

Doubling by Movement within and from PP in Lustenau Alemannic

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1. Introduction

We examine the morpho-syntax of certain pronouns in a variety of German, spoken in Lustenau (Vorarlberg, Western Austria). This is part of a dialect group termed ‘Alemannic’, spoken in and around Switzerland, which Lustenau directly borders. We refer to the dialect we examine as Lustenau Alemannic (LA). Specifically we discuss a type of pronoun, termed *R-pronoun* in van Riemsdijk (1978)’s study of Dutch, which also exists in German (see Abels (2012) and references therein). Unlike typical nominal elements in German, R-pronouns precede prepositions (1a), and for many speakers, in colloquial ‘standard’ (that is, non-Alemannic) German they can also be extracted from PP (1b):

(1) *R-pronouns in non-Alemannic German*

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Ich ess [_{PP} da -von/mit/...]
I eat RPRN-of/with/...
‘I eat with / (some) of this’ | b. Da ₁ ess ich [_{PP} t ₁ von]
RPRN eat I of
‘This, I eat (some) of’ |
|---|---|

In contrast, in LA use of an R-pronoun in PP (2a) or extraction of it from PP (2b) requires the use of another morpheme, *de*. As we will show, in isolation *de* is an R-pronoun meaning ‘it’, though it does not have any semantic contribution in examples like (2). Our goal is to argue that this redundant *de* can be understood as ‘doubling’, via the spell-out of a trace of movement within the prepositional phrase.

(2) *R-pronouns in LA*¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. I iass [_{PP} do*(de)-vo]
I eat RPRN-DBL-of
‘I eat (some) of this’ | b. Do ₁ iass i [_{PP} t ₁ *(de)-vo]
RPRN eat I DBL-of
‘This, I eat (some) of’ |
|---|--|

Similar ‘doubling’ is likely possible in non-standard German more generally (Fleischer (2002)), though here we focus on LA, where this doubling is obligatory in several contexts.

To analyze this doubling, we hypothesize that PPs are dominated by a ‘little p’, which assigns case to nominals in PP (van Riemsdijk (1990), Rooryck (1996), Koopman (2000), and Svenonius (2003)):

(3) *PP dominated by pP*

[_{pP} p[*Case*] [_{PP} P ...]]

We will propose that case-assignment by p triggers movement of R-pronouns from PP, leaving behind a ‘resumptive’ *de* in spec-PP, prior to any further syntactic operations involving the R-pronoun. We make our analysis explicit using Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz (1993)) and the copy theory of movement (Chomsky (1995) and Nunes (2004)). We go on to examine the constraints on such doubling in LA. We will suggest that doubling in PP is motivated by a phonological EPP requirement (Richards (2016) and van Urk (2018)) in LA and related dialects, and is constrained by haplology.

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¹ Many of our LA examples use the preposition *vo*, ‘of’, which often yields a partitive interpretation.

2. The basic patterns

We first describe the basic patterns using the pronoun *do* ('this/here') and the P *vo* ('of').² See section 4 for demonstration of these facts for other R-pronouns and prepositions. Unless otherwise indicated all data shown in this paper is from LA. In this dialect, as in standard German, an R-pronoun not inside a PP can stand alone straightforwardly, as (4) shows:

- (4) Min hus isch **do**
 my house is here
 'My house is here' (*Basic R-pronoun*)

However, as previewed above, R-pronouns in LA must be accompanied by *de* when in a PP:

- (5) I iass [_{PP} **do**-*(**de**)-vo]
 I eat RPRN-DBL-of
 'I eat (some) of this' (*R-pronoun in PP must have 'de'*)

As mentioned, normally *de* is an R-pronoun meaning 'it', as (6) shows. (Notice that *de* is not doubled when in PP. This is an exception which we explain in section 3.2 below.)

- (6) I iass [_{PP} **de**-vo]
 I eat RPRN-of
 'I eat (some) of it' (*Normal use of R-pronoun 'de'*)

Since *de* normally does have an interpretation, we take examples like (2) and (5) above to involve doubling: These contain two pronouns, one of which is *de*, though this has no semantic contribution in these contexts.

