

# Remarks on prepositional object clauses in Germanic

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## Abstract

This paper analyses the variation we find in the realization of finite prepositional object clauses in the Germanic languages. While in North Germanic a preposition can directly select a clause, Continental West Germanic languages dominantly employ a pronominal adverb as a prepositional proform that is syntagmatically related to the clause. The type of relation gives rise to further differences with respect to constituent structure. Within the Continental West Germanic languages we find variation along the following lines. First, whether or not they allow for structures where the preposition plus the clause occurs in restricted context: in Frisian and Dutch, P+CP is possible with factive clauses, in German P+CP is generally excluded. Second, whether or not the pronominal adverb can form a constituent with the clause, which is possible in German with a subset of pronominal adverbs, but generally excluded in Dutch and Frisian. Third, all Germanic languages under consideration except English share that the prepositional element can be covert, except in English. We propose an analysis that sets apart three structures, and the languages under discussion make use of one or two of these patterns. This investigation is a first step towards a broader study of the nature of clauses in prepositional object positions and the implications for the syntax of clausal complementation.

## 1. Introduction

Prepositional object clauses are interesting from a typological and grammatical perspective.<sup>1</sup> Prepositions typically select NPs as complements. However, when complements of prepositions may denote propositions, languages need to find a way to combine prepositions with such complements, which tend to be clausal. Such clausal PPs, which we label PO-clauses,<sup>2</sup> exhibit a number of syntactic peculiarities, which we will investigate by looking at finite clauses in a subset of Germanic languages, namely German, Dutch, Frisian,<sup>3</sup> English and Swedish.<sup>4</sup> In what follows, we restrict ourselves to cases in which the prepositional element combines more or less directly with the clause, that is, without using an intermediate noun or pronoun.<sup>5</sup> This strategy is widely employed within Germanic. Subtypes can be distinguished according to whether the clause combines with a preposition or with a prepositional proform. While the North Germanic languages employ the first subtype (see below (1)), the second one is predominantly found in the Continental West Germanic languages. These languages make use of prepositional proforms (PPF), traditionally called ‘pronominal adverb’ (DE *Pronominaladverb*, see already Paul 1919:154f., Curme 1922:271f., NL *voornaamwoordelijk bijwoord* see Haeseryn et al. 1997:1176). A pronominal adverb consists of a deictic adverb – which since van Riemsdijk (1978) goes by the name of R-pronoun – among others, *er* and *daar* in Dutch,

<sup>1</sup>We are grateful to Hans Broekhuis, Jarich Hoekstra and Valéria Molnár for helping us with the data as well as to an anonymous reviewer for meticulous and astute comments on an earlier version of this paper that helped us enormously (so we hope) to improve the quality of the paper. All remaining errors are our own.

<sup>2</sup>Note that we use the term for configurations in which PO-clauses form a constituent and in which a prepositional proform occurs in a different position than the clause.

<sup>3</sup>Whenever we talk about Frisian in this paper we stick to the West Frisian variety.

<sup>4</sup>For abbreviations for language names we use the two-letter ISO 639-1 code: Danish=DA, Dutch=NL, English=EN, Frisian=FY, German=DE, Icelandic=IS, Norwegian=NO, Swedish=SV.

<sup>5</sup>These are cases such as (i) and (ii):

- (i) But when you keep the big names supplied with a particular kind of amusement ... you can always *depend on it that* the police are found to be in the wrong, ... (BNC, CK9 848)
- (ii) ..., otherwise he could not account **for the fact that** he had quite earnestly looked forward to having his room emptied of furnishing. (Kafka 1995:75)



*da(r)* in German – followed by an adposition (P). Accordingly, it has the form ‘R-pronoun.P’. The PPF is optional with some verbs in German and Dutch. It should be noted that we restrict the notion of a PPF to cases where the pronominal adverb enters an intrasentential phoric relation, figuring as what has been called a “correlate” in the German grammar tradition (IDS-Grammatik 1997:1475-1490, Haider 2010:188), otherwise also addressed as a “resumptive pronoun.” (We disregard dislocation structures for the moment, but see below.)<sup>6</sup>

We consider shared properties and differences between the languages and provide a syntactic analysis for the variation as a basis for further investigations into the typological variation in this domain. The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 presents a cross-linguistic analysis of PO-clauses in Germanic. Following J. Hoekstra (2011) we point out that the syntactic options realized within Germanic represent as split between North Germanic and Continental West Germanic languages (2.1). Here, we confine ourselves to Swedish (North Germanic), German, Dutch and, if only marginally, Frisian (Continental West Germanic) and English (West Germanic). Section 2.2 sets out the relevant restrictions on Dutch and German as evidence for our analysis. In 3 we defend the view that in Germanic PO-clauses a P-element is always syntactically active even if not overtly realized, although for English the evidence remains somewhat equivocal, see 3.4). Section 3.5 supports this claim by presenting an experimental study on *wh*-extraction from German PO-clauses. In 4 we briefly sketch and motivate our analysis of PO-clauses as being base-generated complements in the postfield (following mainly Haider 1995; 1997; 2010). A short summary and conclusion is given in Section 5.

## 2. Cross-linguistic analysis of PO-clauses in Germanic

### 2.1. Main observations and proposal

The first major difference between the languages is whether or not it is generally possible for prepositions to select CPs, a split that can be linked to North Germanic vs. Continental West Germanic languages (see J. Hoekstra 2011:66). In our sample this splits Swedish vs. German/Dutch/Frisian (we come back to English below). Swedish Ps generally can select CPs (1-a). The same is true for Danish (1-b), Norwegian (1-c), and Icelandic (1-d).

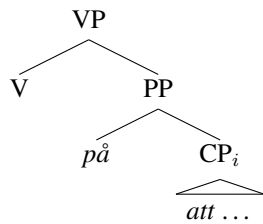
- |     |    |  |    |
|-----|----|--|----|
| (1) | a. | Kassören yrkade på [ <sub>CP</sub> att avgiften skulle höjas].<br>teller.DEF insisted on that fee.DEF should increase.PASS<br>‘The teller insisted that the fee shall be increased.’<br>(adapted from Telemann et al. 1999:vol. 4, p. 533) | SV |
|     | b. | Personalet længes efter [ <sub>CP</sub> at chefen skal gå af].<br>staff.DEF longs after that manager.DEF will go off<br>‘The staff is longing for the manager to step down.’<br>(adapted from Hansen and Heltoft 2019:1503)                | DA |
|     | c. | Han sørget for [ <sub>CP</sub> at gjestene fikk noe å spise].<br>he took care for that guest.DEF.PL got something to eat.<br>‘He took care that the guest got something to eat.’<br>(adapted from Faarlund et al. 1997:988)                | NO |
|     | d. | Jón langar til [ <sub>CP</sub> að María komi hingað].<br>John wants for that Mary come.SBJ here<br>‘John wants Mary to come here.’ (adapted from Thráinsson 2007:402)  | IS |

We take this at face value and analyse these PO-clauses as in (2) for these languages.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Please note that the pronominal adverbs under discussion here can also be used as full anaphoric proforms, without the presence of the sentence. We put aside these uses of the proform here.

<sup>7</sup>There is an issue as to whether the availability of P+CP actually indicates that these clauses are NPs in the Scandinavian languages (see Thráinsson 2007:402 for Icelandic), an idea that has been discussed mostly in relation to factive clauses (Kiparsky and Kiparsky

## (2) Preposition and CP as constituent: Swedish



Under restricted circumstances this strategy can also be found in Frisian and in Dutch. In both languages, P+CP is possible with factive verbs (see E. Hoekstra 2019, Haslinger 2007:177) as in (3) and (5), otherwise Frisian and Dutch PO-clauses need a PPF. This is shown in (4) for Frisian. Correspondingly, the Dutch example (6) becomes grammatical if the P is replaced by the appropriate PPF. As factive clauses have been argued to be NPs independently (see Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970, Haslinger 2007:154) the distinction between factive vs. non-factive might not be surprising. Nevertheless, in Dutch, P+CP-clauses are usually considered as marked (see Haslinger 2007 for further details).

