

August 10, 2007

Handout 5

**Where is *there* from ?**

- Comparison of Dutch and German “R-pronouns”
  - evidence for syntactic decomposition
  - bears on pronunciation of morphemes, i.e. on PF interface issues
- What is *dr-* ?

**Prepositions versus postpositions: German and Dutch**

Non-pronominal DPs and non R-pronouns ([+HUMAN]): P &gt; DP

- (1) a. Sie sitzt in dieser Kiste  
she sits in this<sub>DAT</sub> box  
b. \*Sie sitzt dieser Kiste in.

- (2) a. Sie sitzt auf ihm.  
she sits on him<sub>DAT</sub>  
b. \*Sie sitzt ihm auf.

- [-HUMAN] objects of prepositions: DP<sub>R-pro</sub> > P

**Dutch R-pronouns:**

- (3) a. op hem ‘on him’  
b. \*op het ‘on it’ [-HUMAN]  
c. \*op er ‘on there’  
d. er op ‘there on’

- (4) a. op die ‘on him’  
b. \*op dat ‘on it’ [-HUMAN]  
c. \*op daar ‘on there’  
d. daar op ‘there on’

- (5) a. op wie ‘on whom’  
b. \*op wat ‘on what’ [-HUMAN]  
c. \*op waar ‘on where’  
d. waar op ‘where on’

- van Riemsdijk 1978: “R-movement”

- (6) er / daar waar hier ... (Dutch)  
there where here

**P-stranding:** \* with non-R DPs → (7)  
√ with R-pronouns → (8)

- (7) \***Welke tafel** heb je dat boekje **op** gelegd  
Which table have you that book on put  
‘Which table did you put the book on?’

- (8) a. Ik heb **er** dat boek **op** gelegd  
I have there that book on put  
'I have put that book on it.'
- b. **Waar** heb jij dat boekje **op** gelegd  
Where have you that book on put  
'What did you put that book on?'

- van Riemsdijk (1978), Koopman (1997):  
Postpositional word order correlates with stranding → movement to Spec (escape hatch)

- (9) a. [<sub>PlaceP</sub> er [ Place [<sub>PP</sub> Spec P [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> e] ]]]] (Koopman 1997)  
b. er/daar/waar .... [<sub>PlaceP</sub> t<sub>DP</sub> [ Place [<sub>PP</sub> Spec P [<sub>AgRP</sub> t<sub>DP</sub> ]]]]

- Proposal:** i) R-pronouns are generated higher than the lexical adposition → postpositional order  
ii) "P-stranding" is really "R-pronoun stranding" by PP, with subsequent remnant movement  
iii) The "R" of R-pronouns realises a separate syntactic head ...  
iv) The vowel and the *d-/w-*, respectively, realise a separate syntactic head (Kayne 2005)

## 2. German "R-pronouns"

- (10) da wo hier ...  
there where here

### Spot the R

- (11) a. auf ihm 'on him'  
b. \*auf es 'on it' [-HUMAN]  
c. \*auf da 'on there'  
d. darauf 'thereon'
- (12) a. auf wem 'on whom'  
b. \* auf was 'on what' [-HUMAN]  
e. \* auf wo 'on where'  
f. worauf 'where on'
- (13) a. Da(\*r) ist er \*(r)über gesprungen. (CG, directional PP)  
there AUX he R-over jumped  
'There he jumped over.'  
b. Wo(\*r) ist er \*(r)über gesprungen? (CG, directional PP)  
where AUX he R-over jumped  
'Where did he jump over?'

- 'r' expresses a morpheme independent of the pronominal part, morphologically oriented
  - leftward to the locative vowel in Dutch (& English, cf. Kayne 2005b on *there/where/here*)
  - rightward in German
- German 'r' is sensitive to phonological properties of adposition: 'r' is pronounced iff the adposition needs an onset, i.e. is vowel initial:<sup>1</sup>

