

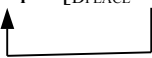
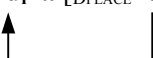
German R-pronouns: spot the R! Máire Noonan, McGill University

1. Introduction. This paper provides evidence in favour of syntactic decomposition of locative pronouns and of a late insertion approach of Distributed Morphology. The evidence, based on a comparison of ‘R-pronouns’ in Colloquial German (CG) and Dutch, combines morpho-phonological as well as syntactic properties. Dutch pronominal objects of prepositions are (mostly) expressed through locative pronouns, the equivalent of English *there/where...* They are termed ‘R-pronouns’ due to ending in (or containing) *-r*; see (1). R-pronouns have the two distinguishing properties of inducing postpositional order in what is otherwise a prepositional language, and permitting P-stranding. Van Riemsdijk (1978) proposes to reduce these two properties to the hypothesis that R-pronouns, as opposed to other objects of prepositions, move to, and thus can escape from, some specifier position. A careful examination of the complex morpho-syntactic realisations of ‘R-pronouns’ in German (particularly CG) reveals this approach as problematic and suggests an alternative, according to which (a) postpositional order results from the ‘R-pronoun’ being base-generated in a higher position than non-pronominal DPs, that (b) the apparent strandability of P is in reality stranding of the ‘R-pronoun’ by the postposition, with subsequent (remnant) movement of category containing the ‘R-pronoun’, and (c) – the focus of this paper – that the ‘R-pronoun’ itself is composed of two (German) or three (Dutch) heads.

2. ‘R’. German pronominal objects of prepositions resemble their Dutch counterparts in that they induce postpositional order and (in CG) permit apparent P-stranding. They differ from Dutch, however, in that two forms, *da* ‘there’ and *wo* ‘where’, do not *per se* end in *r*-; see (2). ‘R’ is not, however, lacking entirely: it surfaces as the ‘onset’ of vowel initial adpositions; see (3). When *da/wo* ‘strands’ the adposition, ‘r’ remains ‘prefixed’ to the adposition; see (4). These facts strongly suggest that ‘r’ realizes a morpheme separate from the pronominal part, morphologically oriented leftward to the locative vowel in Dutch (and English, cf. Kayne 2005b on *there/where/here*), and rightward to the adposition in German. It is thus not surprising that ‘r’ in German is sensitive to phonological properties of the adposition: ‘r’ is overt iff the adposition is vowel initial; see (5). CG is instrumental in telling us more: the initial ‘d’ is also a separate syntactic head, which joins the locative vowel through head movement. This is suggested (i) by the fact that ‘d’ can occur in the absence of the locative vowels of the locative pronoun; see (6), and (ii) by the following doubling phenomenon in CG locative pronouns: when ‘r’ is pronounced, we see ‘d’-pronounced twice: once with the locative vowel, and as a word with ‘r’ and the adposition; see (7).

3. Derivation. The categories spelt out by ‘d’ (and ‘w’), the vowel *a*, and ‘r’ represent parts of an extended PP, whose most deeply embedded category is an abstract noun PLACE, which in the case of pronounced place adpositions has an overt modifier (see Terzi 2006; Noonan 2005). Specifically, I assume that ‘r’ is the head of a deictic category, R_{PLACE} , which merges with an expletive determiner head D_{PLACE} (pronounced as *d*- when [+DEF] and *w*- when [-DEF] or [+Q]). I furthermore postulate the locative head, P_{LOC} , pronounced *-a*, which selects and incorporates D_{PLACE} *d*-. The locative pronoun is thus not a noun, but a determiner (cf. Kayne 2005, Postal 1966), plus a locative head, generated higher than its silent NP-associate *pro* (cf. Sportiche 1996). The structure in (8) represents the pronoun when there is no pronounced adposition; ‘r’ is silent (in contrast to Dutch). When there is a pronounced adposition (an overt modifier in the sense of Terzi 2006), R_{PLACE} is pronounced; see (9). The doubling phenomena here (and (7)) derive from conflicting syntactic and morphological requirements of *d*- in CG: *d*- syntactically moves to P_{LOC} , but morphologically it merges with ‘r’ and the adposition. This leads to the situation in which a “subword” moves out of an “M-word” (see Embick 2006). The double pronunciation is a repair function for this illicit derivation.

Since under this analysis the locative pronoun is not a constituent, separating it from the postposition must involve initial movement of the (complex) “postposition” ($D_{PLACE}P$), and subsequent remnant movement of $P_{LOC}P$, a consequence supported by certain observed word order facts in stranding constructions.

- (1) er / daar waar hier ... (Dutch)
 there where here
- (2) da wo hier ... (German)
 there where here
- (3) a. Er ist darüber gesprungen.
 he AUX there-R-over jumped
 ‘He jumped over it.’
 b. Worüber ist er gesprungen?
 where-R-over AUX er jumped
 ‘What did he jump over?’
- (4) a. Da(*r) ist er *(r)über gesprungen. (Colloquial German (CG))
 there AUX he R-over jumped
 ‘There he jumped over.’
 b. Wo(*r) ist er *(r)über gesprungen? (CG)
 where AUX he R-over jumped
 ‘Where did he jump over?’
- (5) a. da-*(r)-in, da-*(r)-auf da-*(r)-unter, da-*(r)-über,
 b. da-*(r)-hinter, da-*(r)-zwischen, da-*(r)-durch,
- (6) Er sitzt auf dem Tisch **drauf**. (CG)
 he sits on the_{DAT} table DR-on
- (7) a. **dadrauf, dadrin, dadrunter**, ...
 b. **Da** sitzt er **drauf** / (*rauf). (CG)
 there sits he DR-on
 ‘That he sits on.’
- (8) $[_{PLOC} \mathbf{d_i -a} [_{DPLACE} \mathbf{d_i} [_{RPLACE} R [_{PlaceP} PLACE [_{NP} \mathbf{pro_i}]]]]]$

- (9) $[_{PLOC} \mathbf{d_i -a} [_{DPLACE} \mathbf{d_i} [_{RPLACE} \mathbf{r} [_{ModPlaceP} \mathbf{auf} [_{PlaceP} PLACE [_{NP} \mathbf{pro_i}]]]]]]]$


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