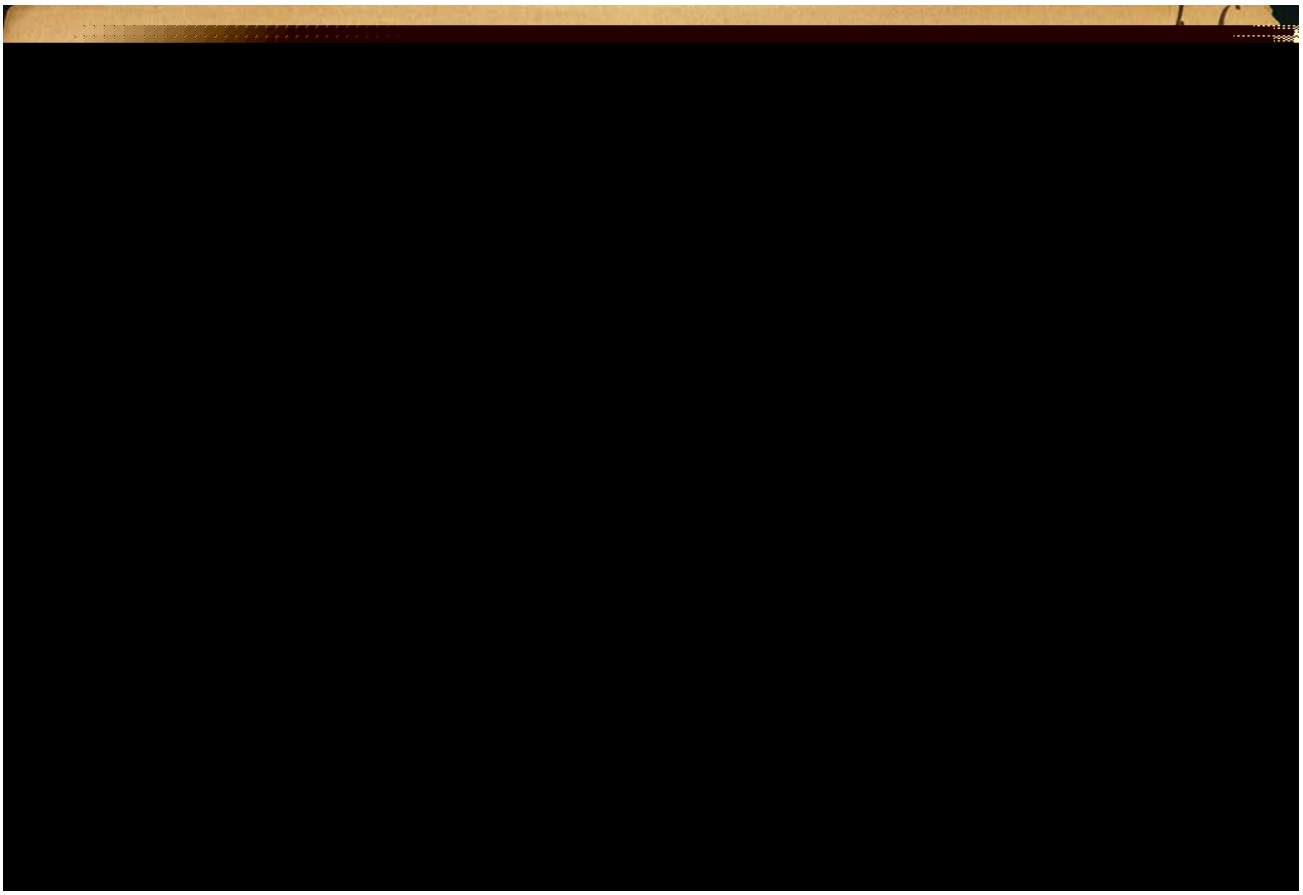
If a Germanic language/dialect should exist anywhere at all which is somehow in between these two types, one might think that it would exist in the border area between the two types, i.e. around the language border between Danish/South Jutlandic on one side and German/Low German/North Frisian on the other.

1.2 Georg Wenker and his *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs*

Georg Wenker (1852–1911) from the University of Marburg was the initiator of the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (Language Atlas of the German Empire) (Lameli 2014; Fleischer 2017a; 2017b), which is also the predecessor to the research institute *Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas*. Wenker sent out preprinted questionnaires to all schools in the German Empire and made the local school teachers translate the 40 example sentences (https://regionalsprache.de/wenkerbogen.aspx#WS40) into the most authentic form of the local dialect and then send the result back to Marburg. Between 1879 and 1888 Wenker covered the entire German Empire in this way, and by autumn 1888, he had collected 46.011 completed questionnaires (excl. 2.494 which could not be used, Wenker 2013: 2). Later, corresponding data were collected from Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, …

Most of the completed questionnaires are in German, but many other languages are represented, e.g. Danish and Frisian, as well as French, Lithuanian, Sorbian, Polish, Yiddish, … (Fleischer et al. 2020).