- (3) a. Hy krimmenearde oer [<sub>CP</sub> dat it libben sa djoer wie].  
 he complained about that the life so expensive was  
 ‘He complained about life being so expensive.’ FY
- b. Ik hie myn nocht fan [<sub>CP</sub> dat it alle dagen reinde].  
 I had my end.of.fun of that it all days rained  
 ‘I had enough of it raining every day.’  
 (adapted from E. Hoekstra 2019)
- (4) a. \*Ik hope op [<sub>CP</sub> dat ik de trein helje soe].  
 I hoped on that I the train catch would  
 ‘I hoped that I would catch the train.’ FY
- b. Ik hope derop [<sub>CP</sub> dat ik de trein helje soe].  
 I hoped R-pronoun.on that I the train catch would  
 ‘I hoped that I would catch the train.’  
 (adapted from E. Hoekstra 2019)
- (5) Zij heeft geklaagd over [<sub>CP</sub> dat het weer zo slecht was].  
 she has complained about that the weather so bad was  
 ‘She has complained about the bad weather.’ NL  
 (Haslinger 2007:162)
- (6) <sup>?</sup>/\*Ik heb verlangd naar [<sub>CP</sub> dat het zomer wordt].  
 I have longed for that it summer becomes  
 ‘I have wished it was finally summer.’ NL  
 (Haslinger 2007:162)

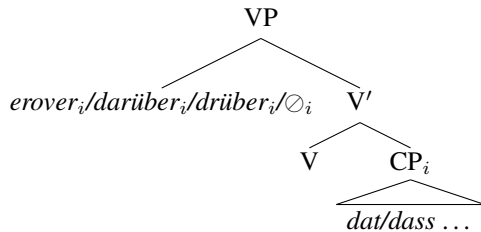
The unmarked case, however, is for Dutch prepositions to be restricted to NP- or PP-complements. In German this holds for all prepositions regardless of the (non-)factivity of the P-selecting verb, i. e. P+CP-structures are generally excluded. As a result a P-selecting verb standardly occurs with a PPF and a clause in Dutch and German. Thus, both the selectional requirement of Ps and the need to express a proposition as the complement of the verb can be satisfied. In Dutch PPFs are composed of two “autonomous” elements: they are regularly separated, both with PO-clauses (see (7)) as well as with other instances of R-pronouns (see (8)).

1970) and subject clauses (Rosenbaum 1967; see Alrenga 2005, Hartman 2012, Moulton 2015, Lohndal 2014 for recent discussion of pros and cons). We leave a detailed investigation of this issue with respect to PO-clauses to future research.

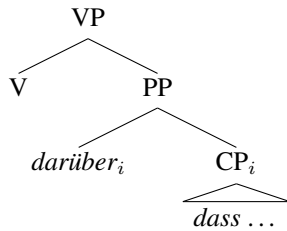
- (7) Tijdens de lunch klaagde Jan er weer over dat Marie hem steeds plaagt.  
 During the lunch complained Jan R-PRN again about that M. him always annoys  
 ‘During lunch, Jan complained that M. always annoys him.’
- (8) a. Jan heeft er de hele dag naar gezocht.  
 Jan has there the whole day for looked  
 b. \*Jan heeft ernaar de hele dag gezocht. (Broekhuis 2013:331)

Within the Continental West Germanic family, we propose to distinguish two different underlying structures, both of which occur in German, while Dutch only makes use of one of them. The two structures are shown in (9) and (10).

- (9) NL *er.P*,  $\emptyset_i$  / DE *dr.P*, *da(r).P*,  $\emptyset_i$  CP



- (10) DE *da(r).P*



The two structures differ with respect to whether or not the PPF and CP form a constituent (see Breindl 1989 for a similar idea, making a distinction between two different structures). In (9) the CP and the PPF are separate elements both selected by the verb (as suggested in IDS-Grammatik 1997:1487f.), while in (10) they form a PP (such a structure is proposed for all PO-clauses in Müller 1995, Buring 1995).<sup>8,9</sup>

As indicated in the tree structures, we propose that the split between the two structures (9) and (10) correlates with different types of proforms. Those forms that occur in type (10) show accentuation of the R-pronoun; we provide the relevant forms for German in (11). As accentuation of the R-pronoun part is impossible for the reduced or silent forms in German in (12) and the Dutch PPFs in (13) generally, these do only occur in the structure in (9).<sup>10</sup> In what follows we will label the (occurrences of the) accented forms as ‘strong’ and the (occurrences of the unaccented ones) as ‘weak’ as a convenient *façon de parler* to refer to forms that occur in the same syntactic contexts under the same accentual conditions. In particular the non-reduced German forms can either be strong or weak. Since they are possible in both types of structure, they may best be regarded as neutral or underspecified. With this proviso, the inventories of the respective

<sup>8</sup>We put the discussion of the internal structures of these PPs aside for the time being.

<sup>9</sup>As an anonymous reviewer points out, the selection of two syntactic positions by the verb for one semantic argument obviously raises various questions about the interaction of syntax and semantics concerning argument structure, which we cannot address here. The answer might lie in considering these structures some hybrid form between particle verbs and verbs selecting prepositional objects. We leave the details here to future research.

<sup>10</sup>Note that the nonaccentability of the German forms is not due to phonological reasons: They can be perfectly accented when occurring non-phonically, e. g. as a verbal particle, cf. DE *Du musst fest DRAUFdrücken*. ‘You have to keep pressure on it.’ (Uppercase letters indicate accent.) That is why we talk about accentuation of the R-pronoun part of the forms. One could assume that the reduced form is nothing but a phonetic variant of the non-reduced one because it is non-accented (see (IDS-Grammatik 1997:1477) for a position along these lines). However, since these forms can also be found in written texts (e. g. newspapers) we regard them as independent lexicalized forms.

forms are listed in (11)–(13).

- (11) German strong forms (sPPF)  
 daran, darauf, daraus, dabei, dadurch, dafür, dagegen, darin, damit, danach, darüber, darum, darunter, davon, davor, dazu
- (12) German weak forms (wPPF)  
 (i) daran, darauf, daraus, dabei, dadurch, dafür, dagegen, darin, damit, danach, darüber, darum, darunter, davon, davor, dazu  
 (ii) dran, drauf, draus, drin, drüber, drum, drunter  
 (iii) zero:  $\emptyset$
- (13) Dutch forms (wPPF)  
 (i) eraan, ernaar, erom, erop, erover, ervan, ervoor, erbij, erdoor, ermee, ernaast, eruit  
 (ii) zero:  $\emptyset$

Only the German strong forms can occur together with the clause in all positions where we find PPs. This is illustrated here for the clause-initial position (prefield) (14-a), the middle field, (14-b), and post-verbally in V-final clauses (postfield), (14-c) (see, among others, IDS-Grammatik 1997:1478–1482, Breindl 2013:477f.).<sup>11</sup>

- (14) a. Darüber, dass Maria bald kommt, freut sich Hans schon seit langem.  
 PPF that M. soon comes looks-forward REFL Hans already for long  
 b. weil Hans sich darüber, dass Maria bald kommt, schon seit langem freut  
 because H. REFL PPF that M. soon comes already for long looks-forward  
 c. weil sich Hans schon seit langem freut darüber, dass Maria bald kommt  
 because REFL H. already for long looks-forward PPF that Maria soon comes  
 ‘Hans has been looking forward for a long time to Mary arriving soon.’

With the weak proform the corresponding structures are not possible (15); see Breindl (1989:181, 206):<sup>12</sup>

- (15) a. \*Drüber, dass Maria bald kommt, freut sich Hans schon seit langem.  
 PPF that M. soon comes looks-forward REFL H. already for long  
 b. \*weil Hans sich drüber, dass Maria bald kommt, schon seit langem freut  
 because Hans REFL PPF that Maria soon comes already for long looks-forward

<sup>11</sup>Note that there is a class of verbs such as *darin bestehen*, *darin/daran liegen*, *sich darin/daran zeigen*, *sich darin ausdrücken*, *sich darin erweisen*, *darauf beruhen*, *sich darin bekunden*, *damit zusammenhängen*, *sich daraus ergeben* (Breindl 1989:189f.) which do not allow for the PPF+CP to occur in the postfield; see (i) vs. (ii). For reasons that are not entirely clear to us, the sPPF(+CP) obligatorily moves into the middle field, potentially due to information-structural requirements interacting with these verbs.

