

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/>

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3c. Functional heads and their projections

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1. Introduction

There are at least three kinds of functional heads, I° , C° and D° :

(1)	Specifier (of IP)	Functional head (I°)	Complement (VP)
a. English	Peter	has	read the book.
b. French	Pierre	a	lu le livre.

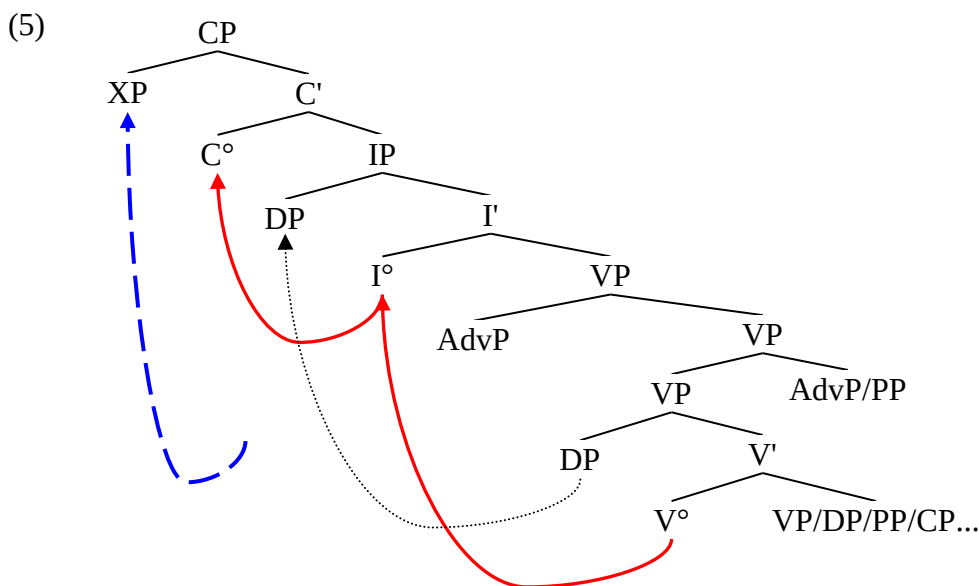
(2)	Specifier (of CP)	Functional head (C°)	Complement (IP)
a. German	Vielleicht	liest	Peter das Buch.
b. Danish	Måske	læser	Peter bogen.
	<i>Maybe</i>	<i>reads</i>	<i>Peter the book</i>

(3)	Specifier (of DP)	Functional head (D°)	Complement (NP)
a. English	Peter	's	car
b. Danish	Per	-s	bil
c. West Jutland	Per	hans	bil
d. Norwegian	Per	sin	bil
e. Colloquial German	Dem Peter	sein	Auto

The order head-complement or complement-head varies from language to language and from category to category. The ordering of the specifier, on the other hand, is fixed; specifiers seem to always precede X-bar.

(6)-(9) below show which verb positions are found in the four SVO-languages Danish, Icelandic, English and French. Four assumptions are made:

- (4) a. All four languages have a tree like (5) as the basic structure, i.e. a sentential adverbial like *never* / *aldrig* / *aldrei* / *jamais* is left-adjoined to the VP
- b. A time adverbial like *in the morning* / *om morgenen* / *á morgnana* / *le matin* is right-adjoined to the VP
- c. The finite verb may move to I° or alternatively to C° via I°.
- d. A maximal projection may occur in CP-Spec under certain circumstances.



2. English

(6)	CP-Spec	C°	IP-Spec	I°	AdvP	V°	Obj	PP
(I didn't know ...)								
a.	...	that	Peter		never	drinks	coffee	in the morning.
b. *	...	that	Peter	drinks	never	_____	coffee	in the morning.
c1. *		Drinks	Peter	_____	never	_____	coffee	in the morning?
c2.		Does	Peter	_____	never	drink	coffee	in the morning?
d. *	Why		Peter		never	drinks	coffee	in the morning?
e. *	Why		Peter	drinks	never	_____	coffee	in the morning?
f1. *	Why	drinks	Peter	_____	never	_____	coffee	in the morning?
f2.	Why	does	Peter	_____	never	drink	coffee	in the morning?
g.	In the morning		Peter		never	drinks	coffee	_____.
h. *	In the morning		Peter	drinks	never	_____	coffee	_____.
i1. *	In the morning	drinks	Peter	_____	never	_____	coffee	_____.
i2. *	In the morning	does	Peter	_____	never	drink	coffee	_____.
m.			Peter		never	drinks	coffee	in the morning.
n. *			Peter	drinks	never	_____	coffee	in the morning.
p1. *	Peter	drinks	_____	_____	never	_____	coffee	in the morning.
p2. *	Peter	does	_____	_____	never	drink	coffee	in the morning.