On the web, https://wenker.online.uni-marburg.de/wenker/bogen/ (click the symbol below *Öffnen*), you can see the original completed questionnaires, but because of the handwriting, they are often difficult to read. The picture in (4) shows the first 16 sentences of a questionnaire completed in Danish, the one from 46960 Abkjer/Abkær (which is situated between Rødekro and Vojens):

(4) 

We have examined the 716 northernmost Wenker-questionnaires, approximately those from the former Duchy of Schleswig:

(13) Schleswig German Gestern war ich in der Fahrt um **und** **kaufen** Buchweitzen.
Yesterday was I on the move to and/to buy buckwheat
'Yesterday I was out and about to buy buckwheat'
(example from 1854, Fredsted 2003: 48; Fredsted 2013: 342)

(14) Schleswig German Dat wär son Opgav für de Scholmeister **un** **snacken** ...
That would-be such-a task for the school teachers and/to talk

… de Dummen son niederträchtige Dinge ut den Kopp.
the stupid such horrible things out-of the head
(example from 1876, Stabenow 1876: 12)

(15) Schleswig German Jetzt muß ich gleich aus ...
Now must I right-away out

… **und** **machen** meine Schwester das Rad in Ordnung.
and/to make my sister the bike in order
'Now I have to go straight out and fix my sister's bicycle'
(example from 16.02.1945, Heesch & Friedrichsen 2020: 74)

(16) Schleswig German Es lohnt sich nicht **und** **kochen** drei Essen.
It rewards itself not and/to cook three meals
'It is not worth it to cook just three meals.'
(example from 2002, Fredsted 2003: 48; Fredsted 2013: 342)

(17) Schleswig Low German De stackels Jung süht keen Weg **un** **retten** sin Leven.
The poor boy sees no way and/to save his life
(example from 2019, Asmussen 2019: 96)

Given ❶ the word order parallelism with Danish in (9)c,d,f,g and in (13)-(17),
❷ the parallelism between *und* and *og/at*, [ɔ], as an infinitive marker, and
❸ the geographical distribution of the *and*-infinitives (mostly former Danish-speaking areas),
then it is not surprising that various analyses have characterised the word order in the *and*-infinitive either as VO or as examples of Danish or Scandinavian syntax. Thus Laur (1975: 325) adopts a VO-characterisation of the word order in *and*-infinitives, Fredsted (2003: 48; 2004: 50; 2013: 342) describes the word order in *and*-infinitives as Scandinavian/Danish/South Jutlandic syntax, and Höder (2021a: 27) says that this word-order pattern "follows the Nordic type".

We do not quite agree, meaning that we do not think that when Schleswig German/Low German/ North Frisian speakers reach an *and*-infinitive, then they step out of their own OV-grammar and into a Scandinavian VO-grammar, and then at the end of the infinitival clause they step back into their German/Frisian grammar. We think that only in cases of regular codeswitching (cf. e.g. the examples in Bullock & Toribio 2009: 2–4) is it possible to step out of and back into the German/Frisian grammar, and that is not what happens here. All the way through, also in the *and*-infinitival clauses, Schleswig German/Low German/North Frisian words, endings etc. are used, not Danish ones.

Instead, we follow the analysis suggested in Hoekstra (2009), namely that although word order in *and*-infinitives is clearly influenced by Danish, *and*-infinitives in German etc. are not simply examples of VO, as opposed to all infinitives in Danish and also in e.g. English (which are clear examples of VO).

Here we presuppose an analysis in which the basic order of German, Low German and North Frisian is OV, and the basic order of all the Scandinavian languages (including Danish) is VO. Furthermore,

English is also VO, and so are the Romance languages. What is crucial in determining whether the basic word order is OV or VO is whether the many actually occurring orders in the language in question are more easily derived from a basic VO-order or from a basic OV-order.

An example of a context where the basic order is not obscured by further operations is found in most embedded clauses in Danish, e.g. (18)a, and German, e.g. (19)a. Here we clearly see the Danish VO-order *holde et foredrag* 'give a talk' vs. the German OV-order *einen Vortrag halten* 'a talk give'.

As an example of a derivation that may change the basic order and thus somewhat obscure it, consider the so-called verb second process (V2, see also Westendorp 2021; Woods & Wolfe 2020; Vikner 1995, ...), which applies in Danish, German and Frisian in very much the same way: A phrase (e.g. an adverbial, an object or a subject) moves into the initial position (simply labelled ① in (18)/(19) below, and called CP-spec in generative syntax, (34)a) and the finite verb moves into the second position (labelled ② in (18)/(19) below, and called C° in generative syntax, (34)a). The way we signal movement here is to give the moved constituent an index, and then indicate by means of an underscore and the same index where the constituent has moved from.