PP examples with doubling like (5) above can be subjected to further syntactic manipulation. One possibility is to extract the pronoun from PP, as we have already seen (7). Alternatively, it is also possible to move the R-pronoun and pied-pipe the PP along with it (8):

- (7) **Do**₁ iass i [_{PP} *t*₁ *(**de**)-vo]
 RPRN eat I DBL-of
 'This, I eat (some) of' (*Extraction from PP*)
- (8) [**Do** *(**de**)-vo]₁ iass i *t*₁
 RPRN DBL-of eat I
 'Of this, I eat (some)' (*Pied-piping of PP*)

These patterns contrast with the behavior of more typical DPs, which follow P (9a) and cannot be extracted from it (9b), though pied-piping of PP along with movement of DP is permitted (9c):

- (9) a. I iass [_{PP} vo **deam Brot**]
 I eat of this bread
 'I eat (some) of this bread' (*DP in PP*)
- b. * [**Deam Brot**]₁ iass i [_{PP} vo *t*₁]
 This bread eat I of
 'This bread, I eat (some) of' (*No extraction*)
- c. [_{PP} Vo **deam Brot**]₁ iass i *t*₁
 Of this bread eat I
 '(Some) of this bread, I eat' (*Pied-piping*)

In this this paper, we analyze these and more facts about LA.

² The LA *do* has a proximal interpretation, unlike its cognate *da* in standard German, which is distal. In LA a distal interpretation is conveyed by another R-pronoun, *döt*, which is a cognate of standard German *dort*.

3. Main analysis: R-pronoun doubling and the structure of PP

Here we will first discuss why movement from PP is banned for typical DPs in German, following Abels (2012). We will then introduce pP, show how this facilitates an analysis of doubling in PPs.

3.1. Why extraction from PP is usually banned: Phases versus anti-locality

Above we saw that in LA, R-pronouns can be extracted from PP, but typical DPs cannot. The same contrast is true of German more generally, as well as Dutch (see van Riemsdijk (1997) and Abels (2012)). Abels argues that the inability of usual DPs to exit PP, in German and various other languages, emerges from the interaction of two factors.

First, PP is a *phase* (Chomsky (2000, 2001)), so movement from PP must pass through its specifier:

- (10) $XP_1 \dots [PP_{[Phase]} t_1 [P' P t_1]]$ (*Movement from PP must pass through spec-PP*)
-

Second, there is a ban on movements that are too short—*anti-locality*—which prevents movement from complement to specifier of the same phrase:

- (11) * $[XP YP_1 [X' X t_1]]$ (*Anti-locality: No comp-to-spec movement in same phrase*)
-

Assume that typical DPs originate in the complement of PP. This fits the fact that these follow P, as we saw in (9a) above. Given the requirements just mentioned, we indeed predict such DPs to be trapped in PP. This is because any movement from PP must pass through spec-PP, since PP is a phase, but this position is inaccessible for such DPs because anti-locality bans movement from complement to specifier of PP:

- (12) * $DP_1 \dots [PP_{[Phase]} t_1 [P' P t_1]]$ (*No movement from complement to specifier of PP*)
-

Thus Abels derives a ban on P-stranding in German. This analysis applies equally to standard German and LA. Next, we build from this analysis in order to account for the R-pronoun doubling facts.

3.2. Doubling of R-pronouns by raising to pP

Unlike usual DPs, we have seen in (1) above that R-pronouns in German can be extracted from PP, and also uniquely precede the P that they merge with. To account for this, Abels argues that R-pronouns are merged below PP but involve the inclusion of an additional phrase that intervenes between the two, in a way that allows the R-pronoun to move to spec-PP and then potentially onward without violating anti-locality.³ For our doubling analysis of LA, it is sufficient to adopt a simpler proposal: that R-pronouns are externally merged in the specifier of the PP phase, rather than its complement.⁴ Importantly, we must also posit that PPs involve an additional layer. Specifically, as previewed above, we will hypothesize that PPs are dominated by a pP, which is responsible for the assignment of case to PP-internal elements. We will also maintain Abels proposal that PP is a phase.

