

# Doubling by movement within and from PP in Alemannic German

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West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 41

## 1 INTRODUCTION: R-PRONOUN DOUBLING IN ALEMANNIC

- We examine the morpho-syntax of certain pronouns in Alemannic German, spoken in and around Switzerland. These were originally termed *R-pronouns* in van Riemsdijk's (1978) examination of Dutch, which also exist in German (see Abels (2012) for an overview).

- Unlike typical nominal elements in German, R-pronouns precede prepositions and can be extracted from PP, as we see for standard German in (1a-b) and Alemannic in (1c-d).

! Notice that in Alemannic, use of an R-pronoun in PP (1c) and extraction of an R-pronoun from PP (1d) both require the appearance of another morpheme, *de*. In isolation *de* is an R-pronoun meaning 'it', though this morpheme is not interpreted in these examples.

★ We have glossed this extra *de* as 'DBL' for 'double' in (1c-d), since **we argue that this can be understood as 'doubling', via the spell-out of a trace of PP-internal movement.**

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| (1) a. <i>Std. German R-pronoun in PP</i><br>Ich ess [ <sub>PP</sub> <b>da</b> -von]<br>I eat PRON-of<br>'I eat (some) of this' | b. <i>Std. German R-pronoun moved from PP</i><br><b>Da</b> <sub>1</sub> ess ich [ <sub>PP</sub> t <sub>1</sub> von]<br>PRON eat I of<br>'This, I eat (some) of' | c. <i>Alemannic R-pronoun in PP</i><br>I iass [ <sub>PP</sub> do-*( <b>de</b> )-vo]<br>I eat PRON-DBL-of<br>'I eat (some) of this' | d. <i>Alemannic R-pronoun moved from PP</i><br><b>Do</b> <sub>1</sub> iass i [ <sub>PP</sub> t <sub>1</sub> *( <b>de</b> )-vo]<br>PRON eat I DBL-of<br>'This, I eat (some) of' |
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▷ Similar 'doubling' is likely possible in non-standard German more generally (see Fleischer 2000), though here we focus on Alemannic, in which this doubling is obligatory.

- We argue that these facts fit a theory in which PPs are dominated by a 'little p', which assigns case to nominals in PP (van Riemsdijk 1990, Rooryck 1996, Koopman 2000, Svenonius 2003).

## 2 THE DATA TO BE EXPLAINED

- An R-pronoun can stand alone without a PP (2), and in this situation it can be doubled by *de* if focused (3). In isolation, *de* is an R-pronoun meaning 'it' (4), as mentioned above. As we saw in (1c-d), in Alemannic an R-pronoun in PP must be doubled, but there is one exception to this: the R-pronoun *de* cannot be doubled, as (4) shows. Also, note that a doubled R-pronoun in PP can be extracted as we saw in (1d), or it can pied-pipe the PP when moving (5):

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|--|--|--|--|
| (2) <i>Basic R-pronoun</i><br>Min hus isch <b>do</b><br>my house is here<br>'My house is here' | (3) <i>R-pronoun with focus</i><br>Min hus isch <b>do-de</b><br>my house is here-DBL<br>'My house is HERE' | (4) <i>Typical R-pronoun 'de'</i><br>I iass [ <sub>PP</sub> <b>de</b> -*( <b>de</b> )-vo]<br>I eat PRON-DBL-of<br>'I eat (some) of it' | (5) <i>Pied-piping of PP with R-pronoun</i><br>[ <sub>PP</sub> <b>Do</b> *( <b>de</b> )-vo] <sub>1</sub> iass i t <sub>1</sub><br>PRON DBL-of eat I<br>'Of this, I eat (some)' |
|--|--|--|--|

- While R-pronouns are doubled in PP, precede P, and can be extracted from PP, typical nominal phrases follow P (6), cannot be extracted from PP (7), though they can pied-pipe PP (8).