EXERCISE A:

1a. Is English a language with V°-to-I°-Movement (of finite thematic verbs)?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

1b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):

(6)____ vs. (6)____ / (6)____ vs. (6)____ / (6)____ vs. (6)____

2a. Is English a "real" V2 language?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

2b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):

(6)____ vs. (6)____ / (6)____ vs. (6)____

3. What is wrong with the analysis of (6)g above?

3. Danish

(7)	CP-Spec	C°	IP-Spec	I°	AdvP	V°	Obj	PP
(Jeg vidste ikke ...)								
a.	...	at	Peter		aldrig	drikker	kaffe	om morgenen.
b. *	...	at	Peter	drikker	aldrig	_____	kaffe	om morgenen.
c.		Drikker	Peter	_____	aldrig		kaffe	om morgenen?
d. *	Hvorfor		Peter		aldrig	drikker	kaffe	om morgenen?
e. *	Hvorfor		Peter	drikker	aldrig	_____	kaffe	om morgenen?
f.	Hvorfor	drikker	Peter	_____	aldrig	_____	kaffe	om morgenen?
g. *	Om morgenen		Peter		aldrig	drikker	kaffe	_____.
h. *	Om morgenen		Peter	drikker	aldrig	_____	kaffe	_____.
i.	Om morgenen	drikker	Peter	_____	aldrig	_____	kaffe	_____.
j. *	Kaffe		Peter		aldrig	drikker	_____	om morgenen.
k. *	Kaffe		Peter	drikker	aldrig	_____	_____	om morgenen.
l.	Kaffe	drikker	Peter	_____	aldrig	_____	_____	om morgenen.
m. *			Peter		aldrig	drikker	kaffe	om morgenen.
n. *			Peter	drikker	aldrig	_____	kaffe	om morgenen.
p.	Peter	drikker	_____	_____	aldrig	_____	kaffe	om morgenen.

EXERCISE B:

1a. Is Danish a language with V°-to-I°-Movement?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

1b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):

(7)____ vs. (7)____

2a. Is Danish a "real" V2 language?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

2b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):

(7)____ vs. (7)____ / (7)____ vs. (7)____ / (7)____ vs. (7)____

3. The difference between (7)n and (7)p cannot be directly observed. Why is it nevertheless assumed that (7)p is grammatical and (7)n ungrammatical?

4. Icelandic

(8)	CP-Spec	C°	IP-Spec	I°	AdvP	V°	Obj	PP
(Ég vissi ekki ...)								
a. *	...	að	Pétur		aldrei	drekki	kaffi	á morgnana.
b.	...	að	Pétur	drekki	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana.
c.		Drekkur	Pétur	_____	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana?
d. *	Af hverju		Pétur		aldrei	drekkur	kaffi	á morgnana?
e. *	Af hverju		Pétur	drekkur	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana?
f.	Af hverju	drekkur	Pétur	_____	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana?
g. *	Á morgnana		Pétur		aldrei	drekkur	kaffi	_____.
h. *	Á morgnana		Pétur	drekkur	aldrei	_____	kaffi	_____.
i.	Á morgnana	drekkur	Pétur	_____	aldrei	_____	kaffi	_____.
j. *	Kaffi		Pétur		aldrei	drekkur	_____	á morgnana.
k. *	Kaffi		Pétur	drekkur	aldrei	_____	_____	á morgnana.
l.	Kaffi	drekkur	Pétur	_____	aldrei	_____	_____	á morgnana.
m. *			Pétur		aldrei	drekkur	kaffi	á morgnana.
n. *			Pétur	drekkur	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana.
p.	Pétur	drekkur	_____	_____	aldrei	_____	kaffi	á morgnana.

EXERCISE C:

1a. Is Icelandic a language with V°-to-I°-Movement?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

1b. This can be from the following difference(s):

(8)____ vs. (8)____

2a. Is Icelandic a "real" V2 language?