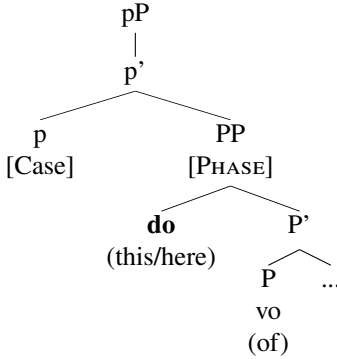
- (13) *PP dominated by pP*
 $[pP P[Case] [PP P \dots]]$

³ Specifically, Abels posits a phrase between the R-pronoun and PP that he terms *DRP*, named thus due to facts about the realization of R-pronouns in Dutch and German. He also posits that similar structure, though always silent, facilitates extraction from PP in P-stranding languages like English and Norwegian. One might alternatively propose that PP is not a phase in such languages, as Abels (2003) and Davis (2020) do. Note that R-pronouns cannot be left-leaning complements of an exceptionally head-final PP. This hypothesis wrongly predicts that R-pronouns should be frozen in PP, regardless of what linear order they happen to have.

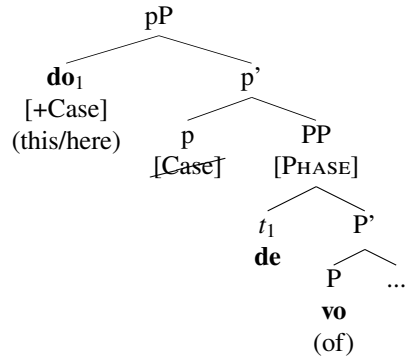
⁴ In principle, another possibility is that R-pronouns are adjuncts of PP. As long as they are not complements, their extractability will be correctly predicted by the analysis in this section.

As mentioned, we assume that R-pronouns are externally merged in the specifier of PP, as in (14a) below. We propose that after this, little *p* attracts the R-pronoun to its specifier upon assigning it case. This case is usually overtly visible as either accusative or dative in German, though R-pronouns do not morphologically show this.⁵ Importantly, we argue that in LA, the trace left behind by this movement of the R-pronoun is spelled-out by the morpheme *de*, giving rise to doubling as in (14b). This is essentially resumption, since outside of doubling constructions, *de* is an R-pronoun meaning ‘it’.

(14) a. *Step 1: Merge R-pronoun in spec-PP*



b. *Step 2: Movement to spec-pP, doubling*



Typical DPs, which are born in the complement of PP, cannot be attracted by pP and thus are not doubled, since they are frozen in place by the phase versus anti-locality conflict described above. If *p* cannot access a DP in the complement of the PP phase in order to attract it, we might also expect *p* to be unable to assign it case. However, if case assignment is mediated by Agree (Chomsky (2000, 2001)) and Agree is unlike Move in not being subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Bošković (2007)), then *p* can in fact assign case to a DP in the complement of PP despite being unable to move it.

After movement to spec-pP and doubling occur as in (14) above, it is possible to move the R-pronoun further, either stranding pP below (15) or pied-piping it (16). In these examples movement targets spec-CP, and involves V to C movement, given the V2 syntax of (Alemannic) German (Holmberg (2015)):

(15) *R-pronoun extraction from pP*

a. **Do**₁ i_{ass} i [_{pP} t₁ *(**de**)-vo]
 RPRN eat I DBL-of
 ‘This, I eat (some) of’

b. RPRN₁ C⁰-V⁰ SUBJ [_{pP} t₁ [_{p'} p⁰ [_{PP} t₁(=**de**) [_{P'} P⁰]]]]
 ↑ ↑

(16) *Pied-piping of pP*

a. [_{pP} **Do** *(**de**)-vo]₁ i_{ass} i t₁
 RPRN DBL-of eat I
 ‘(Some) of this, I eat’

b. [_{pP} RPRN₁ [_{p'} p⁰ [_{PP} t₁(=**de**) [_{P'} P⁰]]]]₂ C⁰-V⁰ SUBJ t₂
 ↑ ↑

This analysis also makes correct predictions about contexts with R-pronouns in coordinated PPs. If we coordinate two PPs below pP, the R-pronoun in each will move and be united in spec-pP via Across-The-Board movement (Ross (1967), a.o.). Both traces of such movement in spec-PP will be realized via doubling. After this, it is possible to either extract the R-pronoun from pP (17), or pied-pipe the entire pP structure containing the R-pronoun to a higher position (18):⁶

