

Words (?) without Vowel in Upper High German Dialects

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1. THE WORDS (?), OR RATHER WORD (?) FORMS, WITHOUT VOWEL

(other than *mhm*, *tsk* [], *Wrtlprmpft*, ...):

NB: these (given in bold) are **obligatorily** non-syllabic in particular syntactic contexts; they are not reduced casual-speech variants of full forms which would be equally possible in the syntactic context at issue (as are the more numerous non-bold forms without vowel).

(BavHG = Bavarian High German; SwHG = Swiss High German; StHG = Standard High German)

BavHG		SwHG	StHG
<i>te/t</i>	definite article, FEM.SG.NOM/ACC and PL.NOM/ACC	<i>ti/tt</i>	<i>die</i>
<i>(ə)s</i>	definite article, NEUT.SG.NOM/ACC	<i>s</i>	<i>das</i>
<i>(ə)n</i>	definite article, MASC.SG.ACC/DAT and NEUT.SG.DAT	<i>də(r), əm</i>	<i>den, dem</i>
<i>(ə)n</i>	indefinite article, MASC/NEUT.SG.DAT with further variants <i>(ə)m, ənə, ərəm</i>	<i>əm(ənə)</i>	<i>einem</i>
<i>(e)s</i>	personal pronoun, 3SG.NEUT.NOM/ACC	<i>(e)s</i>	<i>es</i>
<i>(e)s</i>	personal pronoun, 2PL.NOM (< DUAL)	—	<i>es</i>
<i>s(i)</i>	personal pronoun, 3SG.FEM.NOM/ACC and 3PL.NOM/ACC and 2SG/PL.FORMAL.NOM	<i>s(i)</i>	<i>sie</i>
<i>(eə)m</i>	personal pronoun, 3SG.MASC.ACC/DAT	<i>ə(n), əm</i>	<i>ihn, ihm</i>
<i>t(u)</i>	personal pronoun, 2SG.NOM	<i>t(u)</i>	<i>du</i>
<i>tsun/ts</i>	infinitive marker, Engl <i>to</i>	<i>tsum/ts</i>	<i>zu, zum</i>
<i>tsu/ts</i>	degree adverb, Engl. <i>too</i>	<i>tsu/ts</i>	<i>zu [tsu, tsu, tsə]</i>
<i>tsu/ts</i>	local/temporal preposition, Engl. <i>to</i> , meaning of <i>at</i>	<i>tsu/ts</i>	<i>zu [tsu, tsu, tsə]</i>
<i>(tsu)v</i>	predicative adjective, ‘closed’	<i>tsu</i>	<i>zu [tsu:]</i>

Compare two **prefixes** (derivational, inflectional) without vowel:

<i>p-</i>	transitivized, perfectivized verbs	<i>p-</i>	<i>be-</i>
<i>k-/Ø-</i>	resultative participle	<i>k-</i>	<i>ge-</i>
<i>k(e)-</i>	collective nouns from nouns / from verbs	<i>k(e)-</i>	<i>ge-</i>

2. ORIGINS AND PROGRESS OF GERMANIC DEFINITENESS MARKING

2.1. Origins

- (i) (distal?) demonstrative stem **on-/en-*, inflected pronominally (for gender, number, case) > “weak” declension of **adjectives** (also nominalization of A) [similar to areal neighbour Baltic]
- (ii) (distal?) demonstrative stems, inflected pronominally (for gender, number, case):
 - (a) **s-/t-* (MASC&FEM/NEUT, but levelled early in favour of *t-*)
 - (b) **j-*
 - (c) **h-*

demonstrative > primarily c-definite (pragmatic def), then extended to w-definite (semantic def); primarily used in NPs with **adjective**: N [DEF A] > [N DEF] A, DEF A N, then extended to A-less NPs: N=DEF, DEF N

2.2. Fate of these demonstratives: the old story of “weakening” (grammaticalization), but sometimes with a new ending (re-semanticization of alternants)

- **meaning:** (distal) DEM > DEF
 - ((i) > syn-context-dependent Adj-infl; (ii) > NP-marker?)
- **use:** optional > obligatory in all (def, including generic) NPs
- **binding:** variably en- or pro-clitic > invariably suffix
 - (or also prefix like SwHG *tt*, possibly BavHG *t* or YorkshE *th*?)
- **form:** prosodic attenuation, segmental reduction (see §2.3 below), yielding syllabic and non-syllabic alternants
- **distribution:**
 - by register: lento, careful (syll) vs. allegro, casual (non-syll);
 - **phonologically**, e.g. in (British) English dialects (why not Standard too?):
 - before consonant, before vowel;
 - (with the non-syllabic form generalized, as in Yorkshire English, *th'book*)