- (i) weil ihr Einwand DARin bestanden hat, dass ...  
 because her objection there.in consisted has, that ...  
 (ii) \*dass ihr Einwand bestanden hat, DARin dass ...  
 (iii) Darin, dass ..., hat ihr Einwand bestanden.  
 (iv) dass ihr Einwand DARin, dass ..., bestanden hat

Interestingly, we found Dutch equivalent verbs here with *daar*-forms, which are otherwise not possible as PPFs:

- (i) Deze bestond, om het kort te zeggen, daarin dat men uitingen doet die elkaar tegenspreken;  
 this consisted, C it short to say, there.in that PRN claims do REL each.other against.speak  
 ‘This consisted, to put in briefly, in making statements that contradicted each other [...]’  
 (Mr. Jan den Tex, Spinoza over de tolerantie, Mededelingen, XXII, Vanwege het Spinozahuis, Leiden, Brill, 1967. p10; cited from Google Books)

<sup>12</sup>Some speakers allow for the word order in (15-c), but only with a prosodic break after *drüber*. Note that in this case, the CP is prosodically not integrated into the main clause and establishes a separate intonation phase, indicating that the PPF and the clause do not form a constituent. As these seem marginal, we do not consider them further.

- c. \*weil sich Hans schon seit langem freut drüber, dass Maria bald kommt  
because REFL H. already for long looks-forward PPF that M. soon comes

Likewise, in Dutch the weak *er*.P-forms cannot form a constituent together with the CP (van Riemsdijk 1978:185, Haslinger 2007). In contrast to the corresponding P+CP sequences that are possible with factive verbs, *er*.P+CP combinations are inadmissible in the prefield (16) and the postfield (17).<sup>13</sup>

- (16) a. \*Erover dat het weer zo slecht was heeft ze constant lopen klagen.  
thereabout that the weather so bad was has she constantly walk complain  
'She has constantly been complaining about the bad weather.'  
b. Over dat het weer slecht was heeft ze constant lopen klagen.  
about that the weather bad was has she constantly walk complain  
'She has constantly been complaining about the bad weather.' (Haslinger 2007:160, 163)
- (17) a. \*Zij heeft geklaagd erover dat het weer zo slecht was.  
she has complained PPF that the weather so bad was  
b. Zij heeft geklaagd over dat het weer zo slecht was.  
she has complained about that the weather so bad was  
'She has complained about the bad weather.' (Haslinger 2007:162)

It should be noted that neither the Dutch *er*.P-form nor the reduced German *dr*.P-form usually occur in the prefield. As for German, this is only possible with the *da(r)*.P-form, while in Dutch the corresponding *daar*.P-form must be employed (18). It seems to us that this again is due to an accentual requirement on the PPF that is triggered by the information-structural properties of an object in this position.

- (18) a. Daarover/\*Erover wil ik niet praten.<sup>14</sup>  
b. Darüber/\*Drüber will ich nicht sprechen.  
'I do not want to talk about that/it.'

Note though that in contrast to German, Dutch *daar*.P together with the clause is also not possible in the prefield (19); Dutch simply lacks the structure in (10) altogether for all forms.<sup>15</sup>

- (19) a. \*Daarover dat het weer zo slecht was heeft ze constant lopen klagen. NL  
thereabout that the weather so bad was has she constantly walk complain  
(Haslinger 2007:160f.)  
b. Darüber, dass das Wetter so schlecht war, hatte sie ständig geklagt. DE  
'She has constantly been complaining about the bad weather.'

Frisian behaves similarly to Dutch in that it does not allow its PPF to form a constituent with the CP:

- (20) a. \*Dêroer [dat Loltsje him hieltyd narre], klage Gurbe. FY  
PPF that L. him hold fool complained G.  
'Gurbe complained that Loltsje made a fool of him.'

<sup>13</sup>As for the middle field clausal complements and adjuncts have been claimed to be generally excluded in Dutch (see Broekhuis and Corver 2015:726 and references therein). Note, however, that Haslinger (2007:163) gives an example with a P+CP structure in the middle field.

<sup>14</sup>We thank an anonymous reviewer for providing us with the example.

<sup>15</sup>There is an issue about the prosodic phrasing of the sentences in (19-a). Haslinger claims with respect to (19-b): 'This sentence is grammatical with comma intonation between *daarover* and *dat*, but in that case the preposition and the CP do not form a constituent.' (161, Fn. 10).' With respect to the Dutch example an anonymous reviewer points out that a comma would lead to a parenthetical reading of the CP. Even though we tend to have a comma in this position in German, no such parenthetical intonation is necessary. The analogous parenthetical reading seems necessary if the *da(r)*.P-adverb were replaced by its proximal counterpart which is built with the deictic adverb *hier* 'here' (i):

- (i) Hierüber – dass das Wetter so schlecht war – hatte sie ständig geklagt.

- b. \*omdat Gurbe dêroer [dat Loltsje him hieltyd narre] klage  
 because G. PPF that L. him hold fool complained  
 ‘because Gurbe complained that Loltsje made a fool of him’  
 (adjusted from J. Hoekstra 2019, p.c.)

	DE strong	DE weak	NL forms	FY forms
(21) Constituent with CP	✓	*	*	*
Position P-element	anywhere	preverbal	preverbal	preverbal
Position clause	with P anywhere	post-verbal	post-verbal	postverbal

It has been claimed (IDS-Grammatik 1997:1489, Breindl 2013:473) that only a structure such as (9) is feasible for German, because it allows the matrix verb to induce restrictions on the complement clause. As the contrast in (22) shows, the choice of the complementizer can be constrained by the matrix verb, factive verbs not allowing *ob* ‘whether’. This is in contrast to canonical head-dependent structures like those in (23) where the head noun determines the type of its dependent.

- (22) a. Sie hatte DARüber, ob/dass sie Vermögen hatte, nicht allzuviel nachgedacht.  
 she had PPF whether/that she assets had not too-much thought-about  
 (Breindl 2013:473)
- b. Sie hat sich DARüber, dass/\*ob sie Vermögen hat, sehr gewundert.  
 she has REFL PPN, that/whether she assets has very been-astonished
- (23) a. Sie hatte über die TATsache, dass/\*ob sie Vermögen hatte, nicht allzuviel  
 she had about the fact that/whether she assets had not too-much  
 nachgedacht.  
 thought-about
- b. Sie hatte über die FRAge, ob/\*dass sie Vermögen hatte, nicht allzuviel nachgedacht.  
 she had about the question whether/that she assets had not too-much thought-about  
 (Breindl 2013:473)

We do not see the force of this argument. First, a functional P-head may well be transparent for syntagmatic relations. Examples include (i) German PPs occurring with both ACC or DAT complements according to the governing verb, see Sternefeld (2009:183ff.) for discussion. (ii) German relative pronouns embedded within PPs agreeing with their head noun with respect to gender and number. (iii) Binding of an NP-complement within a PP by some binder outside of the PP.

Second, whether or not the verb allows for an interrogative or declarative complement is also influenced by other factors than the selectional properties of the verb; see Broekhuis and Corver (2015:650) for Dutch and Fortmann (1994) and Sternefeld (2015:chap. III.7.2) and Schwabe (2019) for German.