⁵ Normal pronouns in LA, for instance, show these case distinctions clearly:

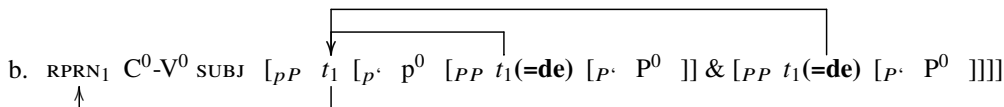
(1) a. für mi = for me(ACC)

b. mit mr = with me(DAT)

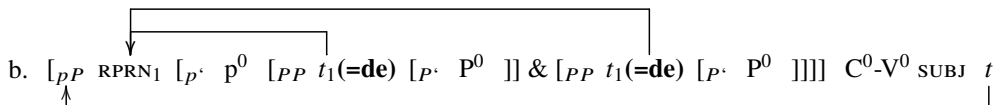
⁶ We would also predict the correct results by analyzing these examples as coordination of two full pPs.

(17) *R-pronoun movement in coordination followed by extraction*

- a. Luag, an riesiga Löffl us Schoggi! **Do** easse-mr jetz [**de-mit** und **de-vo**].
 Look, a giant spoon from chocolate RPRN eat-we now DBL-with and DBL-of
 ‘Look, a giant spoon made out of chocolate! We will eat with and of this’

(18) *R-pronoun movement in coordination followed by pied-piping of pP*

- a. Luag, an riesiga Löffl us Schoggi! [**Do de-mit** und **de-vo**] easse-mr jetz.
 Look, a giant spoon from chocolate RPRN DBL-with and DBL-of eat-we now
 ‘Look, a giant spoon made out of chocolate! With and of this, we will eat.’



Notice that in the diagram in (15b) above, which represents R-pronoun extraction from pP, there are traces both in spec-PP and in spec-pP. The trace in spec-PP is the one we posit is realized as *de*. However, it is conceivable that the higher trace in spec-pP might also be pronounced as *de*. Having a *de* in both spec-PP and spec-pP would create an example like (19), which is unacceptable:

(19) * **Do** iass i **de-de-vo**

RPRN eat I DBL-DBL-OF

‘This, I eat (some) of’ (*No double doubling*)

We argue that such examples are ruled out by *haplology*—the cross-linguistic tendency to avoid sequences of identical morphemes/syllables. (Though see also section 5 below, in which we will show that doubling in intermediate traces is independently ruled out.) This hypothesis leads us to a correct prediction about a situation where R-pronoun doubling in PP fails. Specifically, while doubling occurs with almost all R-pronouns (as we will see in section 4), the R-pronoun *de* (‘it’) cannot be doubled even when in a PP:

(20) I iass **de**-(***de**)-vo

I eat RPRN-DBL-OF

‘I eat (some) of it’ (*No doubling of ‘de’*)

Since this R-pronoun is itself *de*, adding a second *de* would create an undesirable sequence of identical syllables. The unacceptability of this is what we expect, if haplology constrains the distribution of doubling.

4. The morphology of doubling

So far our examples have mainly used the R-pronoun *do* (‘this/here’) and the preposition *vo* (‘of’). All 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. We see this below in (21), which shows preposition pied-piping and stranding examples with these other two R-pronouns:

(21) *The generality of the patterns*

a. I iess [do/döüt-**de**-vo/mit/för]

I eat RPRN-DBL-of/with/for

‘I eat (some) of/with/for this/that’

c. [Do/döüt-**de**-vo/mit/för]₂ iess i t₂

RPRN-DBL-of/with/for eat I

‘(Some) of/with/for this/that, I eat’

b. Do/döüt₁ iess i [t₁ -**de**-vo/mit/för]

RPRN eat I DBL-of/with/for

‘This/that, I eat (some) of/with/for’

d. Wo₁ iesst si [t₁ -**de**-vo/mit/för]?

RPRN eats she DBL-of/with/for

‘What does she eat (some) of/with/for?’