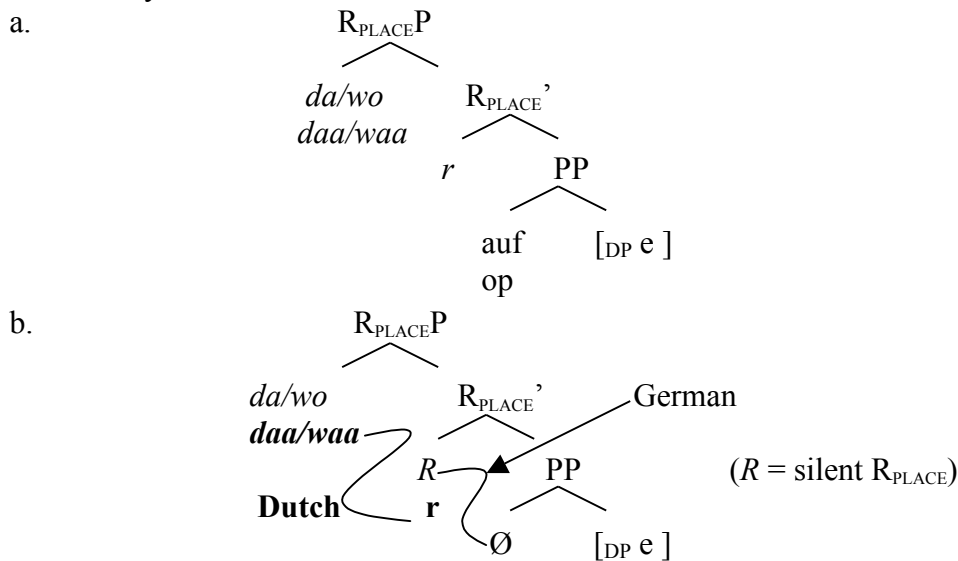
<sup>1</sup> Exception is *entlang* 'along': *da* (\*r) *entlang*. *Entlang*, however, lives in a different place than the adpositions above.

- (14) a. da-\*(r)-in, da-\*(r)-auf, da-\*(r)-unter, da-\*(r)-über, da\*(r)an, da\*(r)um, ...  
           in           on           under           over                   around
- b. da-\*(r)-hinter, da-\*(r)-zwischen, da-\*(r)-durch, ....  
           behind           between           through

(15) **Preliminary Hypothesis**

- i. 'r' = realizes a syntactic head → R<sub>PLACE</sub>
- ii. German R<sub>PLACE</sub> pronounced iff adposition is pronounced & vowel initial
- iii. Dutch R<sub>PLACE</sub> pronounced iff Spec,R<sub>PLACE</sub> is pronounced
- iv. German vs. Dutch phonology accounts for this difference (e.g. German requires onsets)

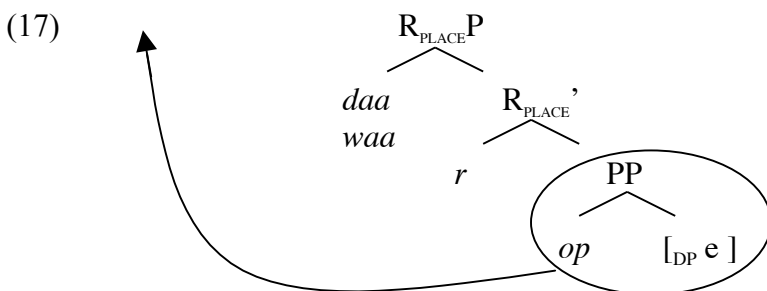
(16) Preliminary structures



**3. The problem of P-stranding**

**Dutch problem:** how is P-stranding possible? → *daa/waa* + 'r' are not a constituent

**Solution:** Move PP-movement, subsequent remnant R<sub>PLACE</sub> P-movement



**German:** P-stranding is impossible → holds for Formal German

- (18) a. \*Wo stand sie (r)auf?  
           where stood it (R)-on
- b. \*Da sitzt er rauf.  
           there sits he DR-on

**Colloquial German "P-stranding":** *wo/da* .... **d**-r-auf

- (19) a. Da sitzt er **drauf**. (CG)  
           there sits he DR-on

- b. Wo stand sie **drauf**? (CG)  
where stood it DR-on

- ‘d’ is pronounced twice in CG – (i) as onset of locative pronoun, (ii) as onset of postposition