Instead, we think that the structure in (9) needs to be available for a different reason: it straightforwardly accounts for the particle-like behaviour of PPFs, in the sense that they need to be left adjacent to the verb: in German this holds for the weak PPF forms (24):

- (24) a. weil Hans sich heute drüber freut, dass Maria kommt. DE  
 because H. REFL today WPPF is-happy that M. comes
- b. \*weil drüber Hans sich heute freut, dass Maria kommt.  
 because WPPF H. REFL today is-happy that M. comes
- c. \*weil Hans drüber sich heute freut, dass Maria kommt.  
 because H. WPPF REFL today is-happy that M. comes
- d. ??weil Hans sich drüber heute freut, dass Maria kommt  
 because H. REFL WPPF today is-happy that M. comes

In Dutch, this holds for the preposition; the R-pronoun can shift to the left as usual with R-pronouns. The preposition needs to stay adjacent to the verb.

- (25) dat Jan **er** niet langer **op** wacht dat het vuurwerk wordt afgestoken.  
 that Jan there no longer for waits that the firework is PRT.-lit  
 ‘that Jan won’t wait any longer for the moment that the fireworks are lit.’  
 (Broekhuis 2013:182)

While in Dutch the R-pronoun can appear further to the left in the middle field, we find that under certain information-structural contexts the sPPF in German may also occur non-adjacent in the middle field, as in (26). It is clearly the sPPF here, as the reduced form is not possible and as the R-pronoun needs to be accented. In our approach, these examples must be derived from the structure in (10), that is the internal structure of the PP constituent in (10) must be such that the sPPF as a constituent can escape. Whether or not this is some type of scrambling or A'-movement is left open here, as this needs to be investigated on the basis of an in-depth analysis of the information-structural options. The interactions with information-structure are intricate and require a more systematic treatment than what we offer here.

- (26) A: Worauf hat Peter kurz hingewiesen? DE  
 B: Peter hat nur DArauf kurz hingewiesen, dass es neue Probleme gibt.  
 P. has only PPF shortly pointed-out, that it new problems gives

In sum, we suggest that German in contrast to Dutch has underlyingly two structures, one in which the PPF forms a constituent with the clause (see (10)) and one in which both the PPF and the clause are selected by the verb (see (9)). In Dutch only the latter is available. While this latter structure might raise questions as to how one single argument position can correspond to two syntactic elements, this structure has the advantage that it makes it possible to explain the verb-adjacency of the PPFs in German and Dutch in this position. Additionally, it is straightforward to account for the fact that only a subclass of verbs allow the PPF to be dropped. In our approach here this means that only a subclass of verbs select the null form. This kind of selectional restriction is much more difficult to account for in approaches that assume that all PPFs are base-generated together with the clause.

## 2.2. Further restrictions in Dutch and German

In Dutch and German, the position of the clause is restricted in two ways. First, the CP cannot be topicalized across the proform, neither in German (Breindl 1989:181, 206, Haider 1995:263, Müller 1995:233, IDS-Grammatik 1997:1478]), see (27), nor in Dutch (28):

- (27) a. Hans hat sich darüber/drüber/∅ gefreut, dass Maria gewonnen hat. DE  
 ‘Hans was happy PPF that M. won.’  
 b. \*Dass Maria gewonnen hat, hat Hans sich darüber gefreut.  
 that M. won has, has H. REFL PPF been.happy
- (28) a. Jan klaagde er weer over, dat Marie hem steeds plaagt. NL  
 J. complained R-PRN again about that M. him always annoys  
 b. \*[Dat Marie hem steeds plaagt] klaagde Jan er weer over.  
 that M. him always annoys complained J. R-PRN again about

The clause can only appear before the PPF in left-dislocation contexts. In this case the PPF in German or the R-pronoun/*daar*-form (Dutch) occupies the initial position (for German see Heidolph et al. 1984:822, IDS-Grammatik 1997:1483). Note that in Dutch *er*-forms are not possible with left-dislocation, only *daar*-forms are.

- (29) [Dass Maria gewonnen hat], darüber hat sich Hans gefreut. DE  
 that M. won has PPF has REFL H. been.happy



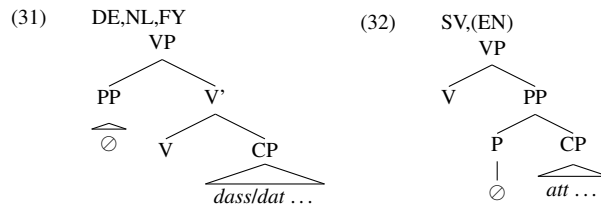
- (30) a. [Dat Marie hem steeds plaagt], daar klaagde Jan over. NL  
 that M. him always annoys, R-PRN complained J. about  
 b. [Dat Marie hem steeds plaagt], daarover klaagde Jan  
 that M. him always annoys, PPF complained J.

We assume that the left-dislocated constituent is base-generated in the left-peripheral position. As with other cases of left-dislocation, the PPF picks up the content of the clause, thus left-dislocation cases are not derived by movement. This makes it possible to account for the restriction on topicalization in terms of movement, more specifically a type of strong-cross-over effect, with the clause and proform being co-indexed.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Silent P-elements

#### 3.1. Introduction

The Germanic languages under consideration here all share the possibility to leave out the prepositional element at least with some verbs in German, Dutch, Swedish and Frisian, or generally in English. We will argue in this section that the prepositional element is covertly present (i.e. not pronounced but syntactically expressed), resulting in the following structures:



While the absence of the preposition is rather restricted in Swedish, the absence of the P-element is the regular case in English. For English, we find that the evidence for a silent P-element is limited to a few contexts and a subset of verbs. In the following, we provide the relevant evidence for the presence of a covert P-element in the languages under discussion.

#### 3.2. Evidence in Dutch and German

As we have seen above, PO-clauses cannot be topicalized across the PPF. This contrasts with regular DO-clauses. Now in those cases where the PPF is optional, the clause cannot be topicalized (outside left-dislocation contexts) independently of the presence of the proform.

This holds both for German (see (33)) and Dutch (see (34)).

- (33) \*[<sub>CP</sub> Dass Maria kommt ]<sub>i</sub> hat Hans sich <sub>i</sub>/drüber<sub>i</sub> gefreut. DE  
 that M. comes has H. REFL WPPF been.happy
- (34) a. \*[Dat Marie hem steeds plaagt] klaagt Jan (erover). NL  
 that Marie him always teases complains Jan ER.about  
 'Jan complains that Marie always teases him.'

<sup>16</sup>In Müller (1995:232–235) this effect is explained as an effect of improper movement. The problem for such an analysis is that the clause and proform necessarily need to form a constituent before extraposition. It is not clear then though, why they cannot appear as constituent with weak proforms in German or Dutch. The advantage of the proposal here is that it straightforwardly accounts for the constituency, while we need to rely on indexing for the restriction on topicalization.

- b. \*[Dat hij ongelijk had] overtuigde Jan Peter (ervan).  
 that he wrong had convinced Jan Peter ER.of  
 ‘Jan convinced Peter that he was wrong.’  
 (adapted from Broekhuis et al. 2015:295)

In German, we potentially have two structures containing a silent PPF. However, only the wPPF can be silent: in those cases in which the proform is optional, it can only be omitted if the CP is in the postfield (see IDS-Grammatik 1997:1478–1483, Webelhuth 1992:100, 106, Bayer 1995:57), where the clause can occupy different positions with the strong form.

- (35) a. Hans hat sich (darüber) gefreut, dass Maria gewonnen hat. DE  
 H. hat REFL PPF been.happy that M. won has  
 b. Hans hat sich, \*(darüber) dass Maria gewonnen hat, sehr gefreut.  
 H. hat REFL PPF that M. won has very been.happy  
 c. Darüber, dass Maria gewonnen hat, hat sich Hans gefreut.  
 PPF that M. won has has REFL H. been.happy  
 d. \*Dass Maria gewonnen hat, hat sich Hans gefreut.

In our analysis with two underlying patterns, this is straightforward. The silent PPF belongs to the wPPFs and therefore only occurs in the structure in (9). Any analysis that assumes one and the same structure for both sPPF and wPPFs in German needs to further stipulate why the PPF can only be silent when the CP is extraposed.

### 3.3. Evidence in Swedish

In Swedish, Teleman et al. (1999) report that it is possible to drop the preposition for a subset of verbs, see (36).