Even though the object moves to the first position in (18)d/(19)d, we can still posit a basic VO-order for all of (18) and a basic OV-order for all of (19), from which all surface orders can be derived in exactly parallel fashion.

(18) Danish

	①	②	**V** **O**	**Derivation**
a.		At *That*	Sten vil holde et foredrag i morgen, … *Sten will give a talk tomorrow, …*	no movements
b.		Vil$_2$ *Will*	Sten ___$_2$ holde et foredrag i morgen ? *Sten give a talk tomorrow?*	finite verb to ②
c.	I morgen$_1$ *Tomorrow*	vil$_2$ *will*	Sten ___$_2$ holde et foredrag _____$_1$. *Sten give a talk*	adverbial to ① + finite verb to ②
d.	Et foredrag$_1$ *A talk*	vil$_2$ *will*	Sten ___$_2$ holde _____$_1$ i morgen. *Sten give tomorrow*	object to ① + finite verb to ②
e.	Sten$_1$ *Sten*	vil$_2$ *will*	___$_1$ ___$_2$ holde et foredrag i morgen. *give a talk tomorrow*	subject to ① + finite verb to ②

(19) German

	①	②	**O** **V**	**Derivation**	
a.		Dass *That*	Jürg morgen einen Vortrag halten wird, … *Jürg tomorrow a talk give will, …*	no movements	≈ (18)a
b.		Wird$_2$ *Will*	Jürg morgen einen Vortrag halten ___$_2$.? *Jürg tomorrow a talk give ?*	finite verb to ②	≈ (18)b
c.	Morgen$_1$ *Tomorrow*	wird$_2$ *will*	Jürg _____$_1$ einen Vortrag halten ___$_2$. *Jürg a talk give*	adverbial to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (18)c
d.	Einen Vortrag$_1$ *A talk*	wird$_2$ *will*	Jürg morgen _____$_1$ halten ___$_2$. *Jürg tomorrow give*	object to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (18)d
e.	Jürg$_1$ *Jürg*	wird$_2$ *will*	___$_1$ morgen einen Vortrag halten ___$_2$. *tomorrow a talk give*	subject to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (18)e

(Adapted from Vikner 2019: 444)

The examples in (18)/(19) thus show not just how the basic order is determined in the face of many more surface orders, but also how various movement operations may obscure this basic order.

3.3.1 Inside an *and*-infinitive, the basic order is OV, not VO

One reason why the word order in *and*-infinitives cannot just be taken to be the result of a wholesale import into German/Low German/North Frisian of the VO-order from Danish is that when the infinitive itself is an auxiliary (here *können* 'could') and it is followed by a main verb (here *sprechen* 'speak'), then the position of the object relative to this main verb turns out to differ between an OV-language like Schleswig German, (20)a, and VO-languages like South Jutlandic/Danish, (20)b-d:

(20)	a.	Schleswig German		Ist	es	nicht	nett	und	können		**deutsch**	**sprechen**?
	b.	South Jutlandic		Æ	de	it	næt	o	kunj	**snak**	**tysk**?	
	c.	Danish		Er	det	ikke	rart	og/at	kunne	**snakke**	**tysk**?	
	d.	Danish	*	Er	det	ikke	rart	og/at	kunne		**tysk**	**snakke**?
				Is	*it*	*not*	*nice*	*and/to*	*could*	*(speak)*	*German*	*(speak)?*

(a,b from Andersen 1899: 157)

In the varieties of German (including standard German) where this would be a *to*-infinitive, this sentence would have *to* and the infinitive at the end, but the OV-order would still be visible:

(21)	a.	German		Ist	es	nicht	angenehm,		**deutsch**	**sprechen**	zu	können?
	b.	German	*	Ist	es	nicht	angenehm,	**sprechen**	**Deutsch**		zu	können?
				Is	*it*	*not*	*nice*	*(speak)*	*German*	*(speak)*	*to*	*could?*

(a from Andersen 1899: 157)

Exactly the same is shown by the following two Low German examples. Here the infinitive is *let*, and it is followed by a main verb which takes either a temporal complement (… *to let me* <u>*live*</u> <u>*ten years more*</u>) or a locational one (… *let* <u>*lie*</u> <u>*there*</u>). Again we see that these complements are to the left of their main verbs, not to the right, i.e. we find OV word order, not VO:

(22)	a.	Schleswig Low German				Du	kümmst	dar	eerst	rut,		...
	b./c.	Danish				Du	kommer		først	ud	derfra	...
						You	*come*	*(there)*	*first*	*out*	*(therefrom)*	*...*

a.	...	…	wenn	du	mi	toseggt	hest				...
b./c.	...	…	når	du			har	lovet		mig	...
	...	…	*when*	*you*	*(me)*	*(promised)*	*have*	*(promised)*		*(me)*	*...*

a.		...	un	laten	mi		**noch**	**tein**	**Jahr**	**in**	**Freden**	**leven.**
b.		...	og/at	lade	mig	**leve**	**endnu**	**ti**	**år**	**i**	**fred.**	
c.	*	...	og/at	lade	mig		**endnu**	**ti**	**år**	**i**	**fred**	**leve.**
		...	*and/to*	*let*	*me*	*(live)*	*another*	*ten*	*years*	*in*	*peace*	*(live)*

