

# The Swabian first person singular pronoun at the syntax–prosody interface

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Compared to standard German, the prosody and phonology of the various dialects in Germany has been largely understudied. This paper discusses several characteristics of the first person singular nominative (1SgNom) pronoun in Swabian, a dialect spoken in the southern parts of Germany by approximately 800.000 speakers.

In contrast to standard German 1SgNom pronoun [iç], Swabian distinguishes between three realisations of the 1SgNom pronoun: a) a fully stressed form, b) a weak enclitic form, and c) pronoun drop. While the latter has been to some extent discussed in Haag-Merz (1996) and Bohnacker (2013), a complete postlexical phonological analysis of pronoun drop and the distribution of all three forms at the interface between syntax, prosody, information structure and the lexicon has so far not been accounted for.

Depending on the information structure status of focus, the 1SgNom pronoun assumes a specific form: [i:] if the pronoun is in (any) focus, [ə] if the position is unfocussed.

- (1) jətst kox=ə                      ɛbəs      vo:      blo:s i:      kɛn  
Now cook.1SG.PRS=1SG.NOM something of.which just 1SG.NOM know.1SG.PRS  
'Now I will cook something that only I know.'

In (1), the unstressed [ə] is realised in the matrix clause. The fully stressed form [i:] is realised in the subordinate clause. While the syntactic positioning of the pronouns is not restricted in principle, there are restrictions on possible realisations based on prosodic constraints. The weak form [ə] is a prosodic enclitic and can thus not be realised without a prosodic host to its left. Consequently, constructions like in (2a), where the enclitic is in the initial position of the intonational phrase (indicated by  $(\iota)$ ), are not possible. However, if the enclitic follows a complementizer ((2b)) and is thus second in the corresponding intonational phrase, the construction is valid.

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

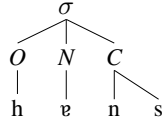
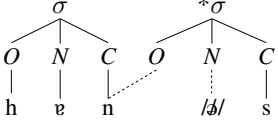
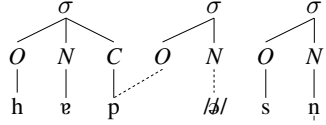
The fact that the full form [i:] always carries a focus leads to constraints in the syntactic structure that are so far unaccounted for. Consider the example in (2a) in a contrastive focus situation: 'I know PHILIP'. Even with a strong contrastive focus on 'Philip', there is always a secondary focus on the pronoun [i:]. As the unfocussed variant [ə] is invalid in the clause-initial position, the only remaining possibility to express the clause in (2a) without a secondary focus is to topicalize the contrastive object to allow for an unstressed 1SgNom pronoun to follow ((3)).

- (3) də      fi:lɪp      kɛn      =ə  
the.ACC Philip know 1SG.NOM  
'It's Philip whom I know.'

While the full and the enclitic pronoun variant are determined by focus constraints, the third 1SgNom pronoun variant, the (optional) pronoun drop, can only be realised according to strict postlexical phonological constraints.

- (4) vaɪf                      du:                      vɔ:(=ə)=sə                      nõ:      han  
know.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM where(=1SG.NOM)=3SG.F.ACC there have.1SG.PRS  
'Do you know where I put her?'

Pronoun drop can only occur if a) the corresponding overt form is the enclitic [ə], b) the pronoun is part of a clitic cluster, and c) a valid syllable structure is preserved. Compare the following three structures: In (5), no pronoun drop occurs and the 3.SG.ACC enclitic [s] is attached to the coda of the host's syllabic structure. In (6), the pronoun enclitic has been dropped. The 3.SG.ACC enclitic [s], which previously shared a syllable with the 1SgNom pronoun is left astray and renders the syllabic structure invalid. In example (7) finally, the 3.SG.ACC enclitic forms the onset of the following syllable which allows for a valid syllable structure to be preserved even though pronoun drop occurs.

<p>(5) i:          hən=s                          ufgmaxt  1SG.NOM have.1SG.PRS=3SG.N.ACC open.PRF  'I opened it.'</p>	
<p>(6) *gɛftən hən=∅=s                          ufgmaxt  Yesterday have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)=3SG.N.ACC open.PRF  'Yesterday, (I) opened it.'</p>	
<p>(7) hap=∅=s=n                                  ufgmaxt?  have.1SG.PRS(=1SG.NOM)=3SG.N.ACC=then open.PRF  'Did (I) open it?'</p>	

All three pronoun drop constraints are part of postlexical phonological processes. Furthermore, they shed light on the cascaded order of postlexical rules: The pronoun drop cannot occur *before* syllabification, otherwise the syllable structure could ‘repair’ itself after a pronoun has been dropped.