- (36) a. Jag hade en känsla (av) att han visste något. SV  
 ‘I had a feeling that he knew something.’  
 b. Jag hade en känsla \*(av) detta.  
 ‘I had a feeling about that.’  
 (adapted from Teleman et al. 1999:vol. 4, p. 533, our translation)
- (37) a. Kassören yrkade (på) att avgiften skulle höjas. SV  
 ‘The teller insisted that the fee shall be increased.’  
 b. Kassören yrkade \*(på) avgiftshöjning.  
 ‘The teller insisted on a fee increase.’  
 (adapted from Teleman et al. 1999:vol. 4, p. 533, our translation )

However, we see that the P-element cannot be silent generally. The CP cannot be topicalized when the preposition is absent; see (38) for Swedish.<sup>17</sup>

- (38) Att han visste något hade jag en känsla {av/\* $\emptyset$ } redan då. SV  
 ‘That he knew something I had a feeling {of/\* $\emptyset$ } already then.’  
 (Teleman et al. 1999:vol 4, p. 533, our translation)

This suggest that these clauses still are PPs with a silent P-head: the deletion is only licensed when the preposition and clause are adjacent in their base-position. It is not obvious whether this licensing condition

<sup>17</sup>As a reviewer points out, this implies that pied-piping of an empty P is impossible. This seems to be due to the general requirement of prepositions being stranded in Swedish.

is similar to what we see with the null PPF in German and Dutch, and certainly merits more detailed investigation than we can provide here.

### 3.4. Evidence in English

From the Germanic languages discussed so far, English is the one that has mixed evidence for the presence of a P-element. The absence of the preposition is the regular pattern. Yet, the preposition appears in some configurations. First, the preposition must appear in topicalization contexts, similar to what we find in Swedish, see (39).

- (39) a. (i) I convinced Frank (\*of) that Sonia was very competent.  
 (ii) That Sonia was very competent, I couldn't convince Frank \*(of).  
 b. (i) I insisted (\*on) that Sonia attended the interview.  
 (ii) That Sonia attended the interview, I couldn't insist \*(on).  
 (Takahashi 2010:347 citing Postal 1994:70)

This suggests that indeed these clauses in English are like Swedish and contain an underlying preposition. However, this seems not to be generally the case, as with some verbs, topicalization is impossible with or without the preposition, see (40).

- (40) a. \*That the report represents a serious indictment of the banks they concur in.  
 b. \*That a peaceful resolution can be found we must all hope/pray for.  
 c. \*That everyone would soon forget this undertaking was gambled on by the Dean.  
 (Huddleston 2002:1021).

Furthermore, we find that the preposition also appears when the clause is pronominalized, again suggesting that the clausal argument is not reanalysed as direct object.

- (41) a. She argued that British Rail should be privatised.  
 b. She argued \*it/for it.  
 (Fischer 1997:194)
- (42) John prayed that Reagan would resign and \*I prayed that too.  
 (Grimshaw 1982:47)

Again, though, not all verbs seem to pattern the same way, so it is not clear to what extent this holds for all PO-verbs. Rather it seems that with some verbs the clause does behave like a DO-clause in some configurations, as for example *hope* in (43).<sup>18</sup>

- (43) a. She hoped *that she would recover quickly*.  
 b. She hoped *it/for it*.  
 c. She hoped for a quick recovery.  
 (Fischer 1997:195)

Additionally, it is possible to extract from at least some potential PO-clauses as seen in (44), a property which speaks in favour of DO-clauses.

- (44) What did most baseball fans {wish/insist/reason} that the Giants would win?

Third, the presence vs. absence of the preposition often leads to meaning differences, see Huddleston (2002:1021)

<sup>18</sup>As a reviewer points out, such a pattern is also found in Dutch with *hopen*. This suggests that it is necessary to bear in mind that not all verbs behave alike. The point here is to sketch the dominant mechanisms for each language from which some verbs might divert.

- (45) a. (i) He objected that the meeting was being held on Sunday.  
 (ii) He objected to the fact that the meeting was being held on Sunday.  
 b. (i) They complained that there was no hot water.  
 (ii) They complained about the water.  
 c. (i) We decided that the proposal would be impossible to implement.  
 (ii) We decided on a trip to the zoo.  
 (Huddleston 2002:1021)

Finally the corresponding nouns for some verbs also take clausal complements, a fact which would be surprising if the corresponding verbs required prepositional objects.

- (46) ... in the hope that it will come out all right (BNC A70 845)

The picture that seems to emerge is that some verbs that select regular PO-objects also have underlying PO-clauses, while others show an alternation between PO- and DO-clauses (i.e. not all verbs seem to follow the same pattern; see Huddleston 2002:1021). However, to the best of our knowledge, there is no systematic study that explores the appearance of P in topicalization and passive with a range of different verbs.

### 3.5. *Wh-Extraction: Experimental study on German*

#### 3.5.1. *Introduction*

One major claim in our analysis here is that when the PPF is absent only one structure is possible, namely (9). This is because the alternative structure (10) with the PPF+CP forming a constituent is only possible when the R-pronoun in the PPF is accented, which is obviously not possible with silent PPFs. An alternative approach might be that when there is no PPF pronounced, the clause is reanalysed as a DO-clause. As extraction from DO-clauses can be licit and PPs are usually considered islands for the extraction of the complement (see Ross 1967, van Riemsdijk 1978), extraction can be a useful test case to distinguish between our proposed analysis as PO-clauses with a silent P-element vs. the selection of a CP directly in the case of the alternative DO-clause analysis. In the former analysis we expect extraction to be impossible with PO-clauses independent of the presence or absence of the PPF. The latter analysis predicts (at least without further assumptions) that extraction improves when the PPF is absent to a similar degree to extraction from undisputable DO-clauses.

As judgments are sometimes subtle and subject to some variation, the best way to approach the question of wh-extraction is experimental. In the following, we present the study on German, which can serve as the blueprint for further studies in other Germanic languages.

#### 3.5.2. *Aim of the study*

Wh-extraction from a complement clause is not generally accepted in German, though it has been claimed that there are dialects that do allow such long-distance extraction; see for theoretical discussion Fanselow (1987), Müller and Sabel (1989), Bayer (1990; 2005), Oppenrieder (1991:37), Grewendorf (1995), Lutz (1995).

Kiziak (2010) reports an empirical study that confirms that long-distance extraction is degraded compared to monoclausal wh-questions. Acceptability of wh-extractions varies with respect to the type of extracted element and type of complement clause (see Kiziak 2010 for details). Illustrative examples are given in (47).

- (47) a. Welchen Anwalt hat der Richter angerufen? DE  
 which lawyer has the judge called  
 'Which lawyer did the judge call?'

- b. Welchen Anwalt glaubt sie dass der Richter angerufen hat?  
 which lawyer believes she that the judge called has  
 ‘Which lawyer does she think that the judge called?’  
 (Kiziak 2010:33)

First of all, extraction from PO-clauses with an overt PPF is not expected as we have a prepositional element that blocks extraction and initial intuitions suggest that this is true. If PO-clauses without PPF are to be classified as DO-clauses, extraction from them should improve for those speakers that allow for extraction from DO-clauses.

### 3.5.3. Method and conditions

In order to investigate whether this is indeed the case, we conducted an experiment using the thermometer technique as discussed in Featherston (2008). Participants rated test sentences in relation to two reference sentences which provide a scale between 20 and 30 which participants can go below or above.

For the PO-clauses we used a two-factorial design. The first factor WH varies base form vs. extraction from a PO-clause. The second factor concerns the presence vs. absence of the PPF. The resulting four conditions are illustrated in one lexical variant (=item) in (48).

- (48) 1 Wir haben uns darüber gefreut, dass die Kinder das Pony streicheln dürfen. DE  
 we have REFL there.on happy-be that the children the pony stroke may  
 2 Wir haben uns gefreut, dass die Kinder das Pony streicheln dürfen.  
 3 Welches Pony haben wir uns darüber gefreut, dass die Kinder streicheln dürfen?  
 which pony have we REFL there.on happy-be that the children stroke may  
 4 Welches Pony haben wir uns gefreut, dass die Kinder streicheln dürfen?