(a from Asmussen 2019: 106)

(23)	a.	Schleswig Low German		De schöne Kråm weer doch to schåd,	un	låten		**dor**	**liggen**.
				The nice stuff would-be indeed too bad,	*and*	*let*		*there*	*lie.*
	b.	Danish		De fine ting er da for gode til	og/at	lade	**ligge**	**der**.	
	c.	Danish	*	De fine ting er da for gode til	og/at	lade		**der**	**ligge.**
				The nice things are too good to	*and/to*	*let*	*(lie)*	*there*	*(lie).*

(a from Högel, Kreis Nordfriesland, Laur 1975: 299)

We have thus seen that in *and*-infinitives when the main verb is **<u>not</u>** the infinitival verb right after *und* but instead the verb that is governed by the infinitival verb, then this main verb follows its object or its

complement in the OV-languages Schleswig German/Low German, (20)a/(23)a, whereas it precedes its object/complement in the VO-languages Danish and South Jutlandic, (20)b-d/(23)b-c. This is strongly reminiscent of what happens in main clauses when the main verb is an infinitive (or another non-finite form), just as was the case in (18)/(19) above: Here this main verb occurs in its base position, before the object in a VO-language, (18), and after the object in an OV-language, (19).

So what happens in an *and*-infinitive? We think the infinitival verb undergoes a kind of V2, i.e. just like finite main verbs in main clauses in all of Germanic (except modern English), the verb moves to the second position. This in turn obscures the OV-VO-difference, cf. that (24)b-e and (25)b-e sound completely parallel, even though they are derived from respectively a VO and an OV basic order:

(24) Danish

	①	②	**V O**	**Derivation**
a.		At *That*	Sten måske holder et foredrag, … *Sten maybe gives a talk, , …*	no movements
b.		Holder$_2$ *Gives*	Sten måske ____$_2$ et foredrag? *Sten maybe a talk?*	finite verb to ②
c.	Måske$_1$ *Maybe*	holder$_2$ *gives*	Sten _____$_1$ ____$_2$ et foredrag. *Sten a talk*	adverbial to ① + finite verb to ②
d.	Et foredrag$_1$ *A talk*	holder$_2$ *gives*	Sten måske ____$_2$ _____$_1$. *Sten maybe*	object to ① + finite verb to ②
e.	Sten$_1$ *Sten*	holder$_2$ *gives*	___$_1$ måske ____$_2$ et foredrag. *maybe a talk*	subject to ① + finite verb to ②

(25) German

	①	②	**O V**	**Derivation**	
a.		Dass *That*	Jürg vielleicht einen Vortrag hält, … *Jürg maybe a talk gives, …*	no movements	≈ (24)a
b.		Hält$_2$ *Gives*	Jürg vielleicht einen Vortrag ___$_2$.? *Jürg maybe a talk ?*	finite verb to ②	≈ (24)b
c.	Vielleicht$_1$ *Maybe*	hält$_2$ *gives*	Jürg _____$_1$ einen Vortrag ___$_2$. *Jürg a talk*	adverbial to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (24)c
d.	Einen Vortrag$_1$ *A talk*	hält$_2$ *gives*	Jürg vielleicht _____$_1$ ___$_2$. *Jürg maybe*	object to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (24)d
e.	Jürg$_1$ *Jürg*	hält$_2$ *gives*	___$_1$ vielleicht einen Vortrag ___$_2$. *maybe a talk*	subject to ① + finite verb to ②	≈ (24)e

(Adapted from Vikner 2019: 444)

The main clauses in (25)b-e show that it is possible in an OV-language to have a verb that has moved quite far to the left. We would like to suggest that this is also what happens to the infinitival verb in an *and*-infinitive: It moves to a clause-initial position (presumably one corresponding to ② in (25), i.e. a C°-position[1]), which means that when the infinitival verb in an *and*-infinitive is the main verb, then the OV basic order is obscured. What happens in *and*-infinitives like (9)c,d,f, (13)-(17), (20), (22)-(23) above is that the infinitive verb (*drink/drinken/dreng, kaufen, machen, kochen, retten, können, laten/låten*) undergoes movement from a position to the right of its complement (e.g. its object) to an initial position, just like the finite main verb in (25)b-e above. The infinitival verb thus undergoes a kind of V2, not entirely unlike the suggestions for Icelandic control infinitives in Johnson & Vikner (1994; 1998):

[1] We also need a C° position above the infinitive verb for the infinitive marker *und*, as we do not think that *und* here can be seen as a coordinating coordination. One option might be to have both a c° for *und* and a C° for the infinitive verb (along the lines of Nyvad 2016; Nyvad, Christensen & Vikner 2017; Vikner, Christensen & Nyvad 2017).

