

# A-movement out of Control Clauses: Evidence for VO Order in Dutch and German

Vera Lee-Schoenfeld  
Swarthmore College  
vleesch1@swarthmore.edu

Janneke ter Beek  
University of Groningen  
j.ter.beek@rug.nl  
jannekebeek@yahoo.com

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## 0. Overview

In this talk:

- we discuss discontinuous complement clauses:

(1) ... dass der Hausmeister **das Zimmer** vergisst **abzuschließen**      GERMAN  
*that the superintendent the room forgets off-to-lock*  
'...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.'

(2) ... dat de huismeester **de kamer** vergeet **af te sluiten**      DUTCH  
*that the superintendent the room forgets off to close*  
'...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.'

- arguing that the embedded internal argument is in an A-position
- in the matrix clause
- which implies that the base order must be VO

## 1. Introduction

### 1. DISCONTINUOUS COMPLEMENT CLAUSES: (1) and (2)

- Known as '*the third construction*' (a.o. Den Besten et al. 1988; Den Besten & Rutten 1989); also known as '*remnant extraposition*' (a.o. Kroch & Santorini 1990; Broekhuis et al. 1995);
- An element associated with a postverbal infinitival clause surfaces to the left of the matrix verb;
- Not a *verb cluster*:
  - no Infinitivus pro Participio-effect ((3) vs. (6));
  - matrix and embedded verb are not necessarily adjacent ((4) vs. (7));
  - matrix auxiliary may follow matrix verb (Dutch) ((5) vs. (8)):

VERB CLUSTER:

(3) ...dat Jan zijn moeder een cadeau had willen/\* gewild geven DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother a gift had want wanted give*  
 ‘...that Jan had wanted to give his mother a gift.’

(4) \* ...dat Jan zijn moeder had willen/ gewild een cadeau geven DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother has want wanted a gift give*  
 ‘...that Jan had wanted to give his mother a gift.’

(5) ... dat Jan zijn moeder ( had) willen (\* had) bezoeken DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother has want had visit*  
 ‘...that Jan had wanted to visit his mother.’

THIRD CONSTRUCTION:

(6) ... dat Jan zijn moeder heeft geprobeerd/\* proberen te bezoeken DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother has tried try to visit*  
 ‘...that Jan has tried to visit his mother

(7) ? ... dat Jan zijn moeder probeert een cadeau te geven DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother tries a gift to give*  
 ‘...that Jan tries to give his mother a gift.’

(8) ... dat Jan zijn moeder ( heeft) geprobeerd ( heeft) te bezoeken DUTCH  
*that Jan his mother has tried has to visit*  
 ‘...that Jan has tried to visit his mother.’

- Possible in several Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch (2), German (1), Frisian (9);

(9) ... dat er my **dat boek** ferbean hat **te lêzen** FRISIAN  
*that he me that book forbidden has to read*  
 ‘...that he has forbidden me to read that book.’  
 (De Haan 1993; 122)

- Possible with a number of control verbs;
  - German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2005): *lexical restructuring verbs* (Wurmbrand 2001): e.g. *versuchen* ‘try’, *vergessen* ‘forget’, *beginnen* ‘begin’;
  - Dutch (Rutten 1991): a number of implicatives (*vergeten* ‘forget’), irrealis (*besluiten* ‘decide’) and propositional verbs (*beweren* ‘claim’).
- If controlled for focus scrambling, equivalent with continuous word order;
- Optional word order pattern:
  - Dutch: alternates with postverbal complement clause (10)a;
  - German: alternates with preverbal (11)b or postverbal (11)a complement clause.