- **syntactically** in Swiss German (owing to reanalysis of clitic as prefix):

before noun (non-syll), elsewhere (syll):

(i) CV-form /ti/ in modifier-noun constructions:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| a) | <i>di</i> | <i>fuul</i> | <i>Frau</i> | ‘the lazy woman’ |
| b) | <i>di</i> | <i>bekánnnt</i> | <i>Frau</i> | ‘the known woman’ |
| c) | <i>di</i> | <i>fúrchbar</i> | <i>fuul</i> | ‘the awfully lazy woman’ |
| d) | <i>di</i> | <i>extrém</i> | <i>fuul</i> | ‘the extremely lazy woman’ |

⇒ phonological make-up, metrical structure, and number of modifiers are all irrelevant

(ii) CV-form /ti/ with nominalized adjective and with adjective plus elided noun:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| a) | <i>di</i> | <i>Fuul</i> | ‘the lazy one’ | |
| b) | <i>di</i> | <i>Bekánnte</i> | ‘the acquaintances’ | |
| c) | <i>di</i> | <i>flússig</i> | <i>Frau und</i> | ‘the industrious woman and |
| | <i>di</i> | <i>fuul</i> | \emptyset | the lazy one’ |

(iii) C-form /tt/ with unmodified nouns:

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| a) | <i>d</i> | <i>Uhr</i> | /tt + u:R/ → [ttu:R] | ‘the watch’ |
| b) | <i>d</i> | <i>Tour</i> | /tt + tt/ → [tt] | ‘the tour’ |
| c) | <i>d</i> | <i>Gárásch</i> | /tt + k/ → [kk] | ‘the garage’ |
| d) | <i>d</i> | <i>Frau</i> | /tt + f/ → [pf] | ‘the woman’ |
| e) | <i>d</i> | <i>Figúr</i> | /tt + f/ → [pf] | ‘the fugure’ |
| f) | <i>d</i> | <i>Pfánne</i> | /tt + pf/ → [pf] | ‘the cooking pot’ |
| g) | <i>d</i> | <i>Medizín</i> | /tt + m/ → [?m] | ‘the medicine’ |
| h) | <i>d</i> | <i>Léitere</i> | /tt + l/ → [tl] | ‘the ladder’ |
| i) | <i>d</i> | <i>Chránkeschwöschter</i> | /tt + x/ → [kx] | ‘the nurse’ |
| j) | <i>d</i> | <i>Dúrtonleitere</i> | /tt + t/ → [tt] | ‘the major scale’ |
| k) | <i>d</i> | <i>Bláumeise</i> | /tt + p/ → [pp] | ‘the tomtits’ |
| l) | <i>d</i> | <i>Súurchriesi</i> | /tt + s/ → [ts] | ‘the sour cherries’ |
| m) | <i>d</i> | <i>Beduïne</i> | /tt + p/ → [pp] | ‘the Beduins’ |

⇒ phonological make-up and metrical structure of the nouns are irrelevant

⇒ The C form is highly selective in terms of the **word class** of the host: it must be a lexical noun or a compound with a noun as its head — which is what is to be expected for affixes, but not for clitics (which are less choosy).

(iv) C-form /tt/ with nouns of town or country of origin in *-er* (sometimes controversially analysed as adjectives):

a)	<i>d Basler</i>	/tt + p/ → [pp]	'the inhabitants of Basel'
b)	<i>d Luzerner</i>	/tt + l/ → [ttl]	'the inhabitants of Luzern'
c)	<i>d Schwiizer</i>	/tt + ſ/ → [tſ]	'the inhabitants of Switzerland'
d)	<i>d Basler Läckerli</i>	/tt + p/ → [pp]	'the little treats of Basel'
e)	<i>d Luzerner Narre</i>	/tt + l/ → [ttl]	'the fools of Luzern'
f)	<i>d Schwiizer Botschaft</i>	/tt + ſ/ → [tſ]	'the embassy of Switzerland'

BUT (when genuinely adjectivalized):

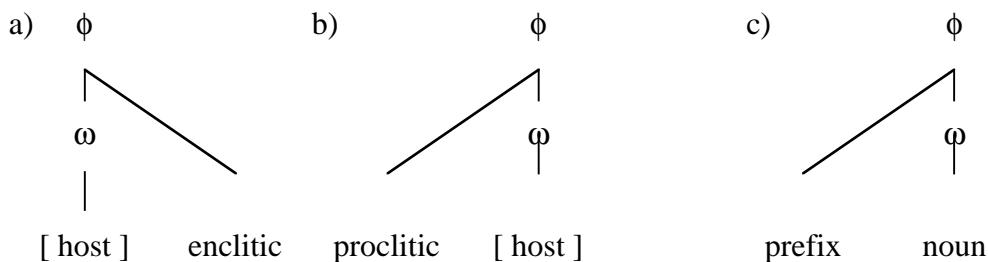
- g) *di schwiizerisch Botschaft* 'the Swiss embassy'