(26)	a.	… in der Fahrt um	**und**	**kaufen**$_1$	Buchweitzen	___$_1$.	= (13)
	b.	… wär son Opgav	**un**	**snacken**$_1$	de Dummen son Dinge ut den Kopp	___$_1$.	= (14)
	b.	… gleich aus	**und**	**machen**$_1$	meine Schwester das Rad in Ordnung	___$_1$.	= (15)
	c.	Es lohnt sich nicht	**und**	**kochen**$_1$	drei Essen	___$_1$.	= (16)
	d.	… keen Weg	**un**	**retten**$_1$	sin Leven	___$_1$?	= (17)
	e.	Ist es nicht nett	**und**	**können**$_1$	deutsch sprechen	___$_1$?	= (20)a
	f.	… toseggt hest	**un**	**laten**$_1$	mi noch tein Jahr in Freden leven	___$_1$.	= (22)a
	g.	… to schåd	**un**	**låten**$_1$	dor liggen	___$_1$.	= (23)a

We thus still follow the analysis suggested in Hoekstra (2009: 259), i.e. that the infinitival verb in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian *and*-infinitives moves to a clause-initial position, whereas the infinitival verb in Danish infinitives is not moved anywhere, presumably just like the infinitival verb in *to*-infinitives in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian.

3.3.2 The infinitival verb in an *and*-infinitive is much further left than the infinitival verb is in Danish infinitives

This analysis, i.e. that the word order in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian *and*-infinitives is not just the result of importing Danish VO word order, is supported by another word order difference between *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian on one hand and infinitives in Danish on the other: The verb in Schleswig German *and*-infinitives does not only occur further left than the verb normally does in **German** infinitives, it also occurs further left than the verb normally does in **Danish** infinitives.

(27)	a.	Schleswig German	Das	ist	nämlich	gar	nicht	so	einfach	...	
	b./c.	Danish	Det	er	nemlig	slet	ikke	så	nemt	...	
			It	*is*	*actually*	*at-all*	*not*	*so*	*easy*	*...*	

a.		...	**und**	**finden**	**immer**	**gleich**			das	richtige	Wort.
b.		...			**altid**	**straks**	**og/at**	**finde**	det	rigtige	ord.
c.	*	...	og/at	finde	altid	straks			det	rigtige	ord.
		...	*(and/to)*	*(find)*	*always*	*immediately*	*(and/to)*	*(find)*	*the*	*correct*	*word*

(a from Delfs 1979: 21)

(28)	a.	Schleswig German		Isz	ja	ein	richtichen	schau	...	
	b./c.	Danish	Det	er	jo		rigtig	sjovt	...	
			It	*is*	*indeed*	*(a)*	*real(ly)*	*fun(ny)*	*...*	

a.		...	**un**	**beobachten**	**szo**			die	menschens.
b.		...			**sådan**	**og/at**	**iagtage**	folk.	
c.	*	...	og/at	iagttage	sådan			folk.	
		...	*(and/to)*	*(observe)*	*thus*	*(and/to)*	*(observe)*	*(the)*	*people*

(a from Christiansen 2008a: 45)

(29)	a.	Schleswig German	Es	ist	ja	nämlich	beschwerlich	in	dieser	Zeit	...
	b./c.	Danish	Det	er	jo	nemlig	besværligt	i	disse	tider	...
			It	*is*	*indeed*	*you see*	*difficult*	*in*	*this*	*time*	*...*

a.		...	**und**	**kriegen**	**wieder**			eine	neue	Aufnahme	gemacht.
b.		...			**igen**	**og/at**	**få**	et	nyt	billede	taget.
c.	*	...	og/at	få	igen			et	nyt	billede	taget.
		...	*(and/to)*	*(have)*	*again*	*(and/to)*	*(have)*	*a*	*new*	*photo*	*taken*

(a from 28.03.1944, Heesch & Friedrichsen 2020: 17)

(30) a.	Schleswig Low German	Dat	is	doch	nich	recht	...	
b./c.	Danish	Det	er	da	ikke	rigtigt	...	
		It	*is*	*indeed*	*not*	*right*	*...*	

a.		...	**un**	**lopen**	**eenfach**	**so**			weg.
b.		...			**bare**	**sådan**	**og/at**	**løbe**	væk.
c.	*	...	og/at	løbe	bare	sådan			væk.
		...	*(and/to)*	*(run)*	*just*	*so*	*(and/to)*	*(run)*	*away*

(a from Asmussen 2018: 60)