Yes ☐ or No ☐

2b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):

(8)____ vs. (8)____ / (8)____ vs. (8)____ / (8)____ vs. (8)____

3. The difference between (8)n and (8)p cannot be directly observed. Why is it nevertheless assumed that (8)p is grammatical and (8)n ungrammatical?

5. French

(9)	CP-Spec	C°	IP-Spec	I°	AdvP	V°	Obj	DP
(Je ne savais pas ...)								
a. *	...	qu'	il	ne	jamais	boit	de café	le matin.
b.	...	qu'	il	ne boit	jamais	_____	de café	le matin.
c.		Ne boit-	il	_____	jamais	_____	de café	le matin?
d. *	Pourquoi		il	ne	jamais	boit	de café	le matin?
e. ?	Pourquoi		il	ne boit	jamais	_____	de café	le matin?
f.	Pourquoi	ne boit-	il	_____	jamais	_____	de café	le matin?
g. *	Le matin		il	ne	jamais	boit	de café	_____.
h.	Le matin		il	ne boit	jamais	_____	de café	_____.
i. *	Le matin	ne boit-	il	_____	jamais	_____	de café	_____.
m. *			Il	ne	jamais	boit	de café	le matin.
n.			Il	ne boit	jamais	_____	de café	le matin.
p. *	Il	ne boit	—	_____	jamais	_____	de café	le matin.

EXERCISE D:

1a. Is French a language with V°-to-I°-Movement?
Yes ☐ or No ☐

1b. This can be seen from the following difference(s):
(9)____ vs. (9)____

2a. Is French a "real" V2 language?
Yes ☐ or No ☐

2b. This can be seen from the following difference:
(9)____ vs. (9)____

3. The difference between (9)n and (9)p cannot be directly observed. Why is it nevertheless assumed that (9)n is grammatical and (9)p ungrammatical?

4. What is wrong with the analysis of (9)h above?

6. German

German is very different from the four languages discussed above. The basic assumptions made in (4) and (5) above have to be changed as follows for the German examples below ((10) $\approx$ (6)-(9)).

Both adverbials, *nie* 'never' and *morgens* 'in the morning', are adjoined to the **left** of a VP. V° **follows** its complement rather than precedes it, even though this is still left open by the data in (10) and only settled by the data in (11) below.

(10)	CP-Spec	C°	IP-Spec	I° (?)	AdvP	AdvP	Obj	V° / I°(?)
(Ich wusste nicht...)								
a.	...	dass	Peter		morgens	nie	Kaffee	trinkt.
b. *	...	dass	Peter	trinkt	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____.
c.		Trinkt	Peter	_____	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____?
d. *	Warum		Peter		morgens	nie	Kaffee	trinkt?
e. *	Warum		Peter	trinkt	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____?
f.	Warum	trinkt	Peter	_____	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____?
g. *	Morgens		Peter		_____	nie	Kaffee	trinkt.
h. *	Morgens		Peter	trinkt	_____	nie	Kaffee	_____.
i.	Morgens	trinkt	Peter	_____	_____	nie	Kaffee	_____.
j. *	Kaffee		Peter		morgens	nie	_____	trinkt.
k. *	Kaffee		Peter	trinkt	morgens	nie	_____	_____.
l.	Kaffee	trinkt	Peter	_____	morgens	nie	_____	_____.
m. *			Peter		morgens	nie	Kaffee	trinkt.
n. *			Peter	trinkt	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____.
p.	Peter	trinkt	_____	_____	morgens	nie	Kaffee	_____.

That German is a "real" V2 language can be seen from the following differences: (10)i vs. (10)g,h and (10)l vs. (10)j,k. These examples also show that the German CP is the same as the CP in other V2 languages like Danish and Icelandic.