Additionally, we added a sub-experiment with sentences based on items from Kiziak (2010) with and without object extraction from DO-clauses such as (49). These sentences are intended to be used to filter out those speakers that allow for long extraction in German.

- (49) 200 Er denkt, dass der Bischof den Priester ermahnt hat.  
 he thinks that the bishop the priest admonished has  
 201 Welchen Priester denkt er, dass der Bischof ermahnt hat?  
 Which priest thinks he that the bishop admonished has

### 3.5.4. Materials and participants

We constructed 24 sets of test sentences of PO-clauses along the lines of (48) and distributed them across four lists. All verbs used were such that the proform was reported to be droppable, except for one item (*ärgern mit* ‘annoy with’), which accidentally was included in the items, but which we then excluded from the analysis of the results. Test sentences were distributed across four lists such that each condition was tested 6 times per participant but all in different lexical variants.

In addition we tested 12 sets of sentences such as (49). As with the test sentences, these were distributed across the four lists such that a lexicalization occurred only once per list and each participant rated each condition six times.

To distract participants from the goal of the study we added a further set of 41 filler sentences, including a set of standardizing sentences (see Gerbrich et al. 2019) and additional fillers that included proforms, namely DO-clauses with proforms and PO-clauses with infinitival complements.

The study was implemented using OnExp. Participants were recruited via Prolific. 76 self-reported native speakers of German, aged between 19 and 67 (mean age 33.2), took part. After two training phases participants were presented test sentences plus fillers in randomized order.

3.5.5. Results

Based on the test sentences of extraction with DO-clauses, participants were divided into two groups. If participants rated extraction from DO-clauses 25 points or more on average (each participant saw six examples of extraction from DO-clauses), they were put in group 1.<sup>19</sup> As expected on this difference, group 1 has a much smaller difference in their rating of extracted and non-extracted DO-clauses, see Figure 1. Group 1 consists of 10 participants while group 2 is much larger with 65 participants. As expected, the ratings for extractions from DO-clauses are clearly higher with group 1, whereas there is a stark decline for group 2.

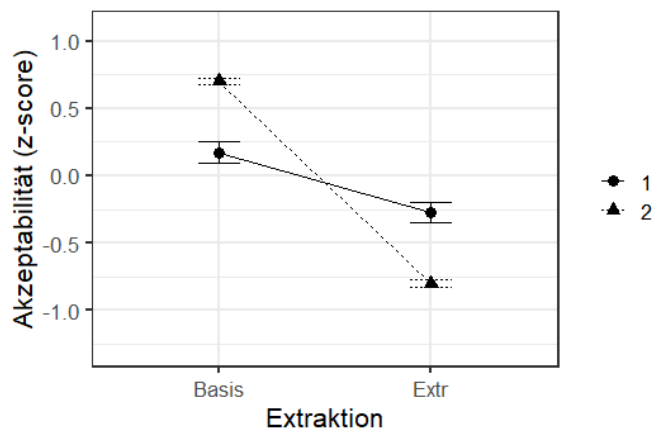


Figure 1: Average rating (z-score) for DO-clauses, base vs. extraction by group

As can be seen from the average ratings for the two groups in Figure 1 and 2 extraction from PO-clauses with or without the PPF does not differ much.

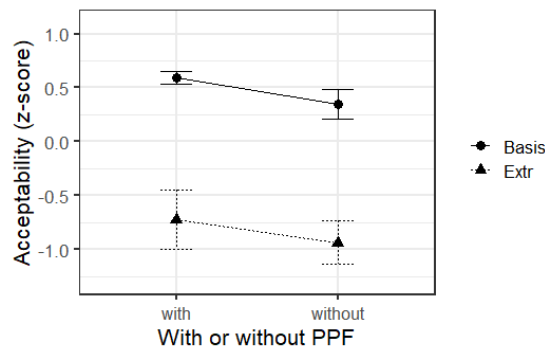


Figure 2: Average rating (z-score) for PO-clauses with and without PPF for base vs. extraction within group 1 (who allow for extraction from DO-clauses).

We analysed the data statistically using a linear mixed model in R (packages lme4, lmer) with the factors ‘extraction’, ‘proform’, ‘group’. All three factors give rise to a main effect at the level of  $p < .0001$ . As can be seen in the two graphs for both groups, it holds overall that the base construction is rated clearly

<sup>19</sup>As an alternative measure to divide the two groups, we used the difference between extraction from DO-clauses vs. non-extracted clauses at minimally six points in the raw data. This resulted in roughly the same grouping.

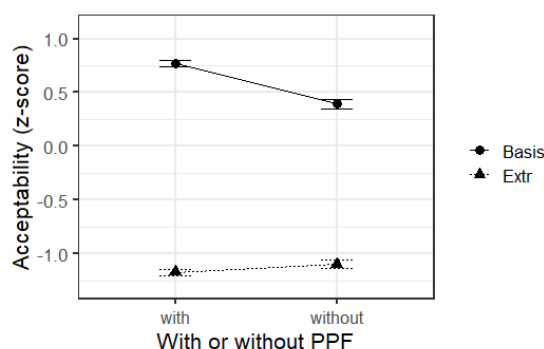


Figure 3: Average rating (z-score) for PO-clauses with and without PPF for base vs. extraction within group 2 (who reject extraction from DO-clauses).

much higher than the extraction. Additionally, we find an interaction between the factors extraction-group ( $p < .0001$ ) and extraction-proform ( $p < .001$ ). In the graph you can see that group 2 has lower values for extraction throughout. The second interaction is also visible in group 2, where the absence of the proform decreases ratings in the base form, but not with extractions. This effect looks like a floor effect, i. e. ratings cannot go much lower than with extraction from PO-clauses with a PPF.

Summarizing this: we did find an interaction with the factor ‘group’ in the data; however, and this is important, this interaction is different from what we would have expected if the PO-clauses were reanalysed as DO-clauses. Remember that under this DO-reanalysis, we would expect group 1 to show an increase in acceptability with extraction in contrast to the clauses with a PPF. This is not what we find. Thus, the pattern found in Figures 2 and 3 does not support an alternative analysis of the PO-clause as a DO-clause.<sup>20</sup>

Thus the results from this small scale study support the finding from the discussion in Section 2.2 that indeed PO-clauses are different from DO-clauses independent of the presence of the proform.

### 3.5.6. Summary

This experimental study for German investigated whether those speakers that do allow for wh-extraction from a direct object clause also allow for extraction from PO-clause without an overt PPF. The results do not show any effect that would support an analysis as DO-clause in German: the ratings of wh-extraction from PO-clauses do not improve when the PPF is absent. Thus, we have evidence in favour of our analysis for a silent PPF in German.

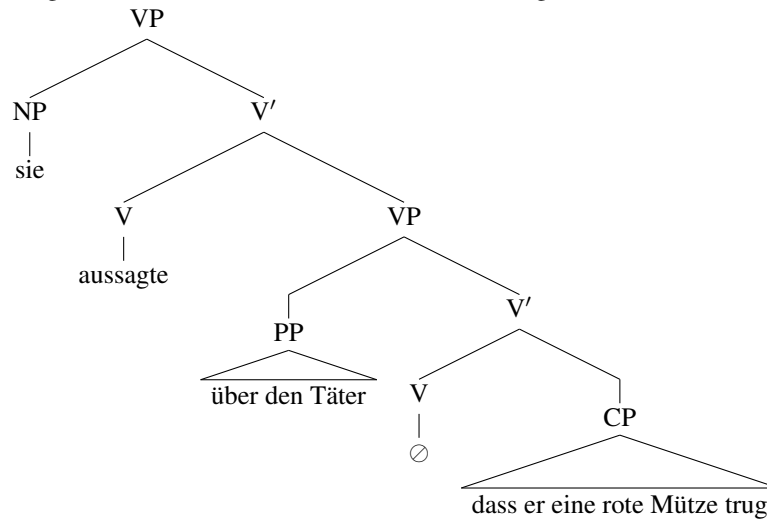
## 4. On right-branching clausal complement structures