(v) analysis

Syntax: both forms of the determiner belong to the noun phrase of the head noun:

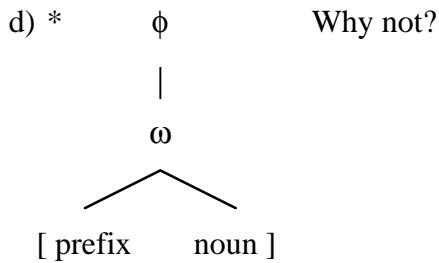
- a) [di fuul Frau]_{NP} [d Frau]_{NP} 'the (lazy) woman'
 b) [[di]_{DET} [[fuul]_{ADJ} [Frau]_{N'}]_{NP}]_{NP} [[[d Frau]_{N'}]_{NP}]_{NP}

Prosody: the clitic /ti/ associates left (a) or right (b), depending on context (with a general preference for **all** clitics of the language to associate left whenever there is a host to their left, and only to associate right if there isn't), while /tt/, being a **prefix**, always associates right (c):



Examples (cf. Lahiri et al. 1990 for Dutch):

- a) *Er chauft di]_φ helle Brötli* 'he buys the lightly baked little breads'
Er chauft immer di]_φ helle Brötli 'he always buys the lightly baked little breads'
_φ[*di helle Brötli chauft er* 'he buys the lightly baked little breads'
- c) *Er chauft φ[d Brötli* 'he buys the little breads'
Er chauft immer φ[d Brötli 'he always buys the little breads'
_φ[*d Brötli chauft er* 'he buys the little breads'



Hall (1999): function words are part of phonological words only iff the resulting form conforms to the phonotactic well-formedness conditions of the language (e.g., proper consonant clusters, existing lexical words with particular sound sequence, etc.)

- **function:** Like North Frisian and Low Franconian (as described for Amern, Eupen, Köln, Mönchengladbach), Bavarian (as described for Salzburg, Altötting, Middle Bav., North Bav. of Egerland) does **not** distribute the C and CV forms of the definite article in terms of word class (before noun, where it is a prefix, vs. elsewhere, where it is a clitic), as Swiss German does (other Alemannic too?), but **semanticizes** the formal contrast, splitting up the single notion of definiteness into two — **pragmatic** (or contextual) definiteness and **semantic** (or world/uniqueness-of-referent) definiteness — and concomitantly splitting up one word into two, both with the status of clitics.

Pragmatic definiteness: c(ontext)-definite

- a) *I hab a Kuah kauft, aber de Kuah gibt koa Milch.*
‘I have bought a cow, but the cow gives no milk’
- b) *Welche Blusn ziagst o, de blaue oder de rote?*
‘Which blouse do you put on, the blue or the red one?’
(among the several colours available)

Semantic definiteness: w(orld)-definite

- c) *Frag d Oma.*
‘Ask Granny!’
- d) *Welche Blusn ziagst o, d blaue oder d rote?*
‘Which blouse do you put on, the blue or the red one?’
(with only the two colour choices given)

2.3. Segmental weakening in (New) Upper High German:

- Delete the first consonant, unless there would be no consonant left.
- Delete final /ə/.

	M	N	F	PL	>	M	N	F	PL	>	F	PL
NOM	<i>d-er</i>	<u><i>d-as</i></u>	<i>d-ie</i>	<i>d-ie</i>		<i>də</i>	(ə)s	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
ACC	<u><i>d-en</i></u>	<u><i>d-as</i></u>	<i>d-ie</i>	<i>d-ie</i>		(ə)n	(ə)s	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
GEN	<u><i>d-es</i></u>	<u><i>d-es</i></u>	<i>d-er</i>	<i>d-er</i>		(ə)s	(ə)s	<i>də</i>	<i>də</i>			
DAT	<u><i>d-em</i></u>	<u><i>d-em</i></u>	<i>d-er</i>	<u><i>d-en</i></u>		(ə)m	(ə)m	<i>də</i>	(ə)n/de			

What sort of **phon**-phrasing of the definite article would naturally account for that sort of consonant-deletion pattern? Invariable right-association (as the syntax would have it) wouldn't.

3. ON PHONOLOGICAL GROUPING IN RELATION TO MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC GROUPING

3.1. Syllable division and grouping are not morpheme division and grouping

[[un-[[de-[cipher]_N]_V-abil]_A]-ity]_N

(un).((de.CI.phe.ra).(BI.li.ty))

not at word-level, nor (perforce) at phrase-level or sentence-level either (unless you insist).

