Preposing in German and Swedish

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Much research on preposing in Germanic is based on German and Dutch, which both are O(bject)V(erb) languages. Recently Werner Frey (2006, 2010) and Gisbert Fanselow (2015) have suggested distinguishing two types of preposing: local preposing into the prefield, Spec CP, which Frey calls *Formal Movement* (FM), and *true A-bar movement* (TAM). According to Frey, FM is restricted to the highest constituent in the so called middle field. The reason for calling it formal is that it does not have any effects on the interpretation of the phrase in Spec CP. TAM, on the other hand, results in a marked interpretation, typically involving contrast. Frey's proposal crucially depends on the following properties of German: the language is verb final (OV) and the middle field is rather flat, which allows for various types of scrambling.

I will discuss whether Frey's proposal can be extended to Germanic VO languages, looking at patterns of preposing in Swedish. Like German, Swedish is a verb second (V2) language but has verb initial VPs, just like English, and only limited scrambling, essentially restricted to Object Shift. Frey's distinction seems partly motivated also in Swedish. Expletives, sentential adverbials and certain scene setting adverbials are limited to local preposing. However, long preposing in Swedish, which on Frey's account must be a case of TAM, does not always involve contrast, but also shows connectivity effects (cf. Molnár 2003, Molnár & Winkler 2010, Engdahl & Lindahl 2014).

A further difference between German and Swedish concerns frequency. Local preposing of non-subjects appears to be more common in German than in Swedish (Bohnacker & Rosén 2009) but non-local preposing is used much more often in Swedish. I propose that the second fact, at least to some extent, reflects the basic OV/VO difference. In the VO language Swedish, clausal complements are remain in the position where they are merged whereas both finite and non-finite complements normally involve extraposition ('Ausklammerung') in the OV language German.

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