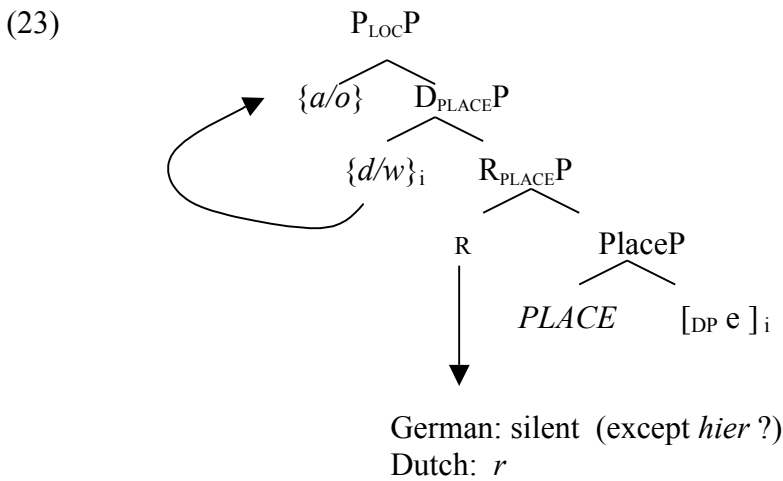
- (20) a. Sie steht **da**drauf.  
she stands there-DR-on
- b. Sie hat **da**drin geschlafen.  
she has there-DR-in slept

- ‘d’ lives independently from “da”
- Stranding of *dr*-adposition by *da/wo* results from same derivation as the following examples:

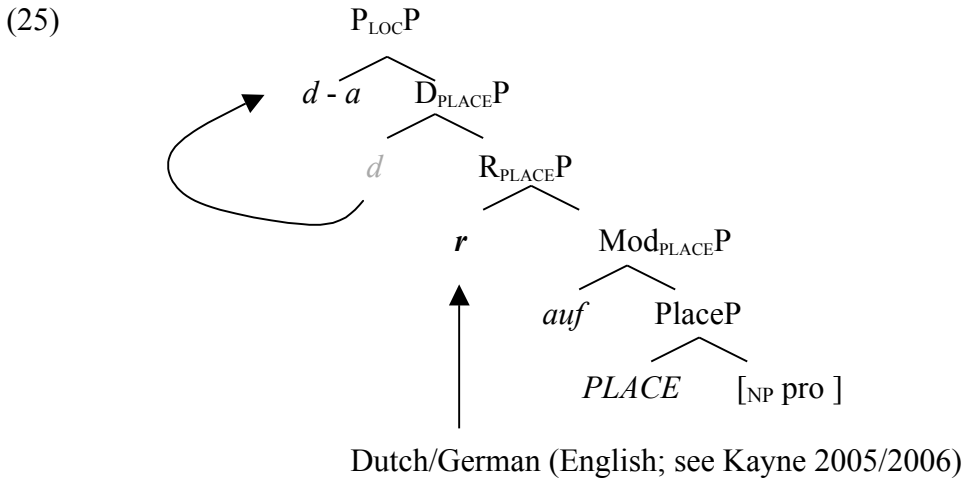
- (21) a. Auf dem Tisch stand sie **drauf**.  
on the table stood she DR-on
- b. Auf dem Tisch **drauf** will er stehen.  
on the table DR-on wants he stand

4. Decomposing the locative pronoun (Cf. Katz and Postal 1964)

- (22) i. **d-/w-** : D<sub>PLACE</sub> licenses an associate [NP pro ] (cf. Sportiche 1996)
- ii. **-a/-o** : P<sub>LOC</sub>
- iii. **r-** : R<sub>PLACE</sub> (a deictic head)
- iv. **-PLACE** : a silent noun
- Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>** : pronounced place adposition → modifier of PLACE (Terzi 2006; Botwinik-Rotem 2006; Pantcheva 2006)
- v. Locational PPs: P<sub>LOC</sub> > D<sub>PLACE</sub> > R<sub>PLACE</sub> > (Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>) > PLACE > NP (*pro*)