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|---|---|--|
| (6) <i>Normal DP in PP</i><br>I iass [ <sub>PP</sub> vo deam Brot]<br>I eat of this bread<br>'I eat (some) of this bread' | (7) <i>No DP movement from PP</i><br>*[Deam Brot] <sub>1</sub> iass i [ <sub>PP</sub> vo t <sub>1</sub> ]<br>This bread eat I of<br>'This bread, I eat (some) of' | (8) <i>DP can pied-pipe PP</i><br>[ <sub>PP</sub> Vo deam Brot] <sub>1</sub> iass i t <sub>1</sub><br>of this bread eat I<br>'(Some) of this bread, I eat' |
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## 3 ANALYSIS: DOUBLING AS THE RESUMPTION OF THE TRACE OF AN R-PRONOUN

- Above we saw that R-pronouns can be extracted from PP, but typical DPs cannot. This contrast is known for German in general, as well as Dutch. Abels (2012) argues that the inability of usual DPs to exit PP (in German and beyond) emerges from the interaction of two factors—phases (Chomsky 2000, 2001, a.o.), and a constraint on the length of movement.

▷ There is a ban on movements that are too short—*anti-locality*—which prevents movement from complement to specifier of the same phrase (9). However, PP is a phase, so any movement from PP must pass through its specifier. Since usual German DPs are merged in the complement of PP, and anti-locality prevents them from reaching spec-PP, they cannot move from PP (10).

- (9) *Anti-locality: No movement from complement to specifier of same phrase*  
\* [<sub>XP</sub> YP<sub>1</sub> [<sub>X'</sub> X<sup>0</sup> t<sub>1</sub> ]]

- (10) *Movement from complement of PP would have to pass through spec-PP, but cannot*  
\* DP<sub>1</sub> ... [<sub>PP</sub>[Phase] t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>P'</sub> P<sup>0</sup> t<sub>1</sub> ]]

- We build from this analysis in order to account for the R-pronoun doubling facts. Unlike usual DPs in German, we have seen that R-pronouns can be extracted from PP, and precede a P they merge with. We propose that this is because **R-pronouns are externally merged in the specifier of the PP phase**, rather than its complement.