To sum up, the choice between the full 1SgNom pronoun [i:] and the weak enclitic [ə] is determined by focus (information structure, see also King (1997), Butt and King (1997), Mycock and Lowe (2013)). Moreover, the occurrence of the enclitic in c-structure is restricted by prosodic constraints (syntax–prosody interface). Pronoun drop, on the other hand, is solely determined by postlexical phonological constraints.

Even though the distribution of the 1SgNom pronoun depends on a number of modules, all forms can be analysed straightforwardly at the syntax–prosody interface in LFG as proposed by Bögel (2015). The distinction between the full and the weak 1SgNom pronoun can be encoded in the multidimensional lexicon, where each lexical entry is represented by several dimensions representing different modules of grammar (a.o., Dalrymple and Mycock (2011) and Bögel (2015)).

CONCEPT	S-FORM	P-FORM
I	i PRON (↑ PRED) = ‘pro’ ... {(FOCUS ↑ <sub>i</sub> )}	SEGMENTS /i:/ METR. FRAME (‘σ) <sub>ω</sub>
	↓(FOCUS ↑ <sub>i</sub> )}	----- SEGMENTS /ə/ METR. FRAME =σ

Table 1: Lexical entry of the 1st person singular nominative pronoun.

In Table 1, the s(yntactic)-form contains a disjunction referring to the FOCUS attribute in i-structure ( $\uparrow_i$ ). The existential constraint (FOCUS) checks whether the lexical item (the pronoun's s-form  $i$ ) is within the scope of the i-structure attribute FOCUS. The inside-out functional uncertainty (indicated by the referral to the mother node ( $\uparrow_i$ ) *following* the attribute) allows for the possibility to check for the attribute (FOCUS) no matter how deeply the lexical item is embedded in the attribute's structure. The disjunction in the lexical entry encodes two possibilities: Either there is a FOCUS attribute somewhere in the mother structure of the pronoun or there is none, indicated by the negation operator  $\neg$ . In the former case, the stressed p(honological)-form is chosen ( $/i:/$ ), in the latter case, the unstressed form  $/\text{ə}/$  is realized.

Both p-forms include information on prosodic constituency: The weak form  $/\text{ə}/$  is encoded as a prosodically deficient clitic ( $=\sigma$ ), while the full form  $/i:/$  is a prosodic word ( $)_\omega$ . This lexical phonological information is related to p-structure via the *transfer of vocabulary* at the syntax-prosody interface (Bögel (2015), see figure in the appendix). A further transfer process, the *transfer of structure*, relates syntactic constituency to higher prosodic constituency, for example, a CP is related to an intonational phrase, an XP is related to a phonological phrase (Selkirk 2011). Taken together, the information provided by the lexical constraint on focus, the corresponding lexical phonological information and the information of both transfer processes at the syntax-prosody interface ensures the correct realisation and linear placement of the two pronoun variants

A remaining question from the perspective of p-structure is how the enclitic  $[\text{ə}]$  is phrased together with its host. Evidence for a nested prosodic word ( $(\text{host})_\omega = \sigma)_\omega$  comes from another postlexical phenomenon, *n-insertion*, which is applied to avoid a vowel hiatus between the host and the enclitic. The *n-insertion* neither occurs between two prosodic words, nor between two enclitics in a clitic cluster. It can, however, occur after a pronoun drop has been applied. As a result, it can be assumed that *n-insertion* applies after the pronoun drop and that it occurs at a one-level nested prosodic word:  $((\text{host})_\omega \mathbf{n} = \sigma = \sigma)_\omega$ . The clitic cluster in (4) thus has in fact three possible variations:  $\mathbf{vo} : = \mathbf{n} - \text{ə} = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$ ,  $\mathbf{vo} : = \text{ə} = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$ , and  $\mathbf{vo} : = \emptyset = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$ , each derived from a set of ordered postlexical phonological processes:

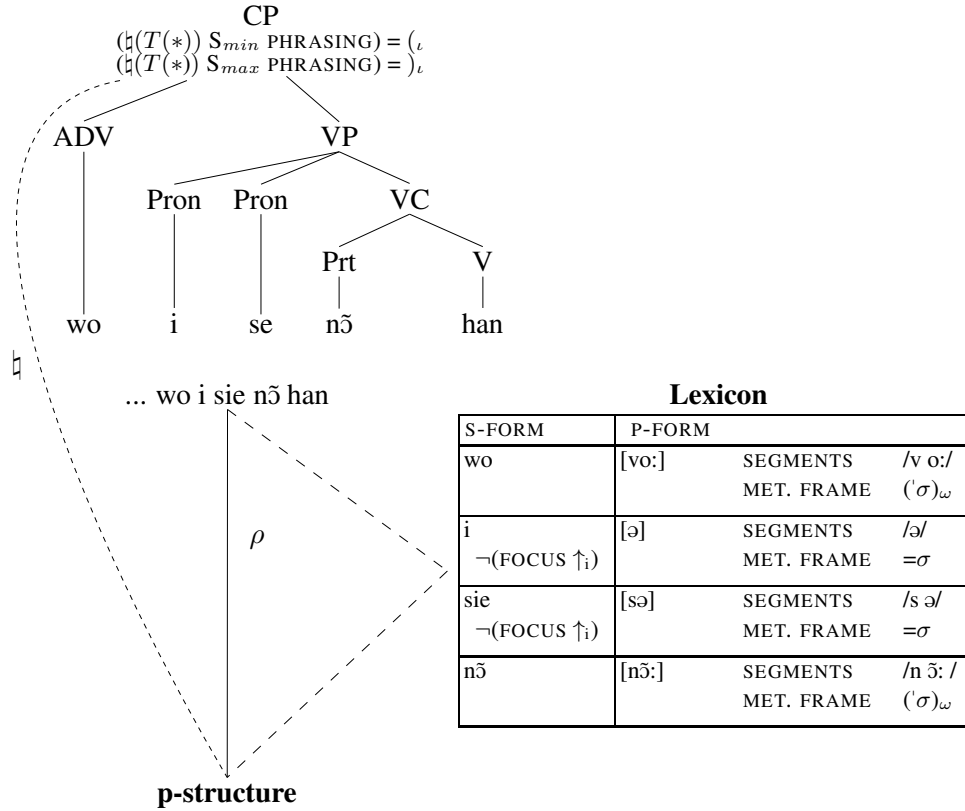
1. prosodic rephrasing:  $\omega_i = (?+)_\alpha^n \longrightarrow (\omega \omega_i (?+)_\alpha^n)_\omega$   
 $\Rightarrow \mathbf{vo} : = \text{ə} = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$
2. optional subject deletion:  $(\text{ə} \longrightarrow \emptyset) / )_\omega (\sigma \_ )_\sigma \sigma + )_\omega$   
 $\Rightarrow \mathbf{vo} : = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$
3. optional n-insertion:  $(\emptyset \rightarrow [\mathbf{n}]) / (\omega (\omega \text{ ?* V})_\omega (\sigma \_ \mathbf{V} \dots )_\omega$   
 $\Rightarrow \mathbf{vo} : = \mathbf{n} - \text{ə} = \mathbf{s}\text{ə}$

Summing up, there are three Swabian 1SgNom pronoun variants: Depending on focus constraints in information structure, the full form  $[i:]$  or the weak form  $[\text{ə}]$  are realised. While the former can appear in any syntactically suitable position in the sentence, the latter is further restricted by prosodic constraints, in that it cannot be positioned without a prosodic host to its left. The third variant, pronoun drop, can only be determined through postlexical phonological constraints.

All three can be analysed straightforwardly within the modular architecture of LFG, with reference to information structure, the multidimensional lexicon, the syntax-prosody interface and postlexical phonology as developed in Bögel (2015).

## Appendix

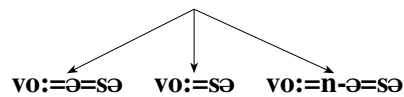
Representation of the syntax–prosody interface as developed in Bögel (2015), with reference to example (4) above.  $\Downarrow$  describes the transfer of structure;  $\rho$  the transfer of vocabulary;  $S_{1-7}$  refer to the individual syllables of the expression.



↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
PHRASING	...	...	$( )_i(\sigma)_\omega$	$=\sigma$	$=\sigma$	$(\sigma)_\omega$	$(\sigma)_\omega)_i$
SEGMENTS	...	...	/vo:/	/ə/	/sə/	/nō:/	/han/
V.-INDEX	<b>S<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>3</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>4</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>5</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>6</sub></b>	<b>S<sub>7</sub></b>

- 1:  $\omega_i = (?+)_\alpha^n \rightarrow ( )_\omega \omega_i (?+)_\alpha^n )_\omega$
- 2:  $(\emptyset \rightarrow \emptyset) / )_\omega(\sigma - )_\sigma \sigma + )_\omega$
- 3:  $(\emptyset \rightarrow [n]) / ( )_\omega(\omega ?^* V)_\omega (\sigma - V \dots )_\omega$

} **postlexical phonology**



} **Output**

## References

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