- (24) [<sub>PLOC</sub> **d<sub>i</sub>-a** [<sub>DPLACE</sub> [NP *pro*<sub>i</sub>] **d<sub>i</sub>** [<sub>RPLACE</sub> R [<sub>PlaceP</sub> PLACE [NP *pro*<sub>i</sub>]]]]]]



(26) [PLOC **d<sub>i</sub>-a** [DPLACE **d<sub>i</sub>** [RPLACE **r** [ModPlaceP **auf** [PlaceP PLACE [NP *pro<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]]]

- (27) a. German *d-*: der, die, das, dieser, .... da  
 b. English *th-*: the, this, that, there  
 (c. French *l-*: le, la, là)

(28) English *there* and *thereon* (cf. Kayne 2005/2006):  
 [PLOC **th<sub>i</sub> e** [DPLACE [NP *pro<sub>i</sub>* ] **th<sub>i</sub>** [RPLACE **r** [ModPlaceP **on** [PlaceP PLACE/THING [NP *pro<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]]]

(29) Aside conjecture about French *là* and *là dedans*:  
 [PLOC **l<sub>i</sub>-à** [DPLACE **l<sub>i</sub>** [RPLACE **de** [ModPlaceP **dans** [PlaceP PLACE [NP *pro<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]]]

**5. Back to stranding**

(30) Dutch: Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P moves :  
 a. [Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P *op pro* ] ... [PLOC **d-aa** [DPLACE **d** [RPLACE **r** **t<sub>ModPlaceP</sub>** ]]]] remnant (= R-pronoun)  
 on there  
 b. [PLOC **d-aa** [DPLACE **d** [RPLACE **r** **t<sub>ModPlaceP</sub>** ]]] ... [Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P *op pro* ] ... t<sub>PLOC</sub>

(31) German: D<sub>PLACE</sub>P moves :  
 a. [D<sub>PLACE</sub> **d** [R<sub>PLACE</sub> **r** [Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P **auf t<sub>pro</sub>** ] ] ... [PLOC **d-a** **t<sub>DPLACE</sub>** ] remnant  
 b. [PLOC **d-a** **t<sub>DPLACE</sub>** ] ... [D<sub>PLACE</sub> **d** [R<sub>PLACE</sub> **r** [Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P **auf pro** ] ] ... t<sub>PLOC</sub>

**Support for the remnant *da*-stranding approach to “P-stranding”**

- (32) a. Ich frage mich ob er \_\_\_ schon oft \_\_\_ hat \* \_\_\_ sitzen wollen. ‘ \_\_\_ ’ = auf diesem Tisch  
I wonder if he \_\_\_ often \_\_\_ has \_\_\_ sit want on the table
- b. Ich frage mich ob er \_\_\_ schon oft \_\_\_ hat (?) \_\_\_ sitzen wollen. ‘ \_\_\_ ’ = darauf  
I wonder if he \_\_\_ often \_\_\_ has \_\_\_ sit want thereon
- c. Ich frage mich ob er **da** schon oft \* \_\_\_ hat \_\_\_ sitzen wollen. \_\_\_ = drauf  
I wonder if he **there** often \* \_\_\_ has \_\_\_ sit want DR-on
- d. Ich frage mich **wo** er \* \_\_\_ schon oft \* \_\_\_ hat \_\_\_ sitzen wollen. \_\_\_ = drauf  
I wonder **where** he \* \_\_\_ often \* \_\_\_ has \_\_\_ sit want DR-on

