

Prepositional object clauses in German and Dutch

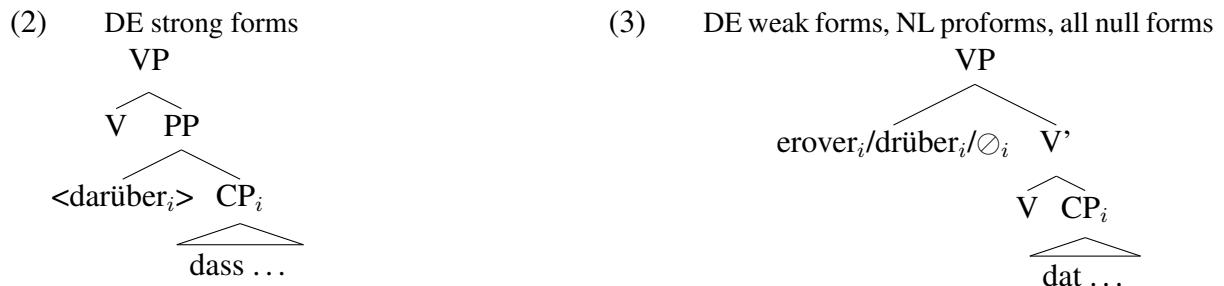
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In this talk we compare Dutch (NL) and German (DE) prepositional object (=PO) clauses:

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| (1) | a. dass Jan (darüber) klagte, [dass Maria ihn immer ärgert] | DE |
| | b. dat Jan (erover) klaagde [dat Marie hem steeds plaagt] | NL |
| | that Jan about.it complained that Marie him always teases | |
| | ‘that Jan complained about it that Marie teases him all the time’ | |

Similarities: (D1) PO-clauses occur with a prepositional proform (DE: weak: *drunter*, *driüber* etc.; strong: *darunter*, *darüber*, etc.; NL: weak: *ervan*, *erover* etc., strong: *daarvan*, *daarover* etc.), which is optional with some verbs. (D2) The clause cannot precede the proform (Büring 1995; Vandeweghe & Devos 2003) (except in left dislocation structures, which we assume to be base-generated). (D3) With those verbs that allow the proform to be dropped, it can only be dropped, when the clause is extraposed (Webelhuth 1992). **Differences:** (D4) In DE the strong proforms can form a constituent with the clause and appear clause initially (Vorfeld=VF), in the middle field (=MF) or extraposed (Nachfeld=NF) (see Breindl 1989). This is impossible for DE weak forms (Eisenberg 2013) and for all NL forms (van Riemsdijk 1978; Haslinger 2007). (D5) In addition, Dutch generally allows for the extraction of the locative part of the proform.

Analysis: Following Haider (1997); Zwart (1993), we take extraposed complement clauses to be base-generated to the right as complement to the verb. DE allows for the two options in (2) and (3), whereas all forms in Dutch PO-clauses only allow for (3). In (2) the proform and clause form a constituent, but the proform can move into the MF. In (3) the proform is a true correlate and fills the argument position together with the clause (see Zifonun et al. 1997; Haider 2010 for ideas along this line).



The clause cannot move across the proform on its own as a result of the co-indexation with the proform in both (2) and (3) (D2). This is in parallel to what we find with relative clauses or complement clauses to nouns, which cannot precede their head nouns either (Müller, 1995). D3 is due to the availability of a null form, which has to be base-generated in front of the verb, so it only appears in (3). As a result, the clause cannot move across the correlate (as with D2) and is stuck in the NF. German strong forms appear in (2), which is not available in NL (D4). Finally, Dutch has a R-extraction rule which is absent in German (D5, van Riemsdijk 1978).

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