That V° **follows** its complement in German cannot actually be seen from any of the examples in (10) (can you see why not??), but it is clear from the following example where the main verb is non-finite:

- (11) Ge. a. ...weil Peter morgens nie Kaffee getrunken hat.
 b. * ...weil Peter morgens nie hat Kaffee getrunken.
 c. * ...weil Peter morgens nie getrunken Kaffee hat.
 d. * ...weil Peter morgens nie hat getrunken Kaffee.
Has Peter in-the morning never (has) (coffee) drunk (coffee) (has)

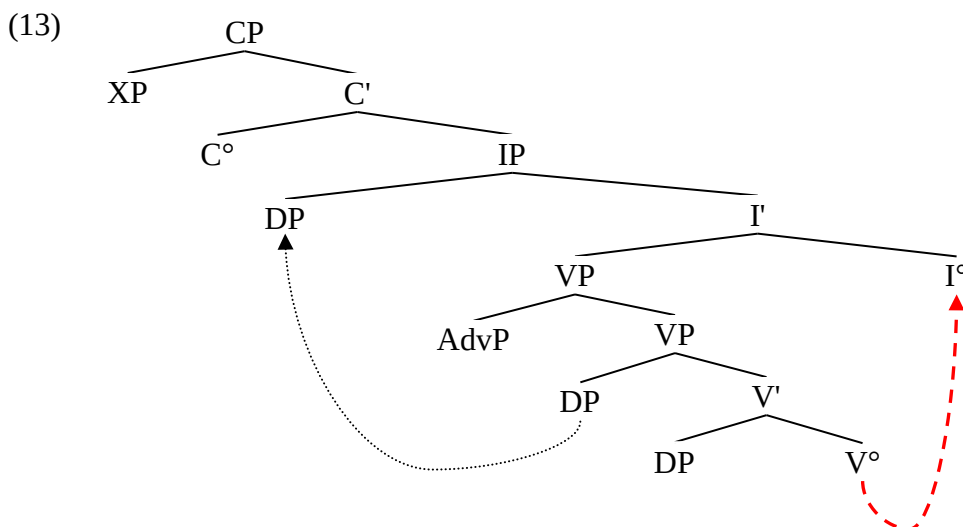
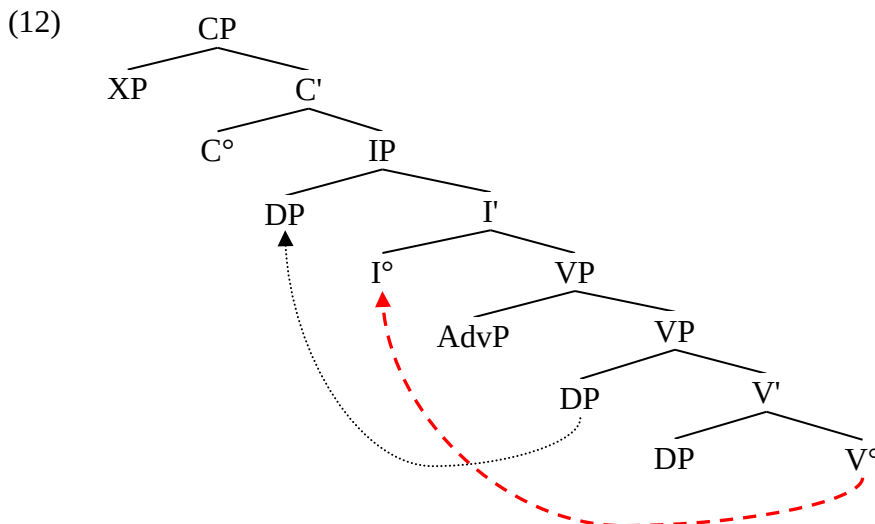
It is far more difficult to determine both whether SOV-languages like German have V°-to-I° movement and whether I° in such languages precedes or follows the VP.

As far as verbal inflection is concerned, the analysis suggested in hand-out 3a (i.e. person markings in every tense, Vikner 1997, 1999) would lead us to expect German (but not Dutch or Afrikaans, cf. Vikner 2001, 15) to have V°-to-I° movement. Although this is what I once thought (Vikner 1995,

152–57), I no longer think so, in that I now think that none of the SOV-languages have V° -to- I° movement, not even German (Vikner 2001, 2005).

The ill-formedness of (10)b, which would have to have the structure (12) below, could be due either to I° being final (as assumed in Vikner 1995, 153) and/or to German not having V° -to- I° movement (as argued in Vikner 2001, 2005).

The well-formedness of (10)a may either be the result of V° -to- I° movement if I° is final inside IP (just as V° is final inside VP), as in (13) below WITH the broken red arrow, or it could be the result of a lack of V° -to- I° movement, as in either of (12) or (13) WITHOUT the broken red arrows.



If German had V° -to- I° movement, we would have evidence of the position of I° in German, as the finite verb in embedded clauses would be in I° , as they are in Icelandic and French.