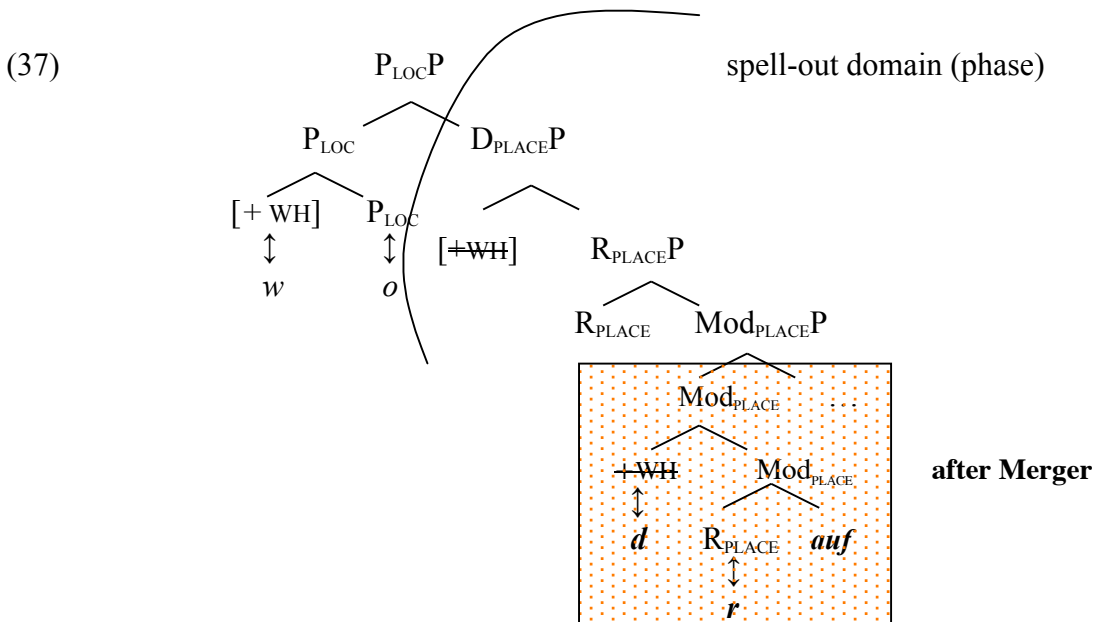
→ suggests that *d-r*-P ( $D_{PLACE}$ P) “incorporate” to the verbal complex

**6. CG double pronunciation of *d-* ( $D_{PLACE}$ )**

- (33) Conflicting syntactic and morphophonological requirements of *d-*
  - $D_{PLACE}$  *d-* moves to  $P_{LOC}$
  - morphologically undergoes Merger with *r-* & adposition.
- (34) [ $P_{LOC}$  ***d***<sub>*i*</sub>-***a*** [ $D_{PLACE}$  ***d***<sub>*i*</sub> [ $R_{PLACE}$  ***r*** [ $Mod_{PLACE}P$  ***in*** [ $PlaceP$   $PLACE$  [ $NP$  *pro*<sub>*i*</sub> ]]]]]]
- (35) a. **da(...)**drauf  
b. **wo(...)**drauf  
c. **hier(...)**drauf
- (36) ‘*d*’: “resumptive”  $D_{PLACE}$  → inserts the least specified

**German  $D_{PLACE}$**

- h-* ↔ [+PROX ]
- w-* ↔ [+WH/-DEF]
- d-* ↔ elsewhere



**Dutch D<sub>PLACE</sub>**

<i>h-</i>	↔ [ +PROX ]	( <i>hier</i> )
<i>w-</i>	↔ [ +WH ]	( <i>waar</i> )
<i>d-</i>	↔ [ +DEM ]	( <i>daar</i> )
∅	↔ elsewhere	( <i>er</i> )

**7. “Shadow”-construction in Colloquial German (Noonan 2005a)**

- (38) a. Mein Kater sitzt **auf** dem Tisch **drauf**.  
 my cat sits on the table d-r-on ‘My cat sits on top of the table’
- b. Die Emma sitzt **in** der Kiste **drin**.  
 Emma sits in the box d-r-in ‘Emma is sitting inside the box.’
- c. Das Kaugummi klebt **an** der Wand **dran**.  
 the chewing gum sticks on the wall d-r-on
- d. Das Kaugummi klebt **unter** dem Schrank **drunter**.  
 the chewing gum sticks under the wardrobe d-r-under

- Observations:**
- No *pro* associate of *d-* (full DP)
  - d-* exists independently of locative vowel *-a*
  - d-r-P* (“shadow”) can move → example (39)
  - Semantic restriction : impose a specific spatial interpretation → (40b)/(41)

- (39) a. ... weil er **in der Kiste** hat **drin** sitzen wollen.  
 ... because he **in the box** has DR-**in** sit wanted

- b. **In der Kiste** hat er immer **drin** gegessen.  
**in the box** has he always D-R-**in** sit

- (40) a. Er hängt an dem Tisch.  
 he hangs on the<sub>DAT</sub> table
- idiomatic:** He is attached to the table.
  - spatial:** He is hanging on/off the table.

