Why immobile verbs in Germanic SOV are mobile in Germanic SVO languages.
This abstract treats the phenomenon of complex immobile verbs in German, Swiss-German and Dutch. It follows up the the account of Ahlers (2010) that challenges the existent accounts from Haider (1993), Koopmann (1995), Vikner (2005) and Fortmann (2007) on basis of the observation of internal head inflection. This abstract explains why those verbs are immobile in Germanic SVO languages like German and Dutch but are mobile in SVO languages like Danish or Swedish.
Immobile verbs in German cannot occur as finite forms in C°; neither as a whole (1a) nor separated (1b); but they can appear finite in end position (V°) (1c) as Höhle (1991) observed.

(1) (Ahlers 2010)   a*.*   *Emil *bauchtanzte* letzten Sommer.   (C°)
                                Emil bellydanced last summer.
                        b.   *Erna *tanzt* phänomenal *bauch*.   (C°)
                                Erna dances marvelously belly.
                        c. $^?$Unglaublich, dass Emil so gut *bauchtanzt*. (V°)
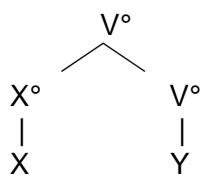   It is unbelievable, that Emil that well bellydances.

In contrast to complex mobile verbs (2a), which can be used finite as a whole in C°, and particle verbs (2b), which have to be separated when moving to C°, complex immobile verbs represent a distinct class in German.

(2) (Ahlers 2010)   a.   Erna *ohrfeigt* Emil.   (compl. mob. verb)
                                Erna faceslaps Emil.
                                Erna slaps Emil in the face.
                        b.   Das Ohrfeigen *findet* immer samstags *statt.* (particle verb)
                                The faceslapping takes every Saturday place.
                                The slapping of the face takes place every Saturday*.*

The observation of Ahlers (2010) is, that immobile verbs inflect strong, if the corresponding simplex does so, too: bergsteigen – bergstieg/*bergsteigte. Inseparable complex verbs, however, always inflect weak, even if having a strong corresponding simplex: handhaben – handhabte/*handhatte. This indicates that immobile verbs (1) inflect on the inner head, while inseperable complex verbs (2a) do not.
The criteria *syntactic separability* and *internal head inflection* lead to three distinct classes of complex verbs: *particle verbs (2b)*, *conversion verbs (2a)* and *immobile verbs (1)*. On basis of these criteria, a compound structure is assumed for immobile verbs:

(3) structure of immobile verbs (Ahlers 2010)

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              V°
            /    \
        X°        V°
        |          |
        X          Y
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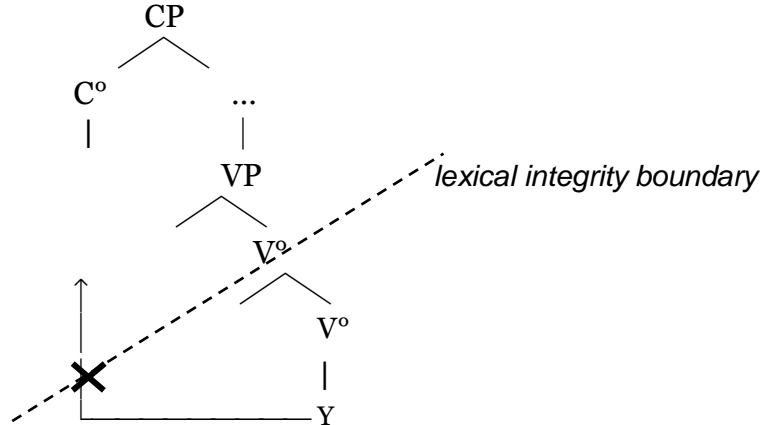
This analysis is supported by the observation that complex immobile verbs show typical properties of nominal compounds: *inseparability*, a *head-complement relation* and *phonological epenthesis* which is restricted to compounds in German. Compared to immobile verbs the forms in (2) are analyzed as a product of *lexical conversion* (2a) (ebd.) and *syntactic formation* (2b) (cf. Zeller 2001).
Immobility is analyzed by Ahlers (2010) as the result of a mismatch between the C°-requirement attracting only the inflected head and the *lexical integrity hypothesis* (Di Sciullo & Williams 1987), which does not allow a component to escape its X°-mother; the finite use *in situ* (V°) is however allowed (4).
The attempt of synchronic formation of immobile verbs bears several severe problems (cf. Sternefeld 2006). Hence in this analysis it is argued that a formation based on diachronical analogy is established in correspondence to a nominal compound. (All immobile verbs are build on the basis of existing nominal compounds.)

(4) Immobility of complex inseperable verbs in German (Ahlers 2010)

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            CP
           /  \
         C°    ...
         |      |
               VP
              /  \
            V°      ⋮  ---- lexical integrity boundary
           /  \
              V°
               |
        ✗       Y
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As for German, this account also works fine for Dutch, which is also of the type SOV. Moreover it provides a reasonable solution to the problem of immobility and overcomes severe problems of former accounts (Vikner 2005, Fortmann 2007). Those problems are described by Sternefeld (2006).

Working for SVO-languages, the approach of Ahlers (2010) does not seem to work for Danish and Swedish which are considered of the type SVO. In Danish, as Vikner (2006) points out, it is possible to have strong inseparable complex verbs also in I° position (5), which is not possible in German and Dutch. Hence, the structure of verbal compounds must be different in Danish and Swedish. Starting off from Danish *particle verbs* which reflect the VO-order (Danish *finde-stat (VO)* vs. German *statt-finden (OV)*) an order difference in true verbal compounds can be expected, too. While the first part of a complex verb in German is, due to the general OV-Syntax, easily expected as a complement to the verb, the whole form is identified to be complex (5). The verbal part is identified as V° and hence is inflected strong (immobile verbs). The other possibility for German is to identifiy the whole construction as not complex (conversion verb), which would get inflected weak. However it is not possible to identify a complex verb in German with a single strong verb stem, because of the assumption, that to the left of a simplex V°, there can be an argument found.

In Danish however, a verbal argument is, because of VO order, only expected right to V°. Complements are not expected on the left of V°. Thus the nominal compound can be reanalyzed as a single verb stem that can inflect strong. The first part of such a *pseudocomplex* verb is simply not considered as something else than belonging to the stem, because there is nothing expected attached to the left. Hence, in Danish a Simplex structures arises by reanalysis of a nominal compound (6). This structure is mobile and explains the puzzle of the Vikner (2006) account.

(5) a. [$_{N°}$ X [$_{N°}$ Y]] > diachronic analogy > [$_{V°}$ X [$_{V°}$ Y]] (formation of immob. verbs in German)
     b. [$_{N°}$ *berg* [$_{N°}$*steigen*]] > diachronic analogy > [$_{V°}$ berg [$_{V°}$ steigen]]

(6) a. [$_{N°}$ X [$_{N°}$ Y]] → reanalysis → [$_{V°}$ Z]   (formation by reanalysis in Danish)
     b. [$_{N°}$ *del* [$_{N°}$*tagelse*] → *reanalysis of the stem* → [$_{V°}$ *deltage*]

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