TINA BÖGEL
Department of Linguistics,
University of Konstanz
(Tina.Boegel@uni-konstanz.de)

Swabian pronominal variation

Introduction

In contrast to standard German, Swabian has three versions of the first person singular nominative (1SgNom) pronoun:

1. [i:],
2. [ə],
3. Ø (pronoun drop).

While the distribution of [i:] and [ə] is determined by focus and the position in the intonational phrase, the pronoun drop is solely restricted by postlexical phonological constraints.

The sntax-prosody interface developed in Bögel (2015) allows for various types of clitics (Pashto and Degema endoclisis, second position clitics) but also for phenomena like prosodically resolved syntactic ambiguities to be analysed. This model accounts naturally for Swabian clitics.

1. Distribution [ə] and [i:]

(1) jɛtst kɔx=**ə** ɛbəs vo: blo:s **i:** kɛn
Now cook.1SG.PRS=1SG.NOM something of.which just SG.NOM know.1SG.PRS
'Now I will cook something of which just I know.'

Focus constraints

→ Distribution between [ə] and [i:] is determined by focus:

(2) Who is cooking? jɛtst kɔx **i:**/*ə
Now cook.1SG.PRS 1SG.NOM
'I'm cooking right now.'

⇒ Reference to information structure and focus is part of the pronoun's lexical entry

Lexical entry (LFG)

S(YNTACTIC)-FORM		P(HONOLOGICAL)-FORM	
i PRON	(↑ PRED) = 'pro'		
	...		
	{(FOCUS ↑$_i$)	SEGMENTS	/i:/
		METR. FRAME	$('\sigma)_\omega$
		- - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - -
	|¬(FOCUS ↑$_i$)}	SEGMENTS	/ə/
		METR. FRAME	$=\sigma$

Prosodic constraints

→ [ə] cannot be first in the intontational phrase

(3) a. ($_\iota$ i:/*=**ə** kɛn də fi:lɪp)$_\iota$
1SG.NOM know.1SG.PRS the.ACC Philip
'I know Philip.'

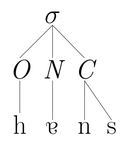
b. ($_\iota$ das i:/=**ə** də fi:lɪp kɛn)$_\iota$
that 1SG.NOM the.ACC Philip know
'... that I know Philip.'

2. Postlexical optional pronoun drop

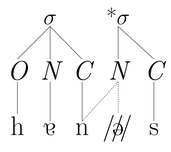
- The corresponding overt form must be the enclitic [ə]
- The pronoun must be part of a clitic cluster
- A valid syllable structure must be preserved

Preservation of syllable structure

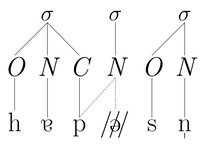
(4) i: hɐn=s ufgmaxt
1SG.NOM have.1SG.PRS=3SG.N.ACC open.PRF
'I opened it.'



(5) *gɛʃtɐn hɐn=**Ø**=s ufgmaxt
Yesterday have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)=3SG.N.ACC open.PRF
'Yesterday, (I) opened it.'



(6) hap=**Ø**=s=n ufgmaxt?
have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)=3SG.N.ACC=then open.PRF
'Did (I) open it?'



→ Syllable structure does not seem to be able to repair itself once the pronoun drop has occurred

⇒ Syllabification before pronoun drop?

Clitic cluster phrasing

Question: Is there a particular way the clitics are phrased together with the host (cf. Selkirk 1995)?

Evidence: From the postlexical process of *n-insertion*:

n-insertion in Swabian

- Optional process to avoid vowel hiatus: V-**n**-V
- *n-insertion* is ungrammatical between two prosodic words:

(7) * vo:)$_\omega$ **n-** $_\omega$(ʔe:fa: vo:nt
where n-Eva.3SG.F.NOM live.3SG.PRS
'... where Eva lives.'

- *n-insertion* is ungrammatical between two clitics:

(8) *vo:=ə=**n-**əm kʰɔlfɐ han
where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS
'... where I helped him. '

- Only applies if a vowel-final **host** is followed by a vowel-initial **clitic**:

(9) vaɪʃ du: vo:=(**n-**)ə=sə nɔ̃: han
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where=1SG.NOM=3SG.F.ACC there have.1SG.PRS
'Do you know where I put her?'

