

Topics in Comparative Scandinavian and Germanic Syntax

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2b. APPENDIX - Derivational speculations concerning the *and*-infinitives in German in South Schleswig

Content

References.....	1
1. Deriving the V2 of the infinitive verb in <i>und</i> -infinitives	2
2. Three open questions.....	5

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1. Deriving the V2 of the infinitive verb in *und*-infinitives

The *und*-infinitives in Schleswig German, Low German and North Frisian are parallel to the Icelandic control infinitives discussed in Johnson and Vikner (1994; 1998) (and many other places), in that both types have movement of the infinitival verb to a position left of negation and left of medial adverbials.

Data from Johnson and Vikner (1998: 3–4), citing Sigurðsson (1989) and Holmberg (1986):

- (5) a. María lofaði að lesa ekki bókina. (Icelandic)
b. *María lofaði að ekki lesa bókina.
Maria promised to (read) not (read) book-the
(Mary promised to not read the book.)
(Sigurðsson 1989:50, (3a, 4a))

- (6) Þess vegna fullyrðir Pétur ... (Icelandic)
Therefore claimed Pétur ...
a. ... að hafa oft hugsað um foreldra sína.
b. *... að oft hafa hugsað um foreldra sína.
... to (have) often (have) thought about parents his
(Therefore, Peter claimed to have often thought about his parents.)

- (7) a. *Þetta er góð ástæða (til) að ekki líka málvísindi. (Icelandic)
b. Þetta er góð ástæða (til) að líka ekki málvísindi.
this is good reason to (not) like (not) linguistics
(This is a good reason not to like linguistics.)
c. *Þetta er góð ástæða (til) að aldrei lesa danskar bækur. (Icelandic)
d. Þetta er góð ástæða (til) að lesa aldrei danskar bækur.
this is good reason to (never) read (never) Danish books
(This is a good reason to never read Danish books.)

This is different from similar constructions in e.g. Swedish:

- (8) a. *Maria lovade att läsa inte boken. (Swedish)
b. Maria lovade att inte läsa boken
Maria promised to (read) not (read) book-the
(Mary promised to not read the book.)
((8b) based on Holmberg 1986:154, (46b))

- (9) Därför påstod Peter sig ... (Swedish)
Therefore claimed Peter REFL ...
a. *... att ha ofta tänkt på sina föräldrar.
b. ... att ofta ha tänkt på sina föräldrar.
... to (have) often (have) thought about his parents
(Therefore, Peter claimed to have often thought about his parents.)

- (10) a. Det här är ett gott skäl (för) att inte gilla lingvistik. (Swedish)
 b. *Det här är ett gott skäl (för) att gilla inte lingvistik.
 this here is a good reason (for) to (like) not (like) linguistics
 (This is a good reason not to like linguistics.)
 c. Det här är ett gott skäl (för) att aldrig läsa danska böcker. (Swedish)
 d. *Det här är ett gott skäl (för) att läsa aldrig danska böcker.
 this here is a good reason (for) to (never) read (never) danish books
 (This is a good reason never to read Danish books.)

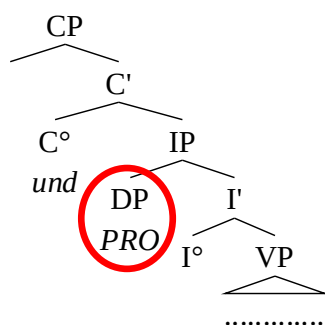
We are assuming that the V2 movement of the infinitive (the movement to C°) is linked to

- ❶ the position of the infinitival marker (*und*, *að*), which are both in C° , as opposed to
- ❷ English infinitival *to* and Swedish infinitival *att* which are both in I° , and also as opposed to
- ❸ Danish infinitival *at*, Norwegian infinitival *at*, and German infinitival *zu*, all of which are **even lower in the tree than I°** .

So what is the problem with the infinitival marker being in C° ?