As to syllabification domains, there is variation across dialects;

cf. Die [South Bavarian] Mundart von Pernegg in Kärnten (Lessiak 1903: 45):

“dieselben regeln [of syllabification], wie sie für den Wortlaut festgestellt wurden,
[gelten] auch für den Satzzusammenhang.”

tsən ösn is a pisl an əwəst ə guət
tsə . 'noe . sŋ . ni . sə . 'pis . lə . 'no . wəs . "ta . guət

zum Essen ist ein bisschen ein Obst auch gut

3.2. Phonological grouping is not syntactic grouping (unless you insist, as in “Disposition”): the former subserves pronunciation, and is essentially determined by principles of rhythm; the latter is semantically inspired, but is also subject to morphosyntactic demands on the expression of complex thought which are semantically arbitrary.

Phonological grouping is not **determined** by syntactic grouping either
— except insofar as it respects

- (i) clause boundaries (reflecting major planning units),
- (ii) the distinction between lexical and grammatical morphemes (the former come with inherent prominence, assigned at word-level),
- (iii) perhaps inherent weight (quantity, branchingness),
- (iv) focus (which also adds prominence, and perhaps attenuates prominence in parts following the focus).

3.3. The Great English Iambic Pentameter: Or is it Trochaic?

[[The_{gram} sound_{lex}] [[must_{gram} seem_{lex}] [[an_{gram} echo_{lex}] [[to_{gram/lex?} [the_{gram} sense_{lex}]]]]]]
(the SOUND) (must SEEM) *(an EC) (cho TO) (the SENSE)
the (SOUND must) (SEEM an) (EC cho) (TO the) (SENSE .)

By the way, how do syllables, or what they form part of, gain prominence?

- inherently, owing to their own weight (quantity, length, complexity)
[which tends to give lexemes an advantage over grammemes, at least at phrase- and clause-level; at word-level, prominence may be rigidly assigned to grammemes (e.g., *employ-EE*), or be determined by grammemes (e.g., *read-aBII-ity*, -ity being pre-stressing)]
- by being in a rhythmically strong position
[and how is rhythm, =alternations between strong and weak, appropriately grouped, determined?]

3.4. The Trochaic Tone-Group (Henry Sweet)

-pijpl juwsttəþiŋkð əəð wəzəkaindəv flæt keik` , -wiðð sijøl raundit

People **used to** [Focus] think the earth was a flat cake, with the sea all round it

(Starke Silben werden durch vorhergehende Spatien angedeutet ...; ohne Spatien geschriebene Silben dagegen sind schwach; ... schwach betonte, im Satzanlaut stehende Silben werden durch vorgesetztes (-) bezeichnet; Sweet, Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch, ³1904: 57)

3.5. The Trochaic Satztakt (Ed Sievers) or Glied (Franz Saran)

NIE mals hät te ich ge]_T GLAUBT]_T SO von dir be]_T TRO gen zu wer den \|_T

without focusing:

ich hät te ge]_T GLAUBT \|_T von dir ge]_T LIEB(T) zu wer den \|_T

i.e., a prominent syllable establishes a tact (T, phon-phrase), or also an Auftakt (itself without prominence), by way of adding a tact-end before itself (end-marking);

additional tact-ends are forced by strong syntactic boundaries (clause).

Worthy of special note: Verbs, whether AUX or (what is more astonishing) V, especially when finite, are prosodically rather weak in German(ic).

3.6. The Prosodic Hierarchy

the most elaborate phonological grouping ("Akzent") theory, further developing Sweet and Sievers, and contradicting the likes of Otto Behaghel, who saw phonological phrasing as strongly determined by syntactic phrasing (a common error even today):

Franz Saran, Deutsche Verslehre (1907: §11, Die Zusammenfassung)

die Silbe	zugehörige Grenze: (die Scheide)
das Unterglied	
das Glied	das Gelenk
das Doppelglied	
der Bund	die Fuge
die Reihe	die Lanke (unvollkommener Schluss)
die Kette	die Kehre (vollkommener Schluss)
der Gesatz	der Absatz

((((a ber auch) (DAS))_{GL})_{BU} ((was man)_{GL} ((AUF be)_{GL} (wahrt)_{GL})_{DGL})_{BU})_{REI}

((((muss doch dem) (SI nne)_{GL} (DES sen)_{GL} ((der es)_{GL} (AUF be)_{GL} (wah ren)_{GL} (soll)_{GL})_{DGL})_{BU}
((ent SPRE chen)_{GL})_{BU})_{REI})_{KE}

(((but also) (THAT))_{BU} ((what one) (PRE) (serves))_{BU})_{REI}

((must still the) (INTEREST) (of HIM) (who it) (PRE) (serve) (should))_{BU} (correspond)_{BU})_{REI}