However, if German would lack V° -to- I° movement, we would have no evidence of the position of I° in German, and thus it could be that the only difference between German clause structure and that of English, Danish, Icelandic, and French is the position of V° : V° follows the object in German but it precedes the object in English, Danish, Icelandic, and French.

In my view, there are at least two independent phenomena that indicate that German (etc.) does not have V° -to- I° movement:

1. Vikner (2005): A number of complex verbs in German and Dutch have a strange distribution. They occur as non-finite verbs in both main and embedded clauses, (14)a,b, but as finite verbs, they only occur in embedded clauses, (14)c, **NOT** in main clauses, (14)d,e:

- (14) Ge. a. Sie will bausparen.
She wants (to) building-save
 ('She wants to save with a building society')
- b. ... weil sie bausparen will.
... because she building-save wants
 ('... because she wants to save with a building society')
- c. ... weil sie bauspart.
... because she building-saves
 ('... because she saves with a building society')
- (a,c adapted from Eisenberg 1998, 226, 324, (16a))
- d. * Spart sie bau ?
- e. * Bauspart sie ?
- (Building-)saves she (building) ?*
 (Intended: 'Does she save with a building society')

I think that this is best explained if we assume that what (14)a-c have in common is that the verbs here all are in V° , i.e. what these verbs are unable to do is to leave V° . The reason is that they then would have to be treated either as separable ("trennbar") or as non-separable ("nicht trennbar") verbs, and this special property of these verbs is that they have to fulfill the conditions on verbs of **both** types.

2. Vikner (2001, 66–99): There is a lot of variation in the sequence of verbs in embedded clauses like

- (15) a. Du. ... dat hij haar hoort roepen
b. Ge. ... dass er sie rufen hört
... *that he her (shout) hears (shout)*

both across nine different Germanic languages/dialects (Dutch, Afrikaans, West Flemish, Frisian, Standard German, Swabian German from Stuttgart, Swiss German from Sankt Gallen, Swiss German from Zürich, and Swiss German from Bern) and across six different constructions (perfect, passive, durative, causative, perception verbs, and modal verbs).

This variation in embedded clauses where one of the two verbs is finite, as in (15)a,b, is almost identical to the variation in the sequence of the verbs in main clauses where none of the two verbs in question are finite, (16)a,b:

- (16) a. Du. Hij zal haar horen roepen
b. Ge. Er wird sie rufen hören
He will her (shout) hear (shout)

This shows that it makes no significant difference whether the higher of the two verbs concerned is finite, as *hoort/hört* in (15)a,b, or non-finite, as *horen/hören* in (16)a,b. This again means that in embedded clauses in the nine SOV-Germanic languages, there can be no obligatory movement that involves only finite verbs. This amounts to saying that there is no V^o -to- I^o movement in the Germanic SOV-languages.

7. Summary

Constituents can only move to positions which are not occupied and never have been. Constituents can only move upwards in the tree, not downwards: A moved constituent must c-command the position it came from.