Here are the options one by one, beginning with a single CP-layer:

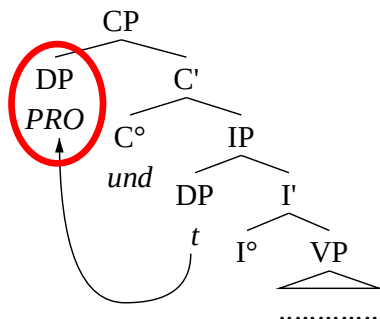
(1) *



The structure in (1) is ill-formed because *und* governs *PRO*, and *PRO* is in an A-position (which is precisely what is not allowed according to Johnson & Vikner 1998: 12, rule (39)),
 (39) *PRO* cannot both be governed by a lexical item and stand in an A-position.

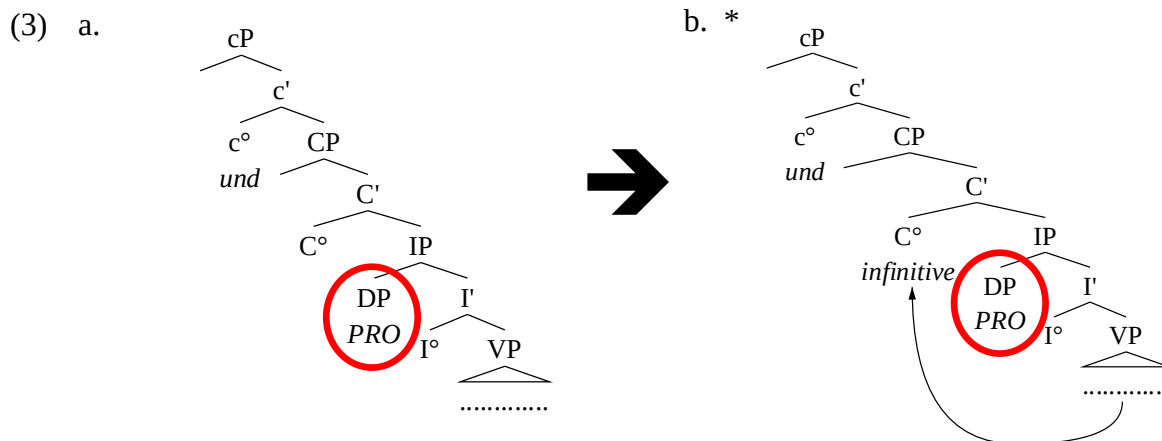
Why should there be an incompatibility between being governed by a lexical element and being in an A-position (or in a case-marked position)? See § 2 below.

(2) *

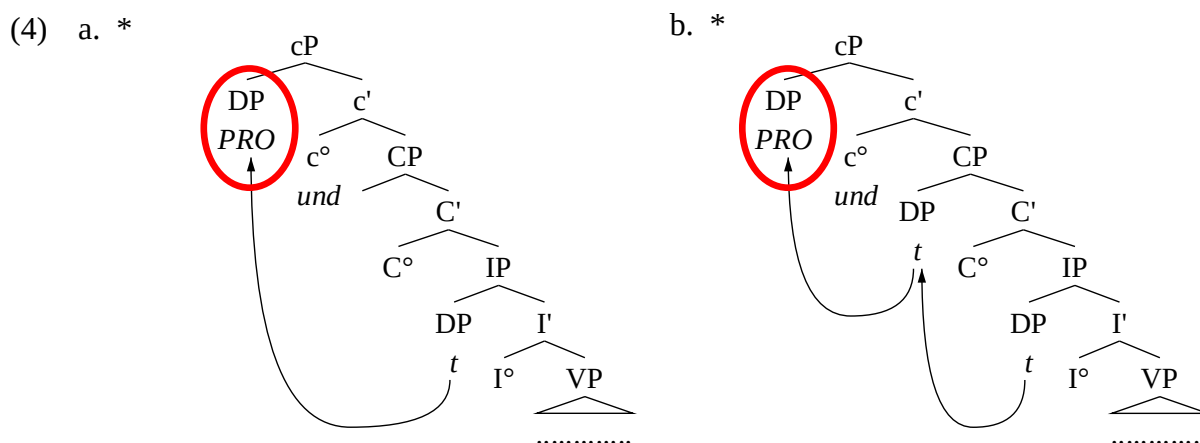


The structure in (2) is ill-formed because it violates whatever prevents topicalisation into the spec of a complementiser (a long time ago, this was the doubly filled COMP-filter):