- (10) a. ... dat de huismeester vergeet **de kamer af te sluiten** DUTCH  
*that the superintendent forgets the room off to close*  
 ‘...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.’  
 b. ... dat de huismeester **de kamer** vergeet **af te sluiten**  
*that the superintendent the room forgets off to close*  
 ‘...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.’
- (11) a. ... dass der Hausmeister vergisst **das Zimmer abzuschließen** GERMAN  
*that the superintendent forgets the room off-to-lock*  
 ‘...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.’  
 b. ... dass der Hausmeister **das Zimmer abzuschließen** vergisst  
*that the superintendent the room off-to-lock forgets*  
 ‘...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.’  
 c. ... dass der Hausmeister **das Zimmer** vergisst **abzuschließen**  
*that the superintendent the room forgets off-to-lock*  
 ‘...that the superintendent forgets to lock the room.’


**2. THE PROBLEM:** How to account for the discontinuous word order?

Analyses in the literature:

- move the verb to the right
- move the complement clause to the right and the DP to the left
- move part of the complement clause to the right
- move the DP to the left

(a): Evers (1975): ‘third construction’ as a verb cluster. Assumes OV base order and ‘Verb Raising’.

a. ... that the superintendent **the room  $t_i$  forgets to lock**



**Problem:** predicts adjacency of matrix and embedded verbs, contra (7).

(b): Den Besten et al. (1988), a.o. *IP-extrapolation and scrambling*. Assumes OV base order and A’-scrambling of the DP out of the clause, followed by extraposition of the clause.


b. ... that the superintendent **the room<sub>k</sub>  $t_i$  forgets [<sub>IP</sub>  $t_k$  to lock]<sub>i</sub>**



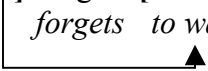
**Problem:** DP does not have A’-characteristics (section 2);  
 Extraposition involves rightward movement with unclear motivation;

- (c): Wurmbrand (2005); Wurmbrand Bobaljik & (2005): *Partial extraposition*. Assumes an OV base order and partial extraposition of the complement clause. The DP remains in the embedded clause.

c. ... that the superintendent [<sub>YP</sub> [the room]  $t_i$ ] forgets [<sub>XP</sub> to lock<sub>i</sub>]




**Problem:** DP remains in intraposed position (section 3)  
Unclear why complement may not be a CP:

(12) ... dat Jan [(<sup>\*</sup> om) de auto  $t_i$ ] vergeet [te wassen]<sub>i</sub> DUTCH  
*that Jan COMP the car forgets to wash*  
  
 '...that Jan forgets to wash the car'

- (d): Zwart (1993, 1997); Ter Beek (2005). Assumes a VO base order and leftward movement of the DP.

d. ... that the superintendent **the room<sub>k</sub>** forgets [**to lock  $t_k$** ]



**Problem:** Trigger for movement of DP is unclear.

3. CLAIM: analysis (d) is correct.

## 2. DP is in an A-position

### 1. AN INDEFINITE DP MAY RECEIVE AN EXISTENTIAL INTERPRETATION:

(13) ... dat Jan **een beroemde acteur** beweert **te kennen** DUTCH  
*that Jan a famous actor claims to know*  
 '...that Jan claims to know a famous actor.'

(14) Tim hätte lieber **einem hübschen Mädchen** versucht **das Radio**  
*Tim would-have rather a beautiful girl(DAT) tried the radio*  
**heile zu machen** GERMAN  
*intact to make*  
 'Tim would have rather tried to fix a pretty girl's radio.'

**2. DP MAY BE PART OF AN IDIOM:**

- (15) ... dat Jan **de zak** beweert **te krijgen** DUTCH  
*that Jan the bag claim to get*  
 ‘...that Jan claims to get sacked.’

**3. THE DISCONTINUOUS WORD ORDER IS ACCEPTABLE IN AN ALL-NEW CONTEXT:**

[What are you guys talking about?]

- (16) Ik vertel net dat Jan **z’n idool** beweert **te kennen** DUTCH  
*I tell just that Jan his idol claims to know*  
 ‘I just told (him) that Jan claims to know his idol.’

[What did he do?]