In our analysis of German and Dutch we adopt Haider’s analysis of the German postfield (see Haider 1995; 1997; 2010), because it allows us to treat PO-clauses in structures such as (10) as complements of the matrix verbs. Haider assumes that all so-called extraposed constituents are in fact base-generated in the postfield. If there is only a single constituent it sits in the complement position to the right of the matrix verb. With multiple constituents the entire postfield consists of a VP-shell structure with the overall VP being in the complement position of the matrix verb. Within this structure, each VP is headed by an empty verbal head coindexed with the matrix verb. The rightmost “extraposed constituent” appears in the complement position

<sup>20</sup>Note that we used forms like *davon* which do not have a reduced variant as well as forms like *darüber* which do. The post-hoc analysis reveals that there is a small difference between the two groups in that the latter receive a slightly higher rating in the base form (0.2 difference in z-score) and a slightly lower rating in the extraction (0.1 difference in z-score). As the difference between the two forms is small, we do not think that this indicates a grammatical difference relevant for the extraction results.

of such a verbal head, all others in the respective specifier position (50).<sup>21</sup>

- (50) a. weil sie aussagte über den Täter, dass er eine rote Mütze trug  
 b.



In the following we discuss the evidence that has been brought forward in these studies for such an analysis and provide examples with PO-clauses to show that the argumentation is the same for PO-clauses.<sup>22</sup> The first piece of evidence comes from binding data. If a complement clause were moved from the middle field, it should be right adjoined to the VP or – if available – some higher maximal projection below CP. With this configuration, however, no element within the middle field could c-command the clause, which is in contradiction to the data exemplified in (51), where the binder is a direct (51-a) or an indirect object (51-b), respectively.

- (51) a. weil sie jeden<sub>i</sub> darüber informiert, dass er<sub>i</sub> entlassen wird DE  
 because she everyone.ACC PPF informs that he fired is  
 ‘because she informs everyone that he is fired’  
 b. weil sie jedem<sub>i</sub> darin zustimmt, dass er<sub>i</sub> Recht hat  
 because she everyone.DAT PPF agrees that he right has  
 ‘because she agrees with everyone that he is right’

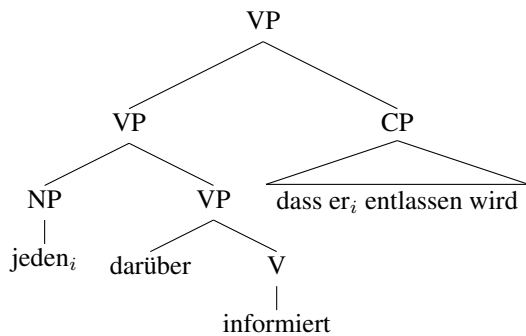
The corresponding adjunction structures are shown in (52) and (54). Here, the CP ends up too high in the tree so that no constituent it contains could be bound by anything within the middle field. With the shell structures depicted in (53) and (55) binding into the complement is guaranteed.

<sup>21</sup>A related proposal for Dutch is defended in Zwart (1993); a different version of rightward base-generation can be found in Koster (2000a;b) and Ott and de Vries (2016). For reasons of space, we do not discuss potential analyses of clausal extraposition, if any, in terms of PF-movement. As for Inaba (2007), Frey (2015; 2018) they follow Haider (1997; 2010) in their account of clausal complements, restricting PF-movement to non-complements.

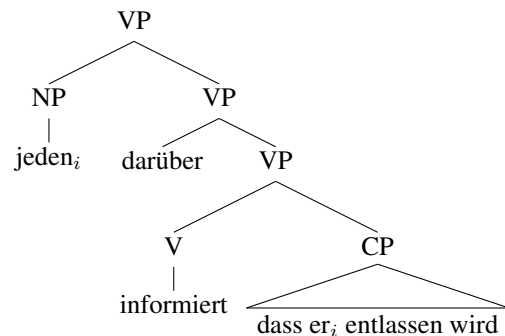
<sup>22</sup>PO-clauses are only marginally mentioned in Haider (2010:218).



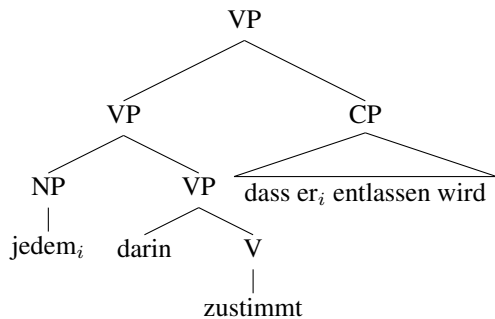
(52)



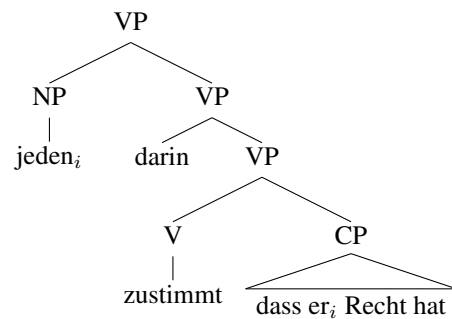
(53)



(54)



(55)



One way to counter this argument is to take recourse to reconstruction. This means that for the binding relation to hold it must hold if the constituent containing the bindee were located in its base position. Ususally, this idea is implemented by assuming that the constituent is “moved back” into its base position.<sup>23</sup> Adopting reconstruction, binding into right-adjoined clauses such as (56-a) and (56-b) could be straightforwardly accounted for. When the clause is moved back into the middle field, the pronoun ends up c-commanded by the quantifier.

(56) a. weil sie jeden<sub>i</sub> darüber, dass er<sub>i</sub> entlassen wird, informiert DE  
 because she everyone PPF that he fired is informs

b. weil sie jedem<sub>i</sub> darin, dass er<sub>i</sub> Recht hat, zustimmt  
 because she everyone PPF that he right has agrees

(57) a. dass er jeden<sub>i</sub> darüber informiert hat, der<sub>i</sub> da war, dass er<sub>i</sub> ein Los ziehen darf  
 that he everyone PPF informed has who there was that he a lottery-ticket get  
 darf  
 is-allowed-to

b. ??dass er jeden<sub>i</sub> darüber informiert hat, dass er<sub>i</sub> ein Los ziehen darf, der  
 that he everyone PPF informed has that he a lottery-ticket get is-allowed-to who  
 da war  
 there was  
 ‘that he has informed everyone who was around that he is allowed to get a lottery ticket’

Now, according to the common extraposition-as-adjunction analysis extraposition must be an instance of

<sup>23</sup>See Müller (1995), Büring (1995), Büring and Hartmann (1995; 1997) among others. For recent discussion on movement analyses, see Bruening (2018) vs. Moulton (2015) and references therein.

A'-movement. But extraposition appears to violate many restrictions decisive for A'-movement (see Haider 2010:Chap. 7 for an extensive discussion).<sup>24</sup> In addition, extraposition-as-adjunction predicts that the postfield (or at least pieces of it) is located structurally higher than the middle field. However, as Haider argues, there is no reliable evidence in support of this claim (see again Haider 2010:Chap. 7). First, no evidence can be drawn from Principle C violations: argument clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses are all supposed to right-adjoin when extraposed. However, only argument clauses appear to be subject to Principle C (58-a), while non-selected clauses are opaque (58-b).

- (58) a. \*Ich werde sie<sub>i</sub> nicht darum bitten, dass Magda<sub>i</sub> dich anruft.  
I will her not PPF ask, that M. you calls  
b. Sie<sub>i</sub> hat jemanden darum gebeten, dem Magda<sub>i</sub> sehr vertraut.  
She has someone PPF asked whom M. very trusts  
(adapted from Haider 2010:201)

Since relative clauses must precede argument clauses in the postfield (59-a) the adjunction site of relative clauses would be lower than that of argument clauses, contrary to what one would expect if hierarchical position were the reason for the opacity of the relative clause with respect to Principle C (compare (58-a) vs. (58-b)).