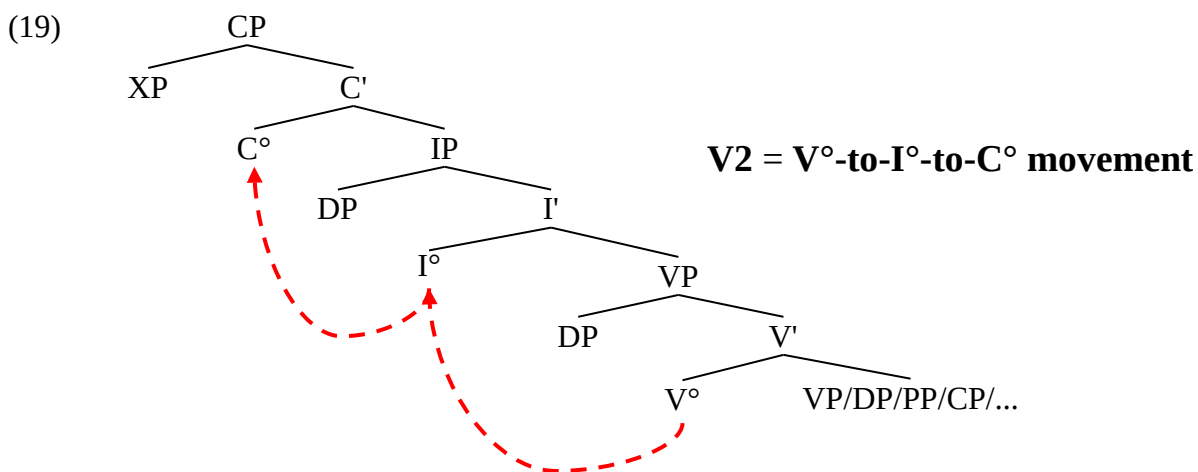
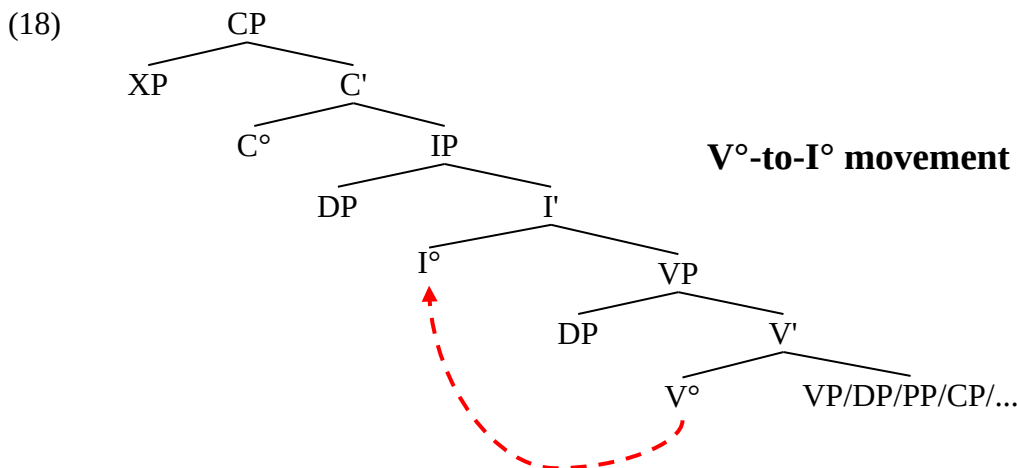
Two kinds of constituents may move: **XP and X°** (but not X').

An **XP** may only move to another XP-position. The landing position cannot be a complement position, again because of the c-command requirement.

An **X°** may only move to another X° -position. This landing position is necessarily a "functional" X° (C° , I° , or D°), not a lexical one (N° , V° , P° , etc.), because a lexical X° always contains (or has contained) lexical material, and therefore counts as "occupied".

This results in the following three possibilities for the highest verb (i.e. for the finite verb):

- (17) a. **No movement** = The verb remains in V°
 b. **V° -to- I° movement** = The verb moves from V° to I°
 c. **Verb second (V2)** = The verb moves from V° via I° to C°
 (X° -movements cannot skip X° -positions)



(20) a.	English	not "real" V2	no V°-to-I°	VO
b.	French	not "real" V2	V°-to-I°	VO
c.	Danish	"real" V2	no V°-to-I°	VO
d.	Icelandic	"real" V2	V°-to-I°	VO
e.	German	"real" V2	?? (difficult to determine)	OV

8. Language overview

(21)

	V2 hand-out 3b,c	V°- to-I° hand-out 3a,c,d,e	VO or OV hand-outs 2a,b,c
a. French	-	+	VO
b. Middle English	-	+	VO
c. English	-	-	VO
d. Icelandic	+	+	VO
e. Älvdalen	+	+	VO
f. Faroese	+	-	VO
g. Danish	+	-	VO
h. Hallingdalen	+	-	VO
i. Norwegian	+	-	VO
j. Swedish	+	-	VO
k. Yiddish	+	+	(VO) OV ¹
l. German	+	(+) - ²	OV
m. Swabian	+	(+) - ²	OV
n. Swiss German	+	(+) - ²	OV
o. Frisian	+	(+) - ²	OV
p. West Flemish	+	(+) - ²	OV
q. Dutch	+	-	OV
r. Afrikaans	+	-	OV

Notes:

1.
 "(VO) OV" =
 VO according to
 Vikner (1995),
 but OV according to
 Vikner (2001, 2003)
 ...

2.
 "(+) -" =
 V°- to-I° according
 to Vikner (1995),
 but not according to
 Vikner (2001, 2005),
 ...

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