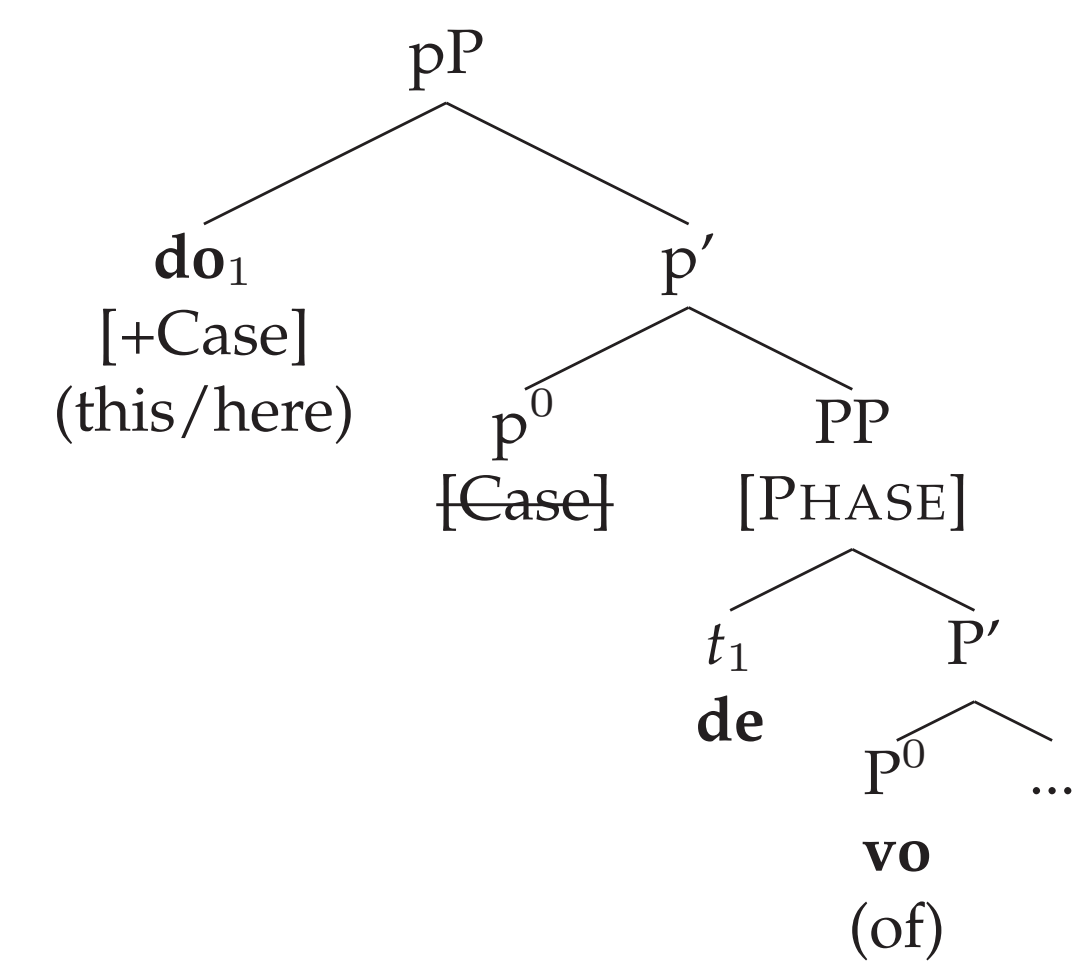
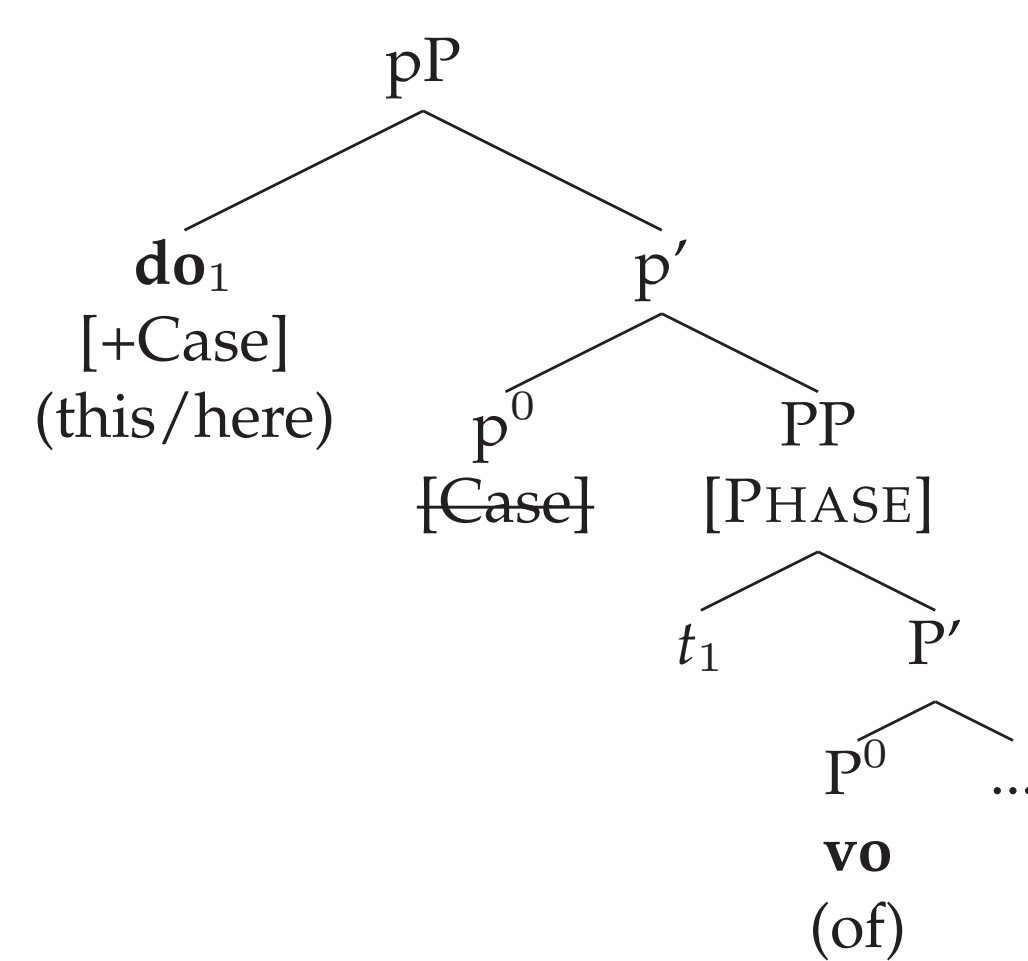
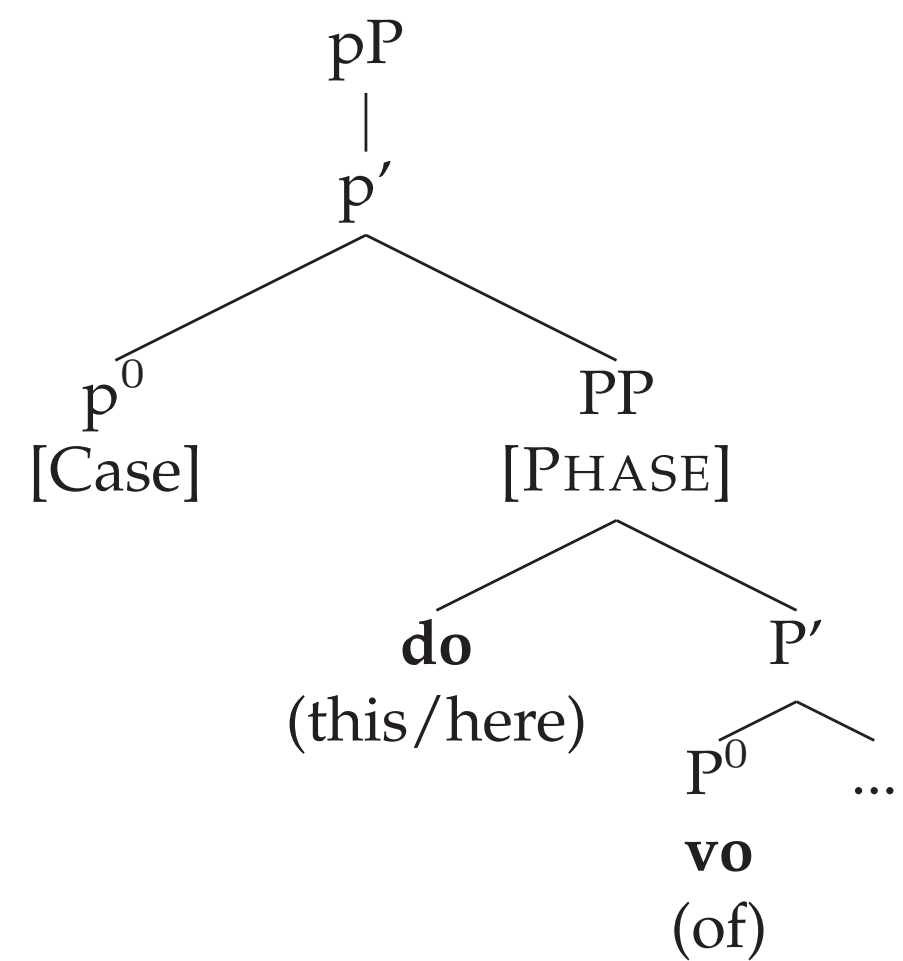
- As previewed above, we also hypothesize that PPs are dominated by a pP, which assigns case to PP-internal elements. We will maintain Abels' proposal that PP is a phase.

