

Doubling, focus, and extraction from PP in Alemannic German

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1 INTRODUCTION

- We examine a morpho-syntactic aspect of Alemannic German, spoken in and around Switzerland.
 - Specifically we discuss a type of pronoun, initially termed *R-pronoun* in van Riemsdijk's (1978) study of Dutch, which also exists in German (Abels 2012, a.o.).
- ★ Some standard German speakers allow movement of an R-pronoun from PP to strand P. However, in Alemannic, extraction of the pronoun results in the appearance of another morpheme in PP, which we gloss as 'DBL' for 'double':
- ✓ We argue that this is 'doubling', via the spell-out of a trace of focus-driven movement of the pronoun to a Foc(us)P above PP.
 - We propose this by analogy with Syed (2014) and Simpson & Syed (2016), who argue for a FocP above DP in Bangla, which movement can target.

2 DATA

- We first describe the facts we analyze using the pronoun *do/de* ('this/here/it') and the P *vo* ('of'), and discuss others shortly.
- When there is no PP and no focus, the pronoun *do* can simply appear on its own (1). Focusing the pronoun requires the appearance of the additional morpheme *de* (2).

(1) <i>Plain R-pronoun</i>	(2) <i>Focused R-pronoun</i>
Min hus isch do my house is here 'My house is here'	Min hus isch do-de my house is here-DBL 'My house is HERE'

- When in a PP, this pronoun does not occur on its own, but must co-occur with *de* (3). This *de* appears to be the same as the pronoun usually meaning 'it', which can occur alone and is never focused (4).

(3) <i>Doubling when in PP</i>	(4) <i>Doubler looks like 'it'</i>
I iass [_{PP} do -(de)-vo] I eat PRON-DBL-of 'Of this, I eat some'	I iass [_{PP} de -vo] I eat PRON-of 'I eat some of it'

- Extraction of a focused pronoun from PP, with doubling, is one option (5). Another is to move the entire PP structure along with the focused pronoun, in which case doubling also occurs (6)

(5) <i>Pronoun extraction from PP</i>	(6) <i>Pied-piping of PP with movement of pronoun</i>
Do ₁ iass i [_{PP} t ₁ *(de)-vo] PRON eat I DBL-of 'Of this, I eat some'	[Do *(de)-vo] ₁ iass i t ₁ PRON DBL-of eat I 'Of this, I eat some'

3 ANALYSIS

- Following Abels (2012), Müller (2000), and references therein, we assume that R-pronouns precede P because they always must move to spec-PP, unlike other nominals in German:

(7) [_{PP} PRON₁ [_{P'} P⁰ t₁]] (Required R-pronoun movement to spec-PP)

- Since focus on the R-pronoun when not in a PP requires the morpheme *de* (2), we take the occurrence of this morpheme in the above PP examples to be indicative of focus-movement.

- We propose that when the pronoun is focused, it then moves to the specifier of a FocP above PP.

- ★ We argue that the trace of this movement in spec-PP is realized as the doubling morpheme *de*. This is schematized in (8) below, which matches (3) above:

(8) [_{FocP} PRON₁ [_{Foc'} Foc⁰ [_{PP} t₁(=**de**) [_{P'} P⁰ t₁]]]] (Doubling by mvt. from PP to FocP)

- After this, one option is for the pronoun to be extracted on its own, as we saw in (5):

(9) PRON₁ C⁰-V⁰ SUBJ [_{FocP} t₁ [_{Foc'} Foc⁰ [_{PP} t₁(=**de**) [_{P'} P⁰ t₁]]]] (FocP stranded)

- Alternatively, further movement of the pronoun can pied-pipe the entire FocP (containing PP) to clause-initial position, as shown in (6) above:

(10) [_{FocP} PRON₁ [_{Foc'} Foc⁰ [_{PP} t₁(=**de**) [_{P'} P⁰ t₁]]]]₂ C⁰-V⁰ SUBJ t₂ (FocP pied-piped)

4 DOUBLING WITH OTHER R-PRONOUNS

- All the patterns shown above can be replicated with the pronouns *döt* ('that/there') and *wo* ('what/where'), as well as with other prepositions:

(11) [Do/döt/wo **de**-vo/mit/för]₁ iass i t₁ (12) Do/döt/wo₁ iass i [t₁ **de**-vo/mit/för]
PRON DBL-of/with/for eat I PRON eat I DBL-of/with/for

- All of these pronouns, *do*, *döt*, and *wo*, are doubled by the morpheme *de*, which normally means 'it'.

- ✓ Cross-linguistically, it is typical for doubling to involve reduced/un-marked morphology.

- For instance, van Urk (2018) shows that full DPs can be doubled by pronouns in Dutch, and Landau (2006) shows that verb doubling in Hebrew results in an infinitive.

5 DOUBLING WITHOUT PP

- When focused, Alemannic R-pronouns are doubled even without PP, as we saw in (2).
- We argue that in this case, the pronoun is directly dominated by FocP, and moves to its specifier, with the trace of this movement realized as doubling:

(13) [_{FocP} PRON₁ [_{Foc'} Foc⁰ t₁(=**de**)]] (Focus movement of pronoun without PP)

6 SELECTED REFERENCES

- Abels, K. 2012. *Phases*. De Gruyter. ◇ van Riemsdijk, H. 1978. *A case study in syntactic markedness*. The Peter de Ridder Press. ◇ Simpson, A. and Syed, S. 2016. Blocking effects of higher numerals in Bangla. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47. ◇ van Urk, C. 2018. Pronoun copying in Dinka Bor and the Copy Theory of Movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 36.