
Reconsidering the (non-)splittability of R-pronouns German. Insights from dialectal variation

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Background & Summary: This contribution reanalyzes R-pronouns and their lexical counterpart in German and associated dialects which are extractable from their hosting PP. The talk combines recent empirical data with theoretical considerations. The first part of the talk will present the results of a sociolinguistic analysis of R-pronouns from the DFG project “Die Stadtsprache Hannovers” (Conrad, in press) – and thus spoken language data from a city that is associated beyond Germany with the “best” High German (Ehrlich & Conrad 2021). The results show that the variation in R-pronouns in Hanover is individually and sociolinguistically diverse, with split and non-split variants standing side by side. Following i.a. Koopman (2000), Den Dikken (2010), and Griffiths et al (2021), and based on this empirical data from Hanover, the second part of the talk argues PPs involving R-pronouns to be selected by Place (cf. Kayne 2004), though not necessarily with the locative meaning. R-pronouns are arguments of P, so they start out just as NP-complements do, cf. 1):

1) [_{PlaceP} Place [_{PP} P=mit { [_{AdvP} da]/[_{NP} was}]]

We amend the analysis by Griffiths et al (2021) in taking R-pronouns to be AdvPs rather than DPs and liken AdvPs to PPs. The empirical motivation comes from the observation that German complex adpositional phrases as presented in the first part of the talk can separate the locational and the directional component (Van Riemsdijk 1990; Noonan 2015). The former is realized by a conventional PP preceding a directional complex postposition with a deictic morpheme (like *hin-*) attached, cf. 2).

2) auf das Dach hinauf (on the roof *hin-on*)

The talk thus combines firm sociolinguistic empirical data from a linguistically prominent German city to model and discuss theoretical aspects of the (non-)splittability of R-pronouns in synchronous High German.

References: Conrad, F. (in press). Da hätte ich gerne noch eine Aufklärung drüber. Eine quantitative Analyse von Form und Funktion der Pronominaladverbien in Hannover. In: *Syntax aus Saarbrücker Sicht* 9 (ZDL, Beihefte). • Ehrlich, S. & Conrad, F. (2021). Das reinste Deutsch wird in Hannover gesprochen. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Umfrage zu einem linguistischen Mythos. *Muttersprache* 131(3), 61–74. • Griffiths, J. et al (2021). Dutch preposition stranding and ellipsis: ‘Merchant’s Wrinkle’ ironed out, *JCGLing* 24(3), 269–318. • Koopman, H. (2000). Prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions, and particles. The structure of Dutch PPs. In H. Koopman (ed.), *The Syntax of Specifiers and Heads. Collected Essays of Hilda Koopman*. London: Routledge, 204–260.