- (59) a. Ich habe Magda darum gebeten, die ich schon lange nicht mehr gesehen habe, dass sie  
I have M. PPF asked who I already long not more seen have that she  
mich später anruft.  
me later calls  
b. \*Ich habe Magda darum gebeten, dass sie mich später anruft, die ich schon lange nicht  
I have M. PPF asked that she me later calls who I already long not  
mehr gesehen habe.  
more seen have

Moverover, as for argument clauses, it is problematic to rely on reconstruction to account for apparent Principle C violations. Given that extraposition and topicalization are both instances of A'-movement, reconstruction (60-a) would predict (60-c) to be as ungrammatical as (60-b), contrary to the facts.

- (60) a. \*weil sie<sub>i</sub> [PP davon, dass Magda<sub>i</sub> gewonnen hatte], nichts wusste  
because she PPF that M. won has nothing knew  
b. \*weil sie<sub>i</sub> nichts wusste [PP davon, dass Magda<sub>i</sub> gewonnen hatte]  
because she nothing knew PPF that M. won has  
c. [PP Davon, dass Magda<sub>i</sub> gewonnen hatte], wusste sie<sub>i</sub> nichts.  
PPF that M. won has knew she nothing

To conclude, extraposition cannot be subsumed under A'-movement, and therefore a separate theory of the postfield is called for. Here Haider's own proposal – as sketched above – comes in.

Alternatively, as a reviewer points out, the quantifier might move via scrambling to a higher position after extraposition of the clause. We can rule out such an analysis, as there is no difference in acceptability between (61-a) and (61-b).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Among them are: extraposition is possible out of (i) subjects, (ii) non-selected phrases, (iii) definite NPs, A'-moved phrases and (iv) it is furthermore clause bound.

<sup>25</sup>Note though that this does not exclude covert Quantifier Raising. In order to rule out a QR analysis one might resort to Principle C violations as in (i). If QR were decisive, we would expect to see a difference with principle C violations. The non-scrambled option in (ia) should be more acceptable than the scrambled version in (ib), which is not the case.

- (i) a. ??weil ich für sie ihn<sub>i</sub> bitten würde, dass Peter<sub>i</sub> sie einstellt  
b. ??weil ich ihn<sub>i</sub> für sie bitten würde, dass Peter<sub>i</sub> sie einstellt

- (61) a. (i) weil ich für sie jeden<sub>i</sub> darum bitten würde, dass er<sub>i</sub> sie unterstützt  
because I for her everyone PPF ask would that he her supports  
(ii) weil ich jeden<sub>i</sub> für sie darum bitten würde, dass er<sub>i</sub> sie unterstützt  
because I everyone for her PPF ask would that he her supports

We conclude that PO-clauses in German behave in the same way in the postfield as do DO-clauses concerning binding restrictions and ordering in the postfield.

We follow Haider's analysis here as it allows us to distinguish structures in which the PPF forms a constituent, which is only available in German, from those in which we find a constituent structure. This seems to us to be a major difference between the two languages that is not to be implemented with an extraposition analysis.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper we have analysed the variation of finite clausal complements as prepositional objects in a selected set of Germanic languages. We argued that the first major difference between North Germanic and Continental West Germanic lies in the nature of the preposition: while prepositions generally can select CPs in Swedish, this is not the case for the other Germanic languages. Additionally, we have seen that the closely related languages Dutch and German nevertheless differ in their syntactic structures. In German strong PPFs can form a constituent with the CP, while weak forms occur in the preverbal position and are selected independently of the clause similar to what we find with particles. Additionally, we have considered cases in which the prepositional element is absent even though expected. We have argued that there is some evidence that the P-element is covert in Swedish, Dutch and German, while the evidence in English rather suggests that some verbs directly select the clause, while others occur with a covert P. In order to further support the analysis of the covert PPF in the cases when it is absent, we have reported a pilot study on German that serves as a blueprint for further studies. The comparative data further contributes to the discussion of the syntactic nature of complement clauses and the interaction with semantic aspects.

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## Appendix: Lexical variants used in the experiment on German

### Long extraction with DO-clauses

- (1) a. Er denkt, dass der Bischof den Priester ermahnt hat.  
b. Welchen Priester denkt er, dass der Bischof ermahnt hat?
- (2) Er glaubt, dass der Lehrer den Schüler getadelt hat.
- (3) Sie sagt, dass der Häftling den Wärter provoziert hat.
- (4) Sie meint, dass der Student den Professor verärgert hat.
- (5) Er denkt, dass der Geselle den Lehrling gelobt hat.
- (6) Sie sagt, dass der Richter den Anwalt angerufen hat.
- (7) Er meint, dass der Verwalter den Gärtner entlassen hat.
- (8) Sie glaubt, dass der Dirigent den Sänger kritisiert hat.
- (9) Sie meint, dass der Ritter den Herzog getötet hat.
- (10) Er sagt, dass der Redner den Täter verteidigt.
- (11) Sie denkt, dass der Agent den Minister beobachtet.
- (12) Sie sagt, dass der Manager den Bewerber abgelehnt hat.

*Extraction from PO-clauses*

- (1) a. Wir haben uns darüber gefreut, dass die Kinder das Pony streicheln dürfen.  
b. Welches Pony haben wir uns darüber gefreut, dass die Kinder streicheln dürfen?  
c. Wir haben uns gefreut, dass die Kinder das Pony streicheln dürfen.  
d. Welches Pony haben wir uns gefreut, dass die Kinder streicheln dürfen?
- (2) Kathrin hat ihren Bruder damit geärgert, dass sie seine Spielsachen versteckt hat.
- (3) Katie ermahnt die Kinder dazu, dass sie ihre Spielsachen aufräumen sollen.
- (4) Marcel begeistert seinen Freund dafür, dass sie zusammen einen Yogakurs machen.
- (5) Die alleinerziehende Mutter ersuchte die Arbeitsagentur darum, dass es die Kosten für den Reitunterricht übernimmt.
- (6) Die Stadträtin dankt den Sponsoren dafür, dass sie das Jugendzentrum finanziell unterstützen.
- (7) Ella bittet ihre Freundin darum, dass sie ihr die Matheaufgaben mitbringt.
- (8) Die Abgeordnete klagt darüber, dass die Präsidentin den Fraktionsvorsitzenden bevorzugt.
- (9) Christian zwingt seinen Bruder dazu, dass er den Müll aufsammelt.
- (10) Das Kind jubelt darüber, dass die Eltern ihm eine neue Eisenbahn gekauft haben.
- (11) Mareike passt darauf auf, dass die Kinder keine giftigen Pflanzen pflücken.
- (12) Klaus jammert darüber, dass der Hersteller die neue Eisenbahn nicht geschickt hat.
- (13) Der Investor lädt die Käufer dazu ein, dass sie das neue Gebäude besichtigen können.
- (14) Karla droht Katie damit, dass sie das Pony nicht mehr reiten darf.
- (15) Milo ermuntert die Schüler dazu, dass sie sich für Jugend forscht bewerben.
- (16) Die Bäuerin beauftragt das Unternehmen damit, dass sie den Hühnerstall abreißen.
- (17) Die Polizei hält die Demonstranten davon ab, dass sie die Strasse blockieren.
- (18) Susi achtete darauf, dass die Kinder das Gemüse aufessen.
- (19) Die Hundebesitzer passen darauf auf, dass ihre Hunde die Zuschauer nicht angreifen.
- (20) Karl schimpft darüber, dass die Stadt die Strassen nicht sauber hält.
- (21) Lucia ärgert sich darüber, dass ihre Eltern nicht das neueste Iphone kaufen.
- (22) Die Bürgermeisterin bedankt sich dafür, dass das Unternehmen die Kosten für das Grundstück übernommen hat.
- (23) Kurt beklagt sich darüber, dass die Abteilungsleitung seinen Projektvorschlag abgelehnt hat.
- (24) Sandra empört sich darüber, dass die Stadt die Kindergartenbeiträge erhöht hat.