(31) a.	Schleswig Low German		För	**un**	**warrn**	**wedder**				gesund,	...
b.	Danish		For			**igen**	**og/at**	**blive**		rask,	...
c.	Danish	*	For	og/at	blive	igen				rask,	...
			For	*(and/to)*	*(be)*	*again*	*(and/to)*	*(be)*		*healthy*	*...*

a.	...	mutt	se		dree	Appelsinas	eten.	
b./c.	...	skal	hun	spise	tre	appelsiner.		
	...	*must*	*she*	*(eat)*	*three*	*oranges*	*(eat)*	

(a from Asmussen 2019: 67)

What we see in (27)a/(28)a/(29)a/(30)a/(31)a is that the infinitival verb in *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German/Low German has indeed moved to an initial position, and that this movement moves it leftwards across all the material in the infinitival clause, **<u>not just across</u>** the object **<u>but also across</u>** the medial sentential adverbials *always/immediately/thus/again/just so*. On the other hand, (27)b,c/(28)b,c/(29)b,c/(30)b,c/(31)b,c show that the infinitival verb in a Danish infinitival clause does not move to the left, and therefore it **<u>follows</u>** the medial sentential adverbials *always/immediately/thus/again/just so*.

Although we have so far only considered evidence from *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German/Low German in this subsection, i.e. § 3.3, we follow the analysis of Hoekstra (2009: 259) that the situation in *and*-infinitives in North Frisian is completely parallel to *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German/Low German and different from Danish infinitives in the two ways discussed here, namely that the basic order is OV and that the infinitival verb has moved from its basic final position to an initial position. Both of these are illustrated in (32), where it is clear that North Frisian is OV from the object *floarsk* 'meat' preceding the main verb *ään* 'eaten' and so we would expect the infinitive auxiliary *hääw* 'have' to be clause final (as it would be if this had been a *to*-infinitive). As this is an *and*-infinitive, however, the infinitival verb has moved across both the object and the medial temporal adverbial to an initial position. Also here, the order is clearly different from the order in Danish infinitives.

(32) a.	Wiedingharde North Frisian	Dat	äs	wichti,	...
b./c.	Danish	Det	er	vigtigt	...
		It	*is*	*important*	*...*

a. ... än **<u>hääw</u>**$_1$ oofte floarsk **ään** ___$_1$.

b.		...		ofte	og/at	**have**	**spist**	kød.	
c.	*	...	og/at	have	ofte			kød	spist.
		...	*(and)*	*(have)*	*often*	*(and/to)*	*(have)*	*(eaten)* *meat*	*(eaten)*

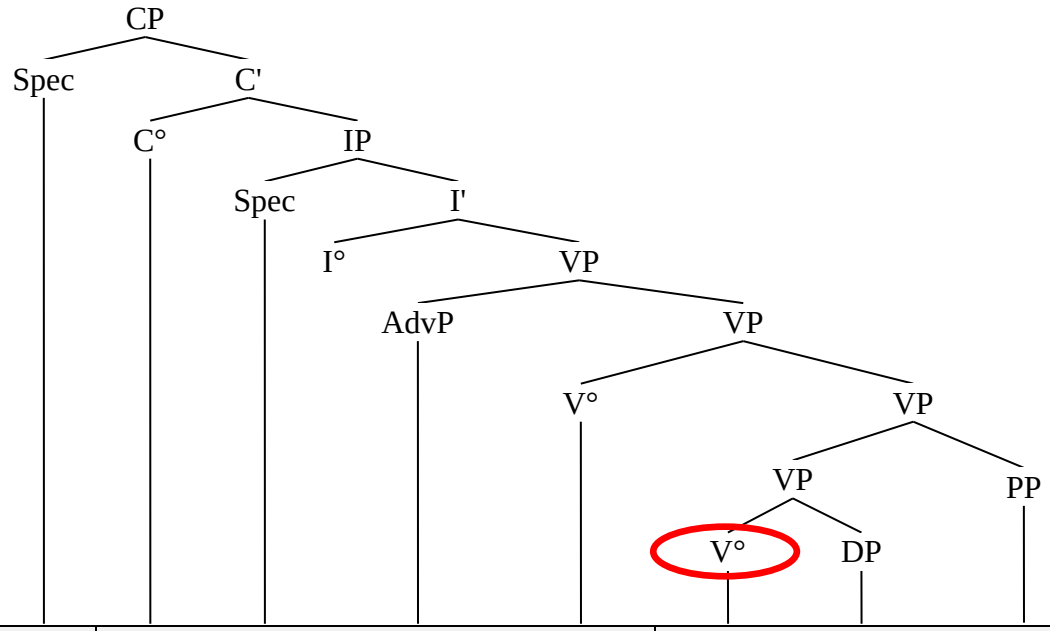
'It is important to often have eaten meat'