- (17) Er hat **einen kleinen Hund** versucht **zu schlagen** GERMAN  
*he has a little dog tried to beat*  
 ‘He has tried to beat a little dog.’  
 (Wöllstein-Leisten 2001; 96)

**4. POSSESSOR DATIVES (German)**

- (18) Er ruinierte *meinen Eltern* die Wohnung  
*he ruined my parents the house*  
 ‘He ruined my parents’ place.’

- originate as *possessors* in [spec, DP]. Defective D does not license case;
- move into the spec of an *affectee* *v* for case licensing, acquiring the *affectee* semantic role:

- (19) Er<sub>k</sub> ruinierte [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> v<sub>agentive</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> **meinen Eltern** v<sub>affectee</sub> [DP t<sub>i</sub> die Wohnung]]]]  
*he ruined my parents(DAT) the house*
- 

- Since movement of a possessor dative is case driven, its position in the ‘third construction’ must be an A-position:

- (20) Ich habe **meiner kleinen Nichte** versucht **die Zähne zu putzen**  
*I have my little niece(DAT) tried the teeth to clean*  
 ‘I tried to brush my little niece’s teeth.’

**But:** Could (20) involve case driven movement *followed by non-case driven movement*?

(21) Ich habe *meiner kleinen Nichte* versucht [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> v<sub>affectee</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> **die Zähne**] zu putzen]  
*I have my little niece(DAT) tried the teeth to clean*

- Case driven movement vs. focus scrambling (Wurmbrand 2001):
  - If the matrix verb selects a VP-complement, the internal argument of the embedded verb is licensed by the matrix clause.
  - If the matrix verb selects a larger complement, the internal argument of the embedded verb is licensed by the embedded clause.
  - Movement to matrix subject position: case driven. By analogy, movement to matrix object position is also case driven.

(22) a. ... dass die Traktoren zu reparieren versucht wurden GERMAN  
*that the tractors(nom) to repair tried were*

‘...that they tried to repair the tractors.’

b. ... dass Hans den Traktor versucht hat zu reparieren  
*that Hans the tractor(ACC) tried has to repair*

‘...that Hans has tried to repair the tractor.’

- Movement to matrix subject position impossible: not case driven movement. By analogy: Movement of embedded object into matrix clause is not case driven either.

(23) a. \* ... dass die Traktoren zu reparieren geplant wurden GERMAN  
*that the tractors(nom) to repair planned were*

‘...that they tried to repair the tractors.’

b. % ... dass Hans den Traktor geplant hat zu reparieren  
*that Hans the tractor(ACC) planned has to repair*

‘...that Hans has planned to repair the tractor.’

**Problem:** The contrast between (22)b and (23)b is subtle. Because non-case driven movement is generally possible with irrealis verbs, it is difficult to establish whether we observe case driven or non-case driven movement.

- Judgments on *possessor dative raising* are sharper (Lee-Schoenfeld 2005) and thus more reliable.
- The verbs which allow movement to the matrix subject position are the same as those which allow possessor dative raising to the left of the matrix verb in the ‘third construction’, cf. (23)a, (24)a vs. (23)b, (24)b.

(24) a. Ich habe *meiner kleinen Nichte* versucht **die Zähne zu putzen**  
*I have my little niece(DAT) tried the teeth to clean*  
 ‘I tried to brush my little niece’s teeth.’

- b. \* Mein Mann hat *meinen Eltern* geplant **den Videorekorder zu reparieren**  
*my husband has my parents planned the video-recorder to repair*  
'My husband planned to repair my parents' video recorder

- Possessor dative raising must be case driven.
- Note: if the possessor dative moves into the matrix clause, which is likely given the parallel with the class of verbs which allow movement to subject position, then extraposition of structures smaller than CP must be permitted.
- Assuming a VO base order makes extraposition redundant.

5. CONCLUSION: The preverbal DP in the 'third construction' is in a A-position.

### 3. DP is in the matrix clause

#### 1. DP PRECEDES MATRIX CLAUSE MATERIAL

- (25) ... dat Jan **de film** in de tuin beweerde **te hebben gezien** DUTCH  
*that Jan the movie in the garden claimed to have seen*  
'...that in the garden Jan claimed that he had seen the movie.'