- e. [Wo-**de**-vo/mit/för]₂ iesst si t₂ ?
 RPRN-DBL-of/with/for eats she
 ‘(Some) of/with/for what does she eat?’

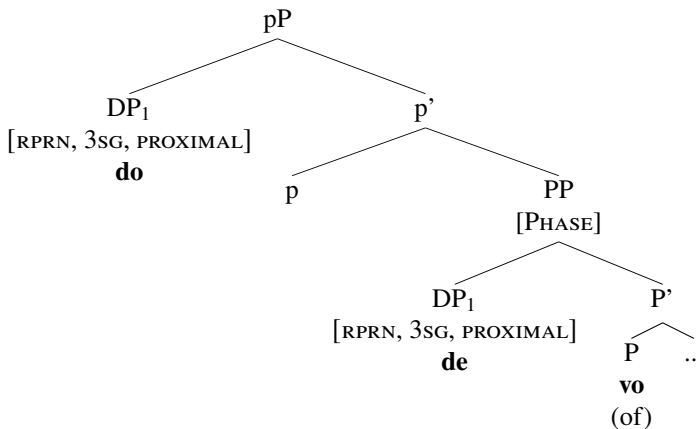
Notice that all of these R-pronouns, *do*, *döt*, and *wo*, are doubled by the morpheme *de*. Recall that in isolation, *de* is interpreted as ‘it’ — the semantically weakest R-pronoun. Cross-linguistically, it is typical for doubling phenomena to involve reduced/un-marked elements. For instance, van Urk (2018) analyzes instances of full DPs doubled by pronouns, and Landau (2006) shows that verb doubling in Hebrew results in an infinitive. Thus it is not surprising that in LA, different pronouns are doubled by a morpheme that normally represents a less-marked option. We implement this analysis using Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz (1993)), which posits that syntactic nodes are assigned their morpho-phonological form post-syntactically, based on a list of language-specific Vocabulary Insertion (VI) rules. The VI rules in (22) below can describe R-pronouns and their doubling in LA. For concreteness these VI rules make explicit reference to a feature that distinguishes R-pronouns (‘RPRN’). This is stipulative, but it is necessary to distinguish R-pronouns and usual pronouns/DPs in some way.

- (22) *VI rules for R-pronouns and doubling in LA*
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. [RPRN, 3SG, PROXIMAL] ↔ do (‘this/here’) | c. [RPRN, 3SG, WH] ↔ wo (‘what/where’) |
| b. [RPRN, 3SG, DISTAL] ↔ döt (‘that/there’) | d. [RPRN, 3SG] ↔ de (‘it’) |

In this set of rules, all R-pronoun forms are specified for the features [RPRN, 3SG], though *do*, *döt*, and *wo* have additional features as well, while *de* does not (22d). This makes concrete the intuition that the R-pronoun *de*, which means ‘it’, is relatively un-marked and under-specified.

The *Subset Principle* of Distributed Morphology requires a syntactic head to be realized by the VI rule that matches as many of its features as possible. Thus, while *de* matches a subset of the features of all R-pronouns, the more specific VI rules for the forms *do*, *döt*, and *wo* must usually be used when applicable. To analyze doubling by *de*, we adopt the copy theory of movement (Chomsky (1995), Nunes (2004), and van Urk (2018)), for which movement leaves behind not traces, but full-fledged syntactic copies, which are usually silent. We propose that when an R-pronoun moves, its lower copy can be realized as *de* via the VI rule in (22d), since this rule fits a subset of the features that all R-pronouns bear:

- (23) *Doubling via pronunciation of lower copy of R-pronoun*



Since pronounced lower copies tend to be realized with less specific morphology (Landau (2006) and van Urk (2018)), pronunciation of an R-pronoun’s lower copy in LA is achieved by the most general VI rule available (22d), rather than any of the more specific rules used to realize the highest copy (22a-c.)