(adapted from Hoekstra 2009: 257, (23)/(24))

3.4 Conclusion to § 3: Differences between Danish and Schleswig German/North Frisian

In **Danish**, see e.g. (27)b and (32)b, the only possible position of the infinitival verb is to the right of the medial sentential adverbials but to the left of the complements of the verb (and this holds also for all other non-finite verbs, and in embedded clauses, it even holds for finite verbs too). This is so because this is where V° is in the VO-language Danish in the generative analysis, (33)a, see e.g.Vikner & Jørgensen (2017), https://tildeweb.au.dk/au132769/handouts/vikner-ho-2012-FU-Berlin.pdf, or Bjerre et al. (2008) and references in these three – and this is also where the field "capital V" is in the sentence models, (33)b,c, of Diderichsen (1946; 1966), Togeby (2003), Hansen & Heltoft (2011), Lundskær-Nielsen & Holmes (2011), Christensen & Christensen (2014), …

(33) a.



b.

Found.	Nexus field			Content field		
F	**v**	**n**	**a**	**V**	**N**	**A**
Nu	har	Peter	igen	poleret	bilen	med ståluld
Now	*has*	*Peter*	*again*	*polished*	*car-the*	*with steel wool*

c.

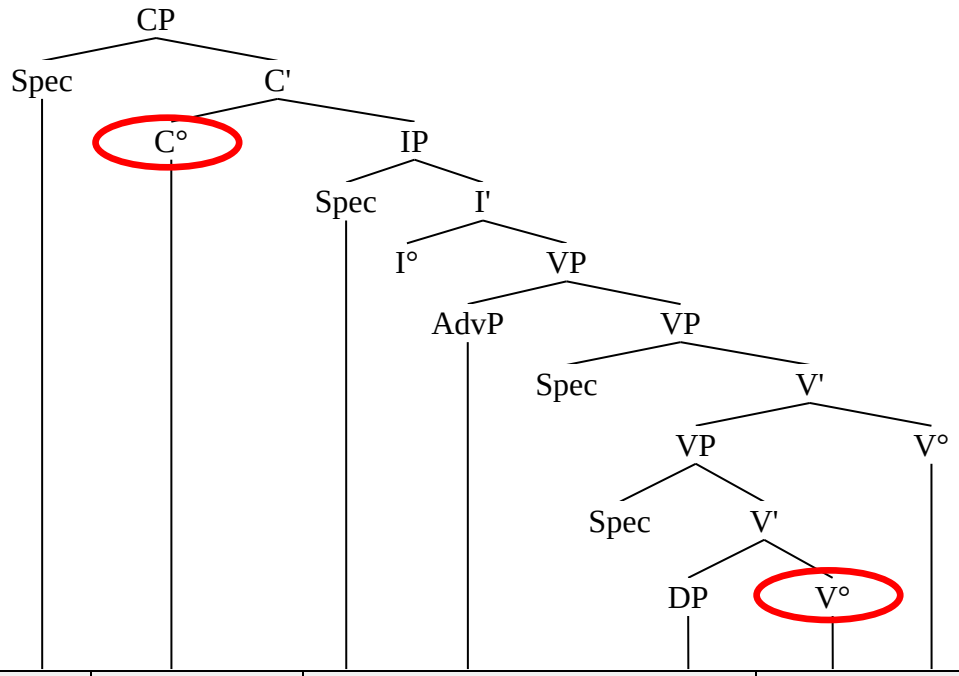
Conjunct. field	Nexus field				Content field		
(F)	**k**	**n**	**a**	**v**	**V**	**N**	**A**
	om	Peter	igen	har	poleret	bilen	med ståluld
	whether	*Peter*	*again*	*has*	*polished*	*car-the*	*with steel wool*

In **Schleswig German**, **Low German**, and **North Frisian**, on the other hand, there are two positions that may host the infinitival verb (and both are different from Danish, cf. the above):

I. The infinitival verb can occur clause-finally (in *to*-infinitives), e.g. (21)a, i.e. to the right of the medial sentential adverbials and to the right of the complements of the verb. This is so because this is where V° is in the OV-languages Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian in the generative analysis, (34)a, see e.g. Haider (2010), Vikner (2020) and references there – and this is also where the field *die rechte Satzklammer* is in the German topological analysis, (34)b,c, see Wöllstein-Leisten et al. (1997: 53–75), the various editions of the *Duden* Grammars (e.g. Eisenberg et al. 2009: 866; Wöllstein 2016: 876; Wöllstein 2022: 44), ...

II. The infinitival verb can occur clause-initially (in *and*-infinitives), e.g. (27)a and (32)b, i.e. to the left of the medial sentential adverbials and to the left of the complements of the verb. This is also where the finite verb is in main clauses, as this is where C° is in all the Germanic languages (including German, Frisian, …) in the generative analysis, (34)a, – and this is also where the field *die linke Satzklammer* is in the German topological analysis, (34)b,c, see the references above. (Hoeksema 2003 suggests a similar movement for present participles in learned 16th/17th century Dutch.)