- (26) ... weil er **die Frau** sicher versucht hat **über die Straße zu bringen** GERMAN  
*since he the woman surely tried has over the street to bring*  
'...since he has tried to help the woman cross the street safely.'  
'...since he has certainly tried to help the woman cross the street.'  
(Wöllstein-Leisten 2001; 128)

**Problem:** This word order could be explained by cross clausal focus scrambling.

#### 2. DP BINDS A MATRIX CLAUSE ADJUNCT:

- (27) ... dat de manager **iedere popster<sub>i</sub>** op haar<sub>i</sub> CD-release verklaarde **te bewonderen** DUTCH  
*that the manager every popstar on her CD-release stated to admire*  
'...that the manager stated at her CD-release that he admired every popstar.'

**Problem:** Depending on the right analysis of scrambling in the middle field, this word order could be explained by cross clausal focus scrambling.

- Need for a new diagnostic

### 3. NPI *OOK MAAR* ‘ANY’ (Dutch)

#### 3.1 *ook maar* is a in an A-position

- undergoes A-movement;
- does not undergo A’-movement;
- is grammatical in the ‘third construction’

- *ook maar N* may A-move, as long as it is c-commanded by its licenser (28), (29):

(28) *Nooit heeft [ ook maar iemand]<sub>i</sub> Jan<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> gewaarschuwd t<sub>k</sub>*  
*never has also just someone Jan warned*  
 ‘Never has anyone warned Jan’

(29) *Niemand geloofde dat [ ook maar iemand]<sub>i</sub> zou worden ontslagen t<sub>i</sub>*  
*nobody believed that also just someone would be fired*  
 ‘Nobody believed that anyone would be fired.’

- *ook maar N* may not A’-move, even when it is c-commanded by its licenser (33):

(30) \* *[ Ook maar iets]<sub>i</sub> wil niemand<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub> kopen t<sub>i</sub>*  
*also just something wants nobody buy*  
 ‘Anything, nobody wants to buy.’

(31) *Niemand had verwacht dat deze honden<sub>i</sub> zelfs Jan t<sub>i</sub> lief zou vinden*  
*nobody had expected that these dogs even Jan sweet would find*  
 ‘Nobody had expected that even Jan would like these dogs.’

(32) *Niemand had verwacht dat zelf Jan ook maar één hond lief zou vinden*  
 ) *d t s r d n*  
*nobody had expected that even Jan also just one dog sweet would find*  
*d t n o e t d*  
 ‘Nobody had expected that even Jan would like any dog at all.’

(33) \* *Niemand had verwacht dat ook maar één hond<sub>i</sub> zelfs Jan t<sub>i</sub> lief zou vinden t<sub>i</sub>*  
*nobody had expected that also just one dog even Jan sweet would find*  
 ‘Nobody had expected that Jan would like any dog at all.’

- *ook maar N* is compatible with the ‘third construction’ (34):

(34) a. ... omdat niemand dacht **ook maar iemand te kunnen overtuigen**

- because nobody thought also just somebody to can convince*  
 ‘...because nobody thought he could convince anybody.’
- b. ... omdat niemand **ook maar iemand** dacht te kunnen **overtuigen**  
*because nobody also just somebody thought to can convince*  
 ‘...because nobody thought he could convince anybody.’

### 3.2 *Ook maar* is in the matrix clause

- Adversative predicate cannot license its DP-complement NPI (35); it can license *ook maar N* when embedded in an infinitival clause (36):

(35) \* ... omdat Jan ook maar één aanbod weigerde  
*because Jan also just one offer refused*  
 ‘...because Jan refused a single offer.’

(36) ... omdat de agent weigerde ook maar één demonstrant te arresteren  
*because the cop refused also just one protester to arrest*  
 ‘...because the cop refused to arrest a single protester.’