5. The distribution of doubling: Spec-PP only

If movement must successive-cyclically pass through the edge of a phase, and if CP is a phase as is widely argued, we would expect examples that move an R-pronoun from an embedded CP to allow

pronunciation of the R-pronoun's intermediate trace in spec-CP. However, this is not possible, as (24) below shows. In this example we see that cross-clausal extraction of an R-pronoun from PP is possible, but that leaving behind an instance of *de* in a position corresponding to spec-CP is ungrammatical:

- (24) Do₁ heasch du gseit [t₁(***de**) dass i [t₁ de-vo iass]
 RPRN have you said DBL that I DBL-of eat
 'You said that I eat (some) of this' (*R-pronoun extraction, but no doubling in spec-CP*)

We might suspect that this is due to a Doubly Filled Comp Filter violation (Chomsky & Lasnik (1977)), since (24) has an overt complementizer. However, Alemannic German does not have the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (as noted by Bayer (2015)), so such an explanation is not feasible:

- (25) Du heasch gfrogat [**wo** **dass** i iass]
 You have asked where that I eat
 'You asked where I eat' (*No Doubly Filled Comp Filter in LA*)

In summary, doubling only occurs in spec-PP. This observation is supported by the lack of doubling in spec-CP or spec-pP as discussed above. Thus we hypothesize that in LA, but not standard German, there is a requirement for spec-PP to be filled by overt material. This converges with the proposal in works such as Richards (2016) and van Urk (2018) that certain syntactic positions are sometimes required to be filled with phonological content. We hypothesize that such a requirement for spec-PP in LA forces pronunciation of an R-pronoun's copy in spec-PP at the post-syntactic morpho-phonological stage of the derivation. This analysis facilitates the further proposal that the syntax of R-pronouns and PPs is identical for LA and standard German, but that a morpho-phonological difference yields R-pronoun doubling in only the former. Additionally, we only find doubling in spec-PP because this is the only phrase to which this phonological requirement applies.⁷ This analysis aligns with the proposal in works like Fanselow & Ćavar (2002), Landau (2006), and van Urk (2018) that lower copy pronunciation is only permitted when morpho-phonologically motivated.⁸ Ideally, the phonological motivation relevant to doubling in LA could be explained in terms of something independent about LA grammar. We leave this issue for future research.

6. Conclusion

We have argued that doubling of R-pronouns in PP in LA arises due to movement of the R-pronoun from PP to spec-pP, with its lowest copy pronounced (using the least-specific applicable morpheme) to satisfy a phonological requirement that spec-PP be overtly filled.⁹ This analysis aligns with previous work on doubling as lower copy pronunciation, as well as on the structure of prepositional phrases. See Diem (To appear) for the examination of an analogous doubling phenomenon elsewhere in Alemannic grammar.¹⁰

⁷ This 'phonological EPP' would be violated in LA examples like (9a) where there is a DP in the complement of PP, which cannot move through or cause doubling in spec-PP. Similarly, van Urk (2018) argues that a phonological EPP requirement in Dinka Bor motivates pronouncing lower copies of movement through spec-vP, but only ever for plural nominals, not singular ones. It thus appears that effects of this sort are not absolute in any case.

⁸ Though we assumed that R-pronouns are born in spec-PP, in section 3 (and footnote 3), we mentioned Abels' proposal that R-pronouns are merged below PP but that another phrase intervenes between the R-pronoun and PP, allowing the R-pronoun to reach spec-PP and move onward. What we have said in the present section would also allow us to adopt Abel's view: Whether or not R-pronouns originate below PP, we would only ever see doubling in spec-PP if this is motivated by a morpho-phonological requirement of spec-PP in particular.

⁹ Hein & Barnickel (1990) analyze similar facts in Swabian German and also pursue a type of doubling analysis, though under different theoretic assumptions. We leave comparison between our analysis and theirs to other work.

¹⁰ There is another R-pronoun doubling construction in LA that we have not discussed. Specifically, R-pronouns that are not in PPs can be doubled when focused:

- (i) Min hus isch [**do/döüt**]-**de**
 my house is here/there-DBL
 'My house is HERE/THERE'

Doubling of R-pronouns in PP environments is completely obligatory with or without focus, unlike these PP-less

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examples. Moreover, doubling of *wo* for focus is impossible (ii), but its doubling is obligatory in PPs (21d-e).

- (ii) **Wo**₁-(*)**de** isch min hus t₁?
 where-DBL is my house
 ‘Where is my house?’

We therefore assume examples like (i) to be unrelated to the doubling that we have analyzed.

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