(34) a.



	Vorfeld *initial field*	**Linke Satzklammer** *left clause bracket*	**Mittelfeld** *middle field*			**Rechte Satzklammer** *right clause bracket*	**Nachfeld** *final field*
b.	Vielleicht *Maybe*	hat *has*	Peter Peter	nie *never*	ein Auto *a car*	poliert. *polished*	
c.		ob *whether*	Peter Peter	nie *never*	ein Auto *a car*	poliert hat. *polished has*	

Notice that the analysis suggested here thus allows the same varieties of Schleswig German/Low German/North Frisian to have some infinitival verbs in one position and others in another position, e.g. simply depending on whether the infinitival marker is *to* or *and*. There is clear evidence that the same speakers use both types of infinitives, even inside one and the same main clause:

(35) Schleswig German Natürlich chiebt esz manche vorteile, ...
Naturally gives it various advantages ...

... ein mann **szu szein,** aber mehr **un szein** ein frau.
... a man to be, but more (and/to) be a woman

(Christiansen 2008b: 28)

(36) Schleswig Low German ... denn bi em to Huus hebben se nich ...
... as by him at home have they not ...

... nugg Geld för **un kopen** wat **to brennen.**
... enough money for to/and buy something to burn

(Asmussen 2019: 100)

(37) Schleswig Low German De Schäb funne Städe harrn ...
The ships of-the towns expected ...

... nix Iligeris **to don** as **un sägeln** Hals öwe Kopp affstä.
... nothing more-urgent to do than and sail neck over head off.

'The ships of the towns found nothing more urgent to do than to sail off head over heels.'

(Hansen 1910: 13)

4. Conclusion: This is not evidence that an OV-language can also be a partial VO-language

We agree with many earlier analysis of *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian that these infinitives are a contact phenomenon. If there had not been close contact between Schleswig German/Low German/North Frisian and Danish/South Jutlandic, *and*-infinitives would probably not have arisen.

We further hope to have shown that *and*-infinitives in Schleswig German/Low German/North Frisian should **not** be seen as a direct import of Danish syntax (e.g. VO-basic word order), but instead there is good reason to see *and*-infinitives as the closest one can get to the Danish VO-pattern **within** the confines of a German/Frisian OV-grammar. It is thus not the case that when Schleswig German/Low German/North Frisian speakers reach an *and*-infinitive, then they step out of the German/Frisian OV-grammar, and then they step back into the OV-grammar at the end of the infinitival clause.

Instead, the *and*-infinitives show how an OV-grammar handles unexpected input with a very "Danish" structure. It is very possible, as Hoekstra (2011: 72–74) suggests, that contact with a substantial number of speakers who spoke Schleswig German as a second language (because their first language was Danish/South Jutlandic) lead to the next generation of speakers in the process of acquiring Schleswig German in the northern half of South Schleswig in the 19th century taking input containing *and*-infinitives seriously, and therefore they integrated these data into their own Schleswig German grammar. As these data did not really fit into their grammars, the result deviated from the input in two important ways (see § 3.3.1 and § 3.3.2). Therefore, the result was a kind of V2 for infinitival verbs in northern half of South Schleswig the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century.

We would not expect that language contact could lead to areas of VO inside an OV-language or vice versa, because we take it to be a fundamental/universal property that a language is either a VO- or an OV-language. We are, however, completely open to language contact leading to a language changing its own rules, as long as no universal rules are violated. One example of this could be the change from OV to VO that took place from Old English to Middle English, and which may very well have happened in the contact situation with the Old Norse of the Vikings (or perhaps, somewhat less likely, with Norman French after the arrival of William the Conqueror). What happened here was that English went from one option (OV, which we also find in German, Frisian, Dutch, …) to the other (VO, which we also find in Scandinavian, French, ...). Presumably, it was not the case that it was suddenly possible to mix the two options and have VO in the middle of an OV-language or vice versa.[2]

So in a larger perspective, we are not surprised that we can retain an analysis in which a language is either a VO- or an OV-language, i.e. that even those varieties of Schleswig German/Low German/ North Frisian that have *and*-infinitives are clearly OV-languages and not partial VO-languages.

[2] Applying such an analysis to Mòcheno/Fersentalerisch (spoken in Valle dei Mocheni/Fersental, one of several varieties of German spoken in the north east of Italy and surrounded by varieties of Italian) is much more of a challenge, as this variety really does seem to allow both OV and VO. However, Cognola (2013) suggests that the VO-orders found among the OV-orders are derived from an underlying OV-order by movement of the past participle leftwards (to the edge of VP) when and only when either a focused constituent or a *wh*-constituent has been moved leftwards, to the edge of the clause.

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