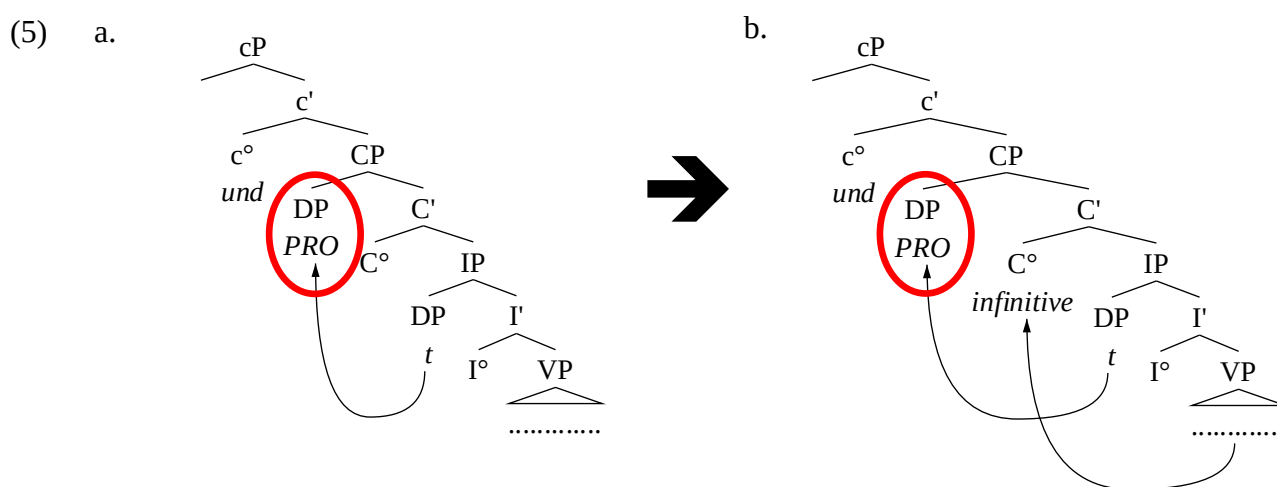
- Ich glaube, dass Peter dieses Buch gelesen hat* 'I believe, that Peter this book read has'
 **Ich glaube, dieses Buch dass Peter gelesen hat* 'I believe, this book that Peter read has'



In (3)a, *und* is not the problem, because it is further away from PRO, but (3)a is still ill-formed, because it will be realised as (3)b: The infinitival verb will be sucked into C° and then this verb will govern PRO, and PRO is in an A-position (IP-spec).



The structures in (4)a,b are both ill-formed because they violate whatever prevents topicalisation into the spec of a complementiser.



In (5)a, *und* governs PRO, but PRO is in not an A-position, so that is OK. (5)a will however be realised as (5)b: The verb will be sucked into C° and then govern IP-spec, but IP-spec contains the trace of PRO rather than PRO itself, so that is also OK.

The result is that whenever the infinitival marker is in a position to govern PRO in IP-spec, then we get V2 of the infinitival verb (i.e. movement into C°) because the only way to get PRO to safety is to put it into CP-spec in a cP-CP structure. This is very much in line with Johnson and Vikner (1998).