⇒ The only phrasing option that can account for the data is the nested prosodic word:

$$(_\omega(_\omega \textbf{ host })_\omega \textbf{ =(n-)cl =cl })_\omega$$

n-insertion and pronoun drop

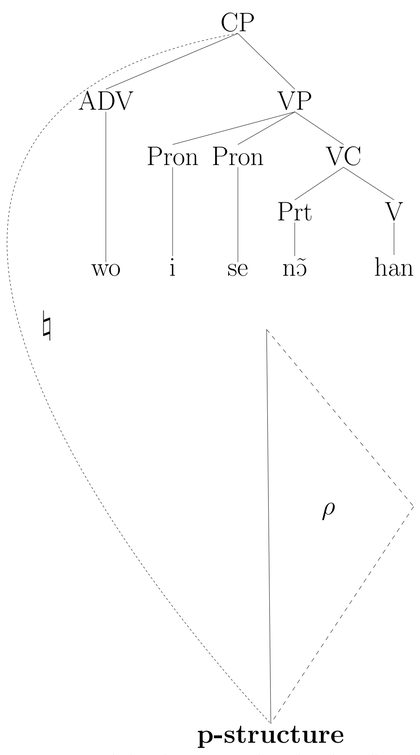
Interestingly, *n-insertion* can occur before the 'second' clitic in the cluster if the pronoun (the 'first' clitic) has been dropped.

(10) vo:=Ø=(**n-**)əm kʰɔlfɐ han
where=1SG.NOM=n-3SG.M.DAT help.PRF have.1SG.PRS
'... where (I) helped him. '

⇒ *n-insertion* occurs after the pronoun drop

Clitic cluster analysis at the syntax-prosody interface

- (Simplified) syntax–prosody interface as developed in Bögel (2015)
- ♮ transfers information on syntactic structuring to p-structure (here: Selkirk (2011)'s *match theory*, where every CP corresponds to an intonational phrase.)
- ρ transfers information from syntax to p-structure via the lexicon, i.e., ρ accesses the syntactic form and retrieves the corresponding phonological form



Syntax (ex. (9))

Lexicon

S-FORM	P-FORM	
wo	SEGMENTS	/v o:/
	MET. FRAME	$('\sigma)_\omega$
i	SEGMENTS	/ə/
¬(FOCUS ↑$_i$)	MET. FRAME	$=\sigma$
sie	SEGMENTS	/s ə/
	MET. FRAME	$=\sigma$
nɔ̃	SEGMENTS	/n ɔ̃: /
	MET. FRAME	$('\sigma)_\omega$

p-structure
($_\iota$(vo:)$_\omega$=ə=sə)$_\omega$ (nɔ̃:)$_\omega$ (han)$_\omega$)$_\iota$

1: phrasing: ω_i =(?+)$^n_\alpha$ ⟶ ($_\omega$ ω_i (?+)$^n_\alpha$)$_\omega$

2: pronoun drop: (ə ⟶ Ø) /)$_\omega$($_\sigma$ _)$_\sigma$ σ+)$_\omega$

3: *n-insertion*: (Ø→ [n]) / ($_\omega$($_\omega$?* V)$_\omega$ ($_\sigma$ _ V ...)$_\omega$

} **Postlexical phonology**

vo:=ə=sə **vo:=sə** **vo:=n-ə=sə**

} **Output**

Conclusion

Swabian pronominal variation can be naturally analysed in LFG's modular framework. While the distribution of [i:] and [ə] is determined by focus and the position in the intonational phrase, the pronoun drop is solely restricted by postlexical phonological constraints: the to-be-dropped clitic must be part of a clitic cluster and a valid syllable structure must be preserved. The host and the clitics are phrased in a nested prosodic word structure. Evidence for this comes from a further postlexical phonological process: *n-insertion*.

References:

- Bögel, Tina. 2015. *The Syntax–Prosody Interface in Lexical Functional Grammar*. Ph.D.thesis, University of Konstanz.
- Bohnacker, Ute. 2013. Null subjects in Swabian. *Studia Linguistica* 67(3), 257–289.
- Bresnan, Joan and Kaplan, Ronald M. 1982. Lexical-Functional Grammar: A Formal System for Grammatical Representation. In J. Bresnan (ed.), *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, pages 173–281, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth O. 2011. The syntax-phonology interface. In J. Goldsmith, J. Riggle and A. C. L. Yu (eds.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*, pages 435–484,Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth O. 1995. The prosodic structure of function words. In J. N. Beckmann, L. W. Dickey and S. Urbanczyk (eds.), *Papers in Optimality Theory*, University of Massachusetts: Department of Linguistics.