★ When an R-pronoun is born in spec-PP, we get the structure in (11). We propose that next, p attracts the R-pronoun to spec-pP upon assigning it case (accusative or sometimes dative in German), yielding the structure in (12). Importantly, we argue that the trace left behind by this movement of the R-pronoun is spelled-out by the morpheme *de*, giving rise to doubling as in (13).

- (11) *PP dominated by pP, R-pronoun in spec-PP*

- (12) *R-pronoun receives case and moves to spec-pP*

- (13) *Trace of R-pronoun in spec-PP realized as doubling*



▷ DPs which are born in the complement of PP, by contrast, cannot be attracted by pP and thus remain stuck in PP, due to the phase + anti-locality conflict. If case assignment is mediated by Agree, and Agree is unlike Move in not being subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Bošković 2007), then p can assign a DP complement of P case, despite being unable to move it.

- After (13) above is derived, it is possible to extract the R-pronoun as in (1d) above and diagrammed in (14), or move it while pied-piping the pP, as in (5) above and diagrammed in (15):

- (14) *R-pronoun extracted from pP*  
PRON<sub>1</sub> C<sup>0</sup>-V<sup>0</sup> SUBJ [<sub>pP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [<sub>p'</sub> p<sup>0</sup> [<sub>PP</sub> t<sub>1</sub>(=de) [<sub>P'</sub> P<sup>0</sup> ]]]]

- (15) *R-pronoun movement pied-piping pP*  
[<sub>pP</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub> [<sub>p'</sub> p<sup>0</sup> [<sub>PP</sub> t<sub>1</sub>(=de) [<sub>P'</sub> P<sup>0</sup> ]]]]<sub>2</sub> C<sup>0</sup>-V<sup>0</sup> SUBJ t<sub>2</sub>

▷ In the extraction schema in (14) above, we might predict resumption of the trace in spec-pP with *de*, yielding 'tripling'. We show that such examples are unacceptable. We argue that this is ruled out by *haplology*, since such examples would involve multiple adjacent instances of *de*. Haplology also accurately predicts the exceptional non-doubling of the R-pronoun *de* shown in (4) above.

- Finally, recall that an R-pronoun that is not in a PP can be doubled when focused, as in (3) above. Building from Syed (2015), we suggest that the focused pronoun is directly dominated by a focus phrase (FocP), whose specifier it moves to, leaving behind a trace realized as doubling (16):

- (16) *Short focus movement of R-pronoun without PP*  
[<sub>FocP</sub> PRON<sub>1</sub> [<sub>Foc'</sub> Foc<sup>0</sup> t<sub>1</sub>(=de) ]]

## 4 DOUBLING WITH OTHER R-PRONOUNS

- The patterns shown above can be replicated with the other R-pronouns *döt* ('that/there') and *wo* ('what/where'), as well as with other prepositions, as non-exhaustively exemplified in (17-20):

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|---|--|---|--|
| (17) Do/döt <sub>1</sub> iass i [t <sub>1</sub> <b>de</b> -vo/mit/för]<br>PRON eat I DBL-of/with/for<br>'This/that, I ate (some) of/with/for' | (18) Wo <sub>1</sub> iass i [t <sub>1</sub> <b>de</b> -vo/mit/för]<br>PRON eat I DBL-of/with/for<br>'What did I eat (some) of/with/for?' | (19) [Do/döt <b>de</b> -vo/mit/för] <sub>1</sub> iass i t <sub>1</sub><br>PRON DBL-of/with/for eat I<br>'(Some) of/with/for this/that, I ate' | (20) [Wo <b>de</b> -vo/mit/för] <sub>1</sub> iass i t <sub>1</sub><br>PRON DBL-of/with/for eat I<br>'(Some) of/with/for what did I eat?' |
|---|--|---|--|

! All of these R-pronouns, *do*, *döt*, and *wo*, are doubled by the morpheme *de*. Recall that in isolation, *de* is 'it'—likely the semantically weakest R-pronoun.

✓ Cross-linguistically, it is typical for doubling to involve reduced/un-marked elements. For instance, Landau (2006) shows that verb doubling in Hebrew results in an infinitive, and van Urk (2018) shows instances of full DPs doubled by pronouns. Thus it is not surprising that in Alemannic, different R-pronouns are doubled by a morpheme that normally represents a least-marked option.

## 5 CONCLUSION

★ We have argued that the facts about R-pronoun doubling emerge from a theory in which PPs are multi-layered structures, within which R-pronouns move but typical complements of P cannot (due to an independent locality issue), with the R-pronoun's trace resumed by an un-marked pronominal form.

→ For an explicit morphological analysis using Distributed Morphology, as well as our reference list, see the corresponding handout at: <https://sites.google.com/view/colinbpdavis/home>

**Acknowledgements:** Thanks to Josef Bayer, Miriam Butt, George Walkden, as well as participants of the Syntax Colloquium at the University of Konstanz and of Incontro di Grammatica Generativa 48.