2. Three open questions

- Why should there be an incompatibility between being governed by a lexical element and being in an A-position (or in a case-marked position)?
This is the mirror image of a *that*-trace violation configuration (where the trace in IP-spec must be governed/licensed to be well-formed). So could it be that if PRO was both governed by a lexical element and sitting in an A-position, it would have to be a trace and share a thematic role with its antecedent, i.e. it could not be a PRO and have its own thematic role?
- How does PRO get case?
It is not assigned "normal" case, but it seems to either have inherent case or some default structural case. Data below from Sigurðsson (2008: 410) (which also on pp. 430-435 argues for case being syntactically inert), but remember we still need to account for why overt DPs may not appear in the IP-specs that PRO may appear in, so maybe case has to be first assigned and then licensed, and it is the latter (the licensing) that does not occur in the embedded subject position in (18a,b):

Icelandic floating quantifiers show gender, number and case agreement with their quantified NPs. I illustrate this for subjects in finite clauses in (17):¹⁰

- (17) a. Bræðurnir voru ekki **báðir** kosnir í stjórnina.
brothers.the.N.M.PL were not both.N.M.PL elected to board.the
'The brothers were not both elected to the board.'
- b. Bræðrunum var **báðum** boðið á fundinn.
brothers.the.D.M.PL was both.D.PL invited.DFT to meeting.the
'The brothers were both invited to the meeting.'

When embedded in PRO infinitives, the quantifiers show up in the same subject agreeing forms as in corresponding finite clauses:

- (18) a. Bræðrunum líkaði illa [að PRO vera ekki **báðir** kosnir].
brothers.the.D.M.PL liked ill to N be not both.N.M.PL elected
'The brothers disliked not being both elected.'
- b. Bræðurnir æsktu þess [að PRO vera **báðum** boðið].
brothers.the.N.M.PL wished(for) it to D be both.D.PL invited
'The brothers wished to be both invited.'

- In the German cases, why could *und* not be in I° or further down, like *zu*, so that it would not be a problem for PRO?
This may be related to *und* also being or having been a coordinating conjunction (cf. also pseudo-coordination). Note that even as a coordinating conjunction, it seems to license V2 sometimes:
(data from Höhle 2018: 418; citing data from Fuckel 1912; and Teuchert 1921)

- (1) a. ich will hingehen und [geben es ihm] (Fuckel 1912: 164)
b. er möchte herantreten und [nehmen sich etwas] (Fuckel 1912: 165)
c. dann wollte ich mir eine Stube mieten und [verheiraten mich]
(Teuchert 1921: 76)

1a = I will go there and [give it him]
1b = He wants to come here and [take REFL something]
1c = Then would I myself a room rent and [marry REFL]

Cf. also that *und* turns up as something like a relative pronoun in Middle High German:

- (6) MHG. a. wer hât nâch iu gesant, daz ir getorstet riten her in ditze lant,
zuo also starken leiden **unt** ich von iu hân?
Who has for you sent, (so) that you confidently rode here into this land,
under as much pain as I from you (received) have
(Paul 2007: 427)
b. dâ bî **und** ich geseit hân mac wol ein iegelîch man verstên
there from what I said have might well any whatsoever man understand
(Paul 2007: 406)

... and I am sure there are many more open questions.

- (1) [CP [] [C' [C° und][IP [DP PRO] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]
(2) [CP [DP_x PRO] [C' [C° und][IP [DP t<x>] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]
(3)a [cP [] [c' [c° und][CP [] [C' [C° []] [IP [DP PRO] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]]]
(3)b [cP [] [c' [c° und][CP [] [C' [C°_y infinitive] [IP [DP PRO] [I' [I° []] [VP^<y>]]]]]]]
(4)a [cP [DP_x PRO] [c' [c° und][CP [] [C' [C° []] [IP [DP t<x>] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]]]
(4)b [cP [DP_y PRO] [c' [c° und][CP [DP_x t<y>] [C' [C° []] [IP [DP t<x>] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]]]
(5)a [cP [] [c' [c° und][CP [DP_x PRO] [C' [C° []] [IP [DP t<x>] [I' [I° []] [VP^]]]]]]]
(5)b [cP [] [c' [c° und][CP [DP_x PRO] [C' [C°_y infinitive] [IP [DP t<x>] [I' [I° []] [VP^<y>]]]]]]]