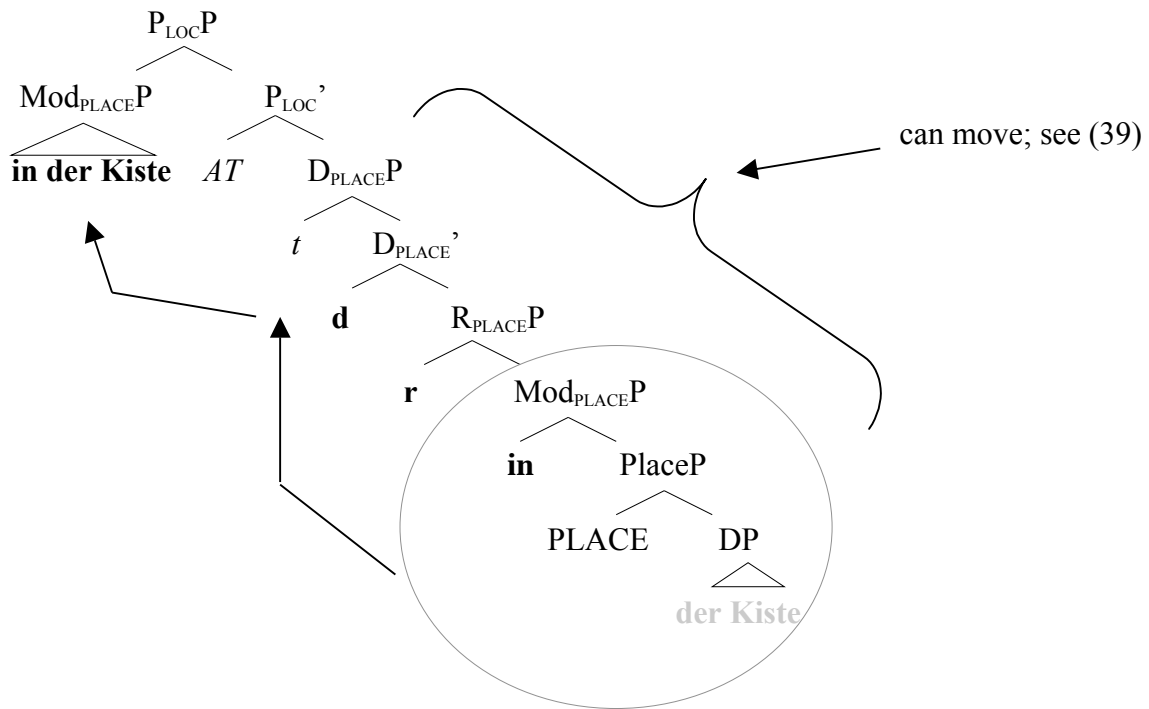
- b. Er hängt an dem Tisch **dran**. → (ii) – spatial only!  
 he hangs on the<sub>DAT</sub> table D-R-on

- (41) Ich bin in Leipzig (\***drin**).  
 I am in Leipzig (\*DR-**in**)

**(42) Analysis**

- Object of P = possessor of PLACE (*on the table* = AT the table’s TOP)
- Mod<sub>PLACE</sub>P moves to SpecP<sub>LOC</sub>; P<sub>LOC</sub> is silent (AT)
- Mvt through Spec, D<sub>PLACE</sub> → interpretive property (associate of *d* = modified PLACE)
- Mod<sub>PLACE</sub> (*in, auf, ...*) does not delete (affix filter) → double pronunciation of adposition

(43) *in der kiste dr-in* (in the<sub>dat</sub> box DR-in)



**8. Conclusion**

- A comparison of Dutch & German R-pronouns provides evidence for syntactic decomposition of the locative pronoun.
- Difference between German *da* and Dutch *daar* and their stranding patterns: morphophonological differences between the two languages.
- PPs involves large structures involving a number of functional categories that define the locus where locative pronouns originate.

**References for all five handouts posted on the web under a separate file ‘References’.**

☺ the end (for now) ☺