- Prediction: if the NPI is not in the embedded clause in the ‘third construction’ the adversative predicate cannot license it;
- If the NPI is in the (partly evacuated) embedded clause in the ‘third construction’, the matrix verb is predicted to be license it.

(37) \* ... omdat de agent **ook maar één demonstrant** weigerde **te arresteren**  
*because the cop also just one protester refused to arrest*  
 ‘...because the cop refused to arrest any protester.’

- The NPI is not licensed by the matrix verb, suggesting that the NPI is in different positions in the third construction and the extraposed order.
- The NPI in (37) is not necessarily ungrammatical, as long as its licenser is not the matrix verb:

(38) ... omdat niemand **ook maar één demonstrant** weigerde **te arresteren**  
*because nobody also just one protester refused to arrest*  
 ‘...because nobody refused to arrest any protester.’

#### CONCLUSION:

- *Ook maar*-phrases licensed by adversative predicates behave like DP-complements, not CP-complements, in the ‘third construction’;
- this shows that the DP is in different positions in the ‘third construction’ and the continuous word order;
- this is compatible with an ECM-analysis of the ‘third construction’.

**GERMAN:** seems to show the same contrast:

- (39) a. ... weil der Schüler bestritt, **auch nur einem seiner Klassenkameraden**  
*since the pupil denies also just one his class-mates*  
**geholfen zu haben.**  
*helped to have*  
 ‘...since the pupil denies having helped any of his class mates.’
- b. \* ... weil der Schüler **auch nur einem seiner Klassenkameraden** bestritt  
*since the pupil also just one his class-mates denies*  
**geholfen zu haben.**  
*helped to have*  
 ‘...since the pupil denies having helped any of his class mates.’

**But:** *bestreiten* ‘deny’ only marginally allows the ‘third construction’:

- (40) ?? ... weil der Schüler **seinem Klassenkameraden** bestritt **geholfen zu haben.**  
*since the pupil his class-mate denies helped to have*  
 ‘...since the pupil denies having helped his class mate.’

### 3.3 Alternative explanation

- Judgements (34)-(37) are predicted on Progovac’s (1994) account:
  - NPIs are licensed by an overtly negative element or, in the absence of overt negation, by a polarity operator in C.
  - (35)-(36): absence vs. presence of C;
  - (38): TP complement is transparent for movement, but overtly negative licenser for NPI is required.
  - (37): either TP complement, hence no licenser for NPI; or movement out of CP; independently excluded (41):

- (41) \* ... omdat Jan **het boek** weigert **om te lezen**  
*because Jan the book refuses COMP to read*  
 ‘...because Jan refuses to read the book.’

- Counterexample to polarity operator:

- (42) ... omdat Jan **de bedelaar** weigerde **ook maar een dubbeltje te geven**  
*because Jan the beggar refused also just a nickel to give*  
 ‘...because Jan refused to give the beggar even just a nickel.’

- movement of goal DP shows that the complement clause is not CP; hence NPIs can be licensed directly by the verb, in the absence of the polarity operator in C.

#### 4. Implications

We have seen evidence for case driven movement into the matrix clause in the ‘third construction’

- This makes an analysis of *CP extraposition* impossible: the embedded clause would be an island for A-movement;
- There is no evidence for *partial extraposition*, extraposition of the portion of the embedded clause lower than the object. This analysis would be superior to the *scrambling plus IP extraposition*-analysis if the object were not in the matrix clause. This not being the case, partial and full extraposition cannot be distinguished empirically;
- In part, this is due to the difficulty of proving that any extraposition has taken place at all;
- there is nothing that argues against the embedded clause being generated in postverbal position.
- *Movement of DP into the matrix clause plus extraposition of the preverbal embedded clause* derives the correct word order, but it is simpler to assume that the embedded clause is base generated to the right of the verb;
- This way, the base order conforms to the LCA and rightward movement is avoided.
- An analysis which assumes *VO base order plus movement of DP* is to be preferred. Since DP is in the matrix clause, at least movement of DP must be involved. With the VO base order, no further movement is required.

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