DOUBLING BY MOVEMENT WITHIN AND FROM PP IN ALEMANNIC GERMAN
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1 INTRODUCTION We examine the morpho-syntax of certain pronouns in 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.). As Abels overviews, some standard German speakers allow movement of an R-pronoun to strand P (1a). However, the same is not possible in Alemannic. Instead, in this variety extraction of the pronoun results in the appearance of another morpheme (DBL) in PP (1b).

(1) a. **Da**$_1$ ess ich [t_1 von]   b. **Do**$_1$ iass i [t_1 *(**de**)-vo]
       PRON eat I   of   PRON eat I   DBL-of

       'Of that, I eat some' *[Std. German]*   'Of this, I eat some' *[Alemannic]*

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 works arguing for a focus position above DP in, for instance, Bangla (Syed 2014) and Greek (Ntelitheos 2002). We argue that this analysis correctly predicts related facts about focus and R-pronouns in Alemannic.

2 BASIC FACTS 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 un-extracted and un-focused, this pronoun has the form *de*, as in (2a) below. Scrambling extraction of the pronoun entails that it is focused, in which case it is realized as *do*, as in the extraction example with doubling in (1b) above. Focus without extraction is possible as well, and in this case doubling also occurs, as in (2b) below:

(2) a. **de**-vo   b. **do**   *(**de**)-vo
       PRON-of   PRON DBL-of

       'of it' *[Unfocused]*   'of THIS' *[Focused]*

While extraction of the pronoun with doubling as in (1b) above is one option, another is to carry the entire PP structure along with the moving pronoun, in which case doubling is also required:

(3) [**Do**   *(**de**)-vo]$_1$ iass i t_1
       PRON DBL-of   eat I

       'Of this, I eat some'

We can confirm that here the pronoun is still in one constituent with the PP, since the pre-verbal position can generally be filled by only one constituent in German (Weerman 1989, a.o.).

3 MAIN ANALYSIS We assume following Abels (2012), Müller (2000) and others that for independent reasons, R-pronouns must always move to spec-PP (unlike other German DPs):

(4) [$_{PP}$ PRON$_1$ [$_{P'}$ P^0 t_1]]

We propose that when the pronoun is focused, it then moves to the specifier of a FocP on top of the PP, and that the trace of this movement in spec-PP is realized as the doubling morpheme *de*:

(5) [$_{FocP}$ PRON$_1$ [$_{Foc'}$ Foc^0 [$_{PP}$ t_1(=**de**) [$_{P'}$ P^0 t_1]]]]

Scrambling of such pronouns requires them to be focused. Thus prior to any further movement involving the pronoun as in (1b) or (3) above, the derivation just shown must have occurred. After this, there are two options. One possibility is for the pronoun to be extracted on its own, stranding FocP and PP below. This matches examples like (1b) above where the pronoun is scrambled into clause-initial position (spec-CP), as schematized in (6) below. We assume that in verb-second clauses like this V moves to C in German (Weerman 1989. a.o.).

(6) PRON$_1$ C^0-V^0 SUBJ [$_{FocP}$ t_1 [$_{Foc'}$ Foc^0 [$_{PP}$ t_1(=**de**) [$_{P'}$ P^0 t_1]]]]

Alternatively, further movement of the pronoun can pied-pipe the entire FocP (containing PP) to clause-initial position, as shown in (3) above and diagrammed in (7) below:

(7) $[_{FocP}$ PRON$_1$ $[_{Foc'}$ Foc^0 $[_{PP}$ t_1(**=de**) $[_{P'}$ P^0 t_1]]]]$_2$ C^0-V^0 SUBJ t_2

One might expect the possibility of simultaneously inserting the doubling morpheme at the trace in spec-FocP in P-stranding structures like (6) above, resulting in two adjacent instances of *de*. We will show that this is ungrammatical. We argue that such use of adjacent identical morphemes would cause a haplology problem. Alternatively, it fits all the facts to state that doubling only realizes traces of R-pronoun movement to spec-FocP, not of other movements.

4 DOUBLING WITH OTHER R-PRONOUNS

Above we have shown examples with the pronoun *do/de* ('this/it/here'), which leaves behind the doubled morpheme *de*. We have also so far only used the preposition *vo* ('of'). All the patterns shown above can be replicated with the pronouns *döt* ('that/there') and *wo* ('what/where'), as well as with other prepositions, as (8-9) show:

(8) [Do/döt/wo **de**-vo/mit/för]$_1$ iass i t_1 (9) Do/döt/wo$_1$ iass i [t_1 **de**-vo/mit/för]
     PRON   DBL-of/with/for eat I   PRON   eat I   DBL-of/with/for

Notice that all of these pronouns, *do*, *döt*, and *wo*, are doubled by the morpheme *de*. As we saw in example (2a) above, this is the unfocused variant of *do*. Cross-linguistically, it is typical for doubling phenomena to involve reduced/un-marked morphology. For instance, van Urk (2016) shows that full DPs can be doubled by pronouns in Dutch, and Landau (2006) shows that verb doubling in Hebrew results in an infinitive. Thus it is not surprising that in Alemannic different pronouns are doubled by what is plausibly a form of the least-marked pronominal option.

5 DOUBLING WITHOUT PP

When focused, it is also possible for these pronouns to be doubled even when they are not in a PP. The doubled pronoun need not move (10), but may (11):

(10) Min hus   isch **[do/döt]-de**   (11) **[Do/döt]-de**$_1$ isch min hus t_1
      my house is   HERE/THERE-DBL   HERE/THERE-DBL is   my house

We argue that here the pronoun is dominated by FocP, and moves to its specifier, with the trace of this movement realized as doubling (12). The whole FocP may then move as in (11) above.

(12) $[_{FocP}$ PRON$_1$ $[_{Foc'}$ Foc^0 t_1(**=de**)]

In (1b) and (9) above we saw that when the pronoun is contained by PP, the pronoun can move away, leaving the doubling morpheme behind in PP. In contrast, when there is no PP, the doubling morpheme cannot be stranded by the pronoun's movement, as (13) shows:

(13) * **Do/döt**$_1$ isch min hus   [t_1 **de**]
        here/there is   my house   DBL

We argue that the doubling morpheme is an unstressed clitic, which must be phonologically supported. In examples like (10-11) the pronoun provides support, and in P-stranding examples like (1b) and (9) the preposition does so. However, this morpheme is unsupported in (13).

6 DIALECTICAL VARIATION

Hein & Barnickel (2018) analyze similar facts in Swabian German and also pursue a doubling analysis (with different structural assumptions). Their analysis uses Optimality Theory, and relies on six violable constraints, which are ranked differently in dialects that do and do not have doubling. In contrast, our analysis does not stipulate constraints or their rankings. All we must say is that in only some dialects of German, the pronominal morpheme *de* can spell-out traces of focus-driven R-pronoun movement. Furthermore, unlike Hein & Barnickel, we directly account for the connection between focus and doubling in Alemannic.

7 IMPLICATIONS

Previous work has argued for focus movement in the DP domain. We have identified analogous phenomena in the PP domain as well, thus enriching the cross-linguistic typology of focus phenomena in syntax. We will also argue that these facts are comparable to other doubling phenomena in Alemannic involving verb movement (van Riemsdijk 2002, Diem 2022). This research thus connects to a broader study of doubling and redundancy in general.

8 SELECTED REFERENCES

Abels, K. 2012. *Phases*. De Gruyter. ◇ Hein, J. and Barnickel, K. 2018. Replication of R-pronouns in German dialects. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*. ◇ van Riemsdijk, H. 1978. *A case study in syntactic markedness.